

CON EL PATROCINIO DE



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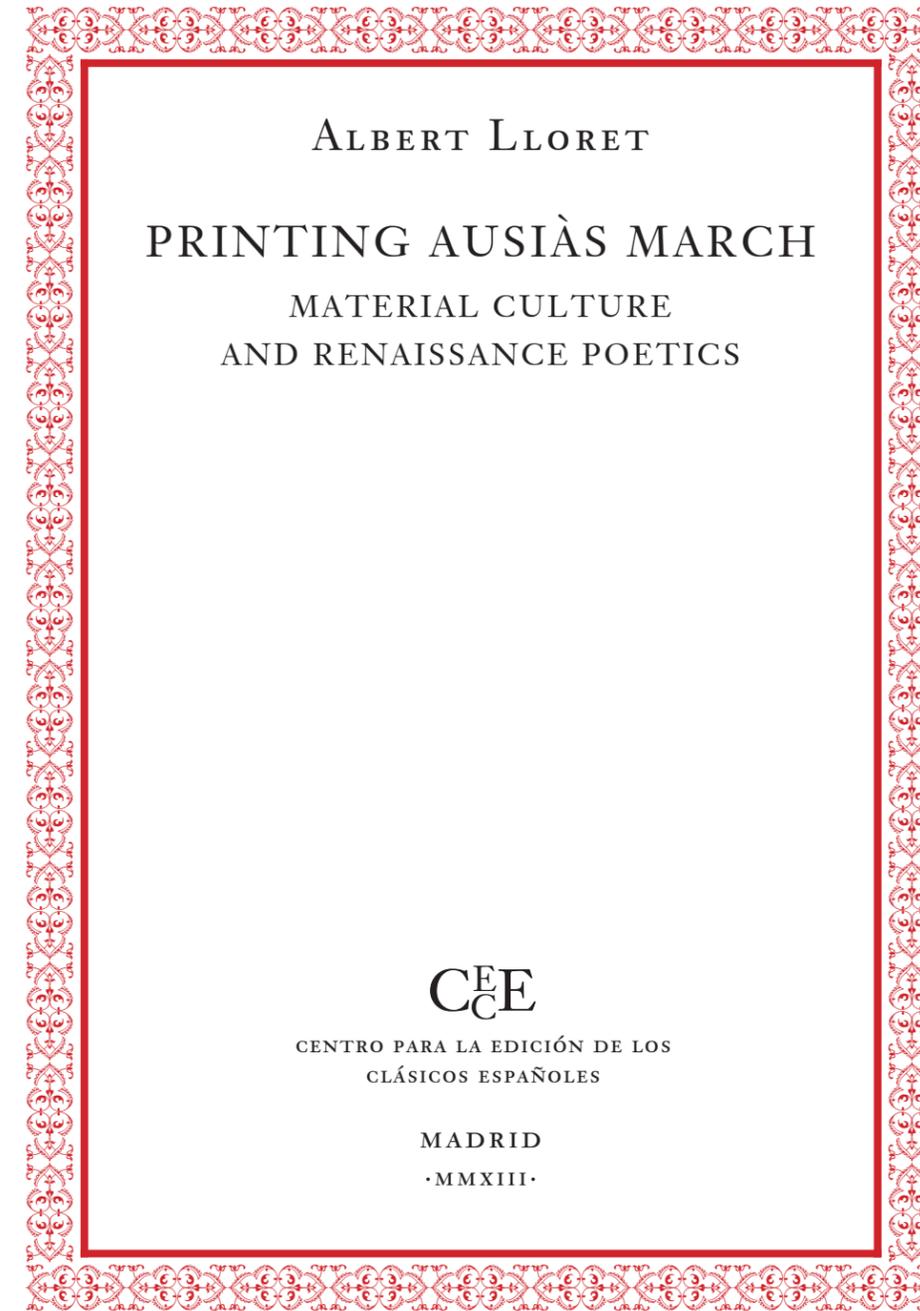


PRINTING AUSIÀS MARCH

ALBERT LLORET



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MATERIAL CULTURE  
AND RENAISSANCE POETICS

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CENTRO PARA LA EDICIÓN DE LOS  
CLÁSICOS ESPAÑOLES

MADRID

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## INTRODUCTION

Bibliography, simply by its own comprehensive logic, its indiscriminate inclusiveness, testifies to the fact that new readers of course make new texts, and that their new meanings are a function of their new forms. The claim then is no longer for their truth as one might seek to define that by an authorial intention, but for their testimony as defined by their historical use.

D. McKenzie, *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts*

Ausiàs March (Valencia, 1400-59) is the most important Catalan poet of the fifteenth century. The sheer number of manuscripts and early editions of his work—especially when compared to the number of codices and early printed books containing the poetry by other medieval Catalan authors—testifies to a popularity that began during March's own lifetime.<sup>1</sup> The influence of his verses on his contemporaries is another proof of the dimensions of his poetical stature. Beginning in the 1440s, both the local and the itinerant Trastámara courts in the Crown of Aragon, including Naples and Sicily, and the kingdom of Navarre, thrived with poems, romances, and letters filled with echoes and quotations from his *cobles*, and a lyric language that March had himself developed.<sup>2</sup> In the sixteenth century, March's works maintained their ascendancy over generations of courtly authors who wrote in Catalan, Spanish, or both languages. In fact, while most manuscripts of March's works date from the 1400s, several are from the sixteenth century. Additionally, since as early as 1539 March's works were printed and republished, often in Spanish translation, and, in 1633 they were even translated into Latin elegiac couplets.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Fourteen manuscripts carry March's works. For a *recensio*, see Pagès, *Introducció* 11-54; and Appendix 3.

<sup>2</sup> During the last two decades, the study of the Catalan poetry linked to the Trastámara courts has been developed extraordinarily. Newly documented authors, foreign and local influences, literary trends, canonical authorities and discourses have been unveiled, and a dynamic network of literary activities has resurfaced. For a general overview see Torrò, «Las cortes de Aragón» and *Introducció general*. See also Cabré, «From Ausiàs March to Petrarch,» «Dos lectors antics,» and «Notas sobre la memoria de Santillana»; Torrò, «Ausiàs March, Falconer» and «Una cort a Barcelona»; Rodríguez Risquete, «Del cercle literari del Príncep de Viana,» «Pere Torroella i les corts,» «El mestratge de Pere Torroella,» and *Introducció*; Galí, Ramos, and Torrò, «De mossèn Avinyó a Lluís Avinyó»; Bassegoda, «Dos poetes castellonins» and «Els poetes de l'orde de l'Hospital.» See also Riquer and Badia.

<sup>3</sup> For March's editions and translations see Pagès, *Introducció* 55-102; Riquer, *Traduccions castellanas*; Ramírez i Molas, *La poesia d'Ausiàs March* 123-94, «Un manuscrit inèdit»; Rozas;

As in the fifteenth century, the most decisive promotion of March's works during the following century came from a courtly setting. March was among the poetic authorities of poets Juan Boscán (1490-1542) and Garcilaso de la Vega (1500-36), who were members of Charles V's imperial court and Pedro de Toledo's viceregal court in Naples. Boscán and Garcilaso fostered the Italianate and classicistic forms, sources, and compositional methods for the writing of Spanish poetry.<sup>4</sup> Their poems became in all likelihood the main source of March's sustained popularity, since these authors, who renewed the forms and poetics of Spanish poetry, also borrowed ostensibly from March's verses. The enduring effect of this canonization of March's works is well known and can be appreciated in Marcelino Menéndez Pelayo's *dictum*: «La poesía erótica [española] del siglo xvi es un filtro quintaesenciado de Platón, Petrarca y Ausiàs March» (*Historia de las ideas* 6: 64; «Spanish sixteenth-century erotic poetry is a quintessenced potion of Plato, Petrarch, and Ausiàs March»).

Menéndez Pelayo's claim marks the birth of modern scholarship identifying and accounting for March's imprint in the Hispanic poets of the sixteenth century.<sup>5</sup> But whereas scholars of the posterity of March's works have made notable contributions regarding the sources and intertextual relationships of March's imitators, much less attention has been given to the production and reproduction of March's texts in the sixteenth century, and even less to the interplay between March's texts and the poetical works of his imitators.<sup>6</sup> For the most part, scholarship has appeared oblivious to the fact that, to borrow

Cabré, «Algunes imitacions»; Escartí, «A propòsit d'Ausiàs March»; López Casas, «La recepció: Romani,» «La recepció: traducció castellana,» «¿El cancionero *D* de Ausiàs March?» and «De los impresos al cancionero *E* de Ausiàs March.» In the early seventeenth century, a Valencian humanist rendered March's *octaves* into Latin elegiac couplets. For the Latin translation by Vicent Mariner, see Coronel «La fuente de la traducción,» «La modulación,» «L'Ausiàs llatí,» and «Una cala.»

<sup>4</sup> The bibliography dealing with Boscán's and Garcilaso's renewal of the Spanish poetry is extensive. For an overall picture see Blecua, «Corrientes poéticas»; Rivers, «Garcilaso divorciado de Boscán»; Caravaggi, *Alle origine del Petrarchismo*; Blecua, «El entorno poético de Fray Luis de León»; Rico, «El destierro del verso agudo»; Lapesa, *La trayectoria poética de Garcilaso*; Cruz; Colomí-Monguío, «Boscán frente al Navagero»; Navarrete; de la Vega; Ruiz Pérez.

<sup>5</sup> Among the most relevant references are Menéndez Pelayo, *Juan Boscán*; Pagès, *Auzias March et ses prédécesseurs* 393-422; Riquer, «Influencia de Ausias March»; Ferreres; McNerney; Prieto (passim); Cabré, «Algunes imitacions» and «Un lugar de Petrarca»; Alonso, «Ausiàs March i, 13-16.» For March's influence on Catalan authors, see Duran, «Defensa de la pròpia tradició» and «La valoració Renaixentista»; Valsalobre, «Història d'una superxeria,» «Dévotion pour Ausiàs March,» and «Joan Pujol: una lectura contrareformista.»

<sup>6</sup> The exceptions are the works by Ramírez i Molas, the recent contributions by López Casas quoted in n. 3, Escartí's facsimile edition of Navarro's text, and García Aguilar's pages in his book on the printing of poetry in Golden Age Spain (esp. 189-95, 201-04, 216-18). Cabré's articles in

Roger Chartier's words, authors write «texts that become written objects» (*The Order of Books* 10). As written objects, the existence of texts, and so their meaning, is bound to their materiality. Since the 1420s, a variety of audiences heard, read, copied, translated, imitated, printed, edited, and reprinted March's poems for over more than one hundred and fifty years. March's legacy is definitely linked to his eminent Spanish imitators during the Renaissance, but was determined in the first place by the availability and the form of his poetical works.

A quick glance at the content of March's extant manuscripts and editions shows how they all contain March's poems, but they are often not the *same*. At times, March's compositions were copied among the works of other authors. They were also gathered independently in monographic manuscripts or editions. When subject to comparison, any two of March's manuscripts rarely contain the same number of compositions. From manuscript to manuscript, some of March's poems consist of a different number of verses. Across different codices, poems often appear in unique orders, and their text lines feature utterly different readings. All this high textual variation or *mouvance* is the very nature of medieval textuality.<sup>7</sup> A different sort of variation is expected in an early printed text. The first edition of any text is based on a manuscript copy, called the *printer's copy*. Henceforth, later editions normally adapt, reedit, or reprint earlier editions. Variation is also pervasive and changes in the printed texts occur in many stages of the printing process, from the setting of types to the correction of proofs.<sup>8</sup> But early editions tend to account for many of the features that will be disseminated in later re-editions or reprints. As Donald McKenzie states in the epigraph to this introduction, bibliography recognizes that new readers make new texts, and that their meaning is a function of their new form. *In nuce*, this is what is at stake in this book. During the sixteenth century, March's new readers made new texts: they copied March's works anew and printed them for the first time. It will be argued that March's editions had an important role in his distinguished legacy.

nn. 4 and 5 tackle the relevance of March's texts *vis-à-vis* those of his imitators. The codicological and textual analyses of March's early witnesses is another focus of research that has notably advanced during the past fifteen years. See Appendix 3.

<sup>7</sup> The term *mouvance*, in the broad sense used here, was coined by Zumthor in his *Essai de poétique médiévale*. Inspired by Zumthor, Cerquiglini promoted a similar notion of textual mobility intrinsic to the medieval text (now referred to as *variance*) in his book *Éloge de la variante* over traditional scholarly editorial practices. See «Philology in a Manuscript Culture» by Nichols, along with the essays included in his edited volume of *Speculum* for a programmatic embracement of *variance*; Pickens; and Dembowski for counterbalancing criticism.

<sup>8</sup> See Rico, *En torno al error* and *El texto del Quijote*.

This book focuses in particular on the first two printed editions of March's works. On March 10, 1539, Juan Navarro finished printing *Las obras del famosissimo | filosofo y poeta mossen Osias Marco cauallero Ualen | ciano de nacion Catalan | traduzidas por don Baltasar | de Romani y diuididas en quatro Canticas: es a saber: | Cantica de Amor / Cantica Moral / Cantica de Muerte / | y Cantica Spiritual. Derigidas al excelentissimo señor | el duque de Calabria* («The Works of the Most Famous Philosopher and Poet Ausiàs March, Valencian Knight of Catalan Origin, translated by Don Baltasar de Romani, and divided into four Canticas, that is: Love Cantica, Cantica on Moralities, Death Cantica, and Spiritual Cantica; Addressed to the Most Excellent Sir the Duke of Calabria»). Navarro's edition was printed in folio, using Gothic type.<sup>9</sup> The front page features a frontispiece containing the title and date in black and red ink, Navarro's printer's mark, and the coat of arms of the Duke of Calabria, to whom the translation was addressed and who must have patronized the edition.<sup>10</sup>

This is the *editio princeps* of the poetry of Ausiàs March. It contains 46 of his 128 poems. Every page includes two stanzas, headed with the epigraph «Dize Marco» 'March says,' or «Marco.» Below each stanza there is Baltasar de Romani's Spanish translation, with the epigraph «Traducion.» The last printed folio of the edition (119r) includes a laudatory poem from «El interprete al Autor» 'The Interpreter to the Author,' and folio 1 verso contains a prefatory epistle by Romani, addressed to the Duke of Calabria, Fernando de Aragon (1488-1550).

On December 22, 1543, Carles Amorós finished printing in Barcelona «LES OBRES / DE MOS / SEN AV / SIAS / MARCH / AB VNA DECLARA / TIO EN LOS MARGES / DE ALGVNS / VOCABLES / SCVRS» («The Works of Ausiàs March with Marginal Clarifications on Some Obscure Words»). This quarto edition,<sup>11</sup> printed in Roman type, was sponsored by the Admiral of Naples and Duke of Somma, Ferrando de Cardona (1521-71). The book came out three years after Juan Navarro's *editio princeps*; and despite not being the first edition of March's poetry, it still was the first edition of March's complete works, containing 122 of March's poems. Most later sixteenth-century reeditions and reprints of March's poetry (1545, 1555, 1560) –even Jorge de Montemayor's

<sup>9</sup> Folio size was not common in the printing of poetic works by 1539; see Infantes 20-21; and García Aguilar 68.

<sup>10</sup> For bibliographical descriptions, see Pagès, Introducció 55-60; Archer, Introducció 20; and López Casas «La recepció d'Ausiàs March» 86-88. López Casas also provides a thorough bibliographical description and history of many of its extant copies. Garcia Sempere studied the *scolia* and reader markings of one of the copies of the edition.

<sup>11</sup> Quarto was the most extended format for the printing of poetry in Renaissance Spain; see Infantes 19-20; Montero y Delgado 96; and García Aguilar 94, 202.

translation (1560, reprinted in 1562 and 1579), and Vicent Mariner's (1633)—convey a text that after all stemmed from the one printed in 1543.<sup>12</sup>

I choose these two editions over others because of their relevance in the dissemination of March's poetry throughout the century. While all other printed editions of March's works ultimately descended from the Amorós 1543 text, Navarro's *editio princeps* was partially reprinted twice, and copies of Romani's translation were owned by famous poets like Diego Hurtado de Mendoza (1503-75) and Lope de Vega (1562-1635).<sup>13</sup> Juan Boscán—one of the first authors known to have imitated March in the court of Charles V—also used Navarro's edition. His case illustrates the extent to which these printed texts were instrumental in the reception of March's works. The popularity of March's poetry among Charles V's courtiers began before March's poems were first printed. Early imitations can be dated as early as 1535—and perhaps even earlier than that.<sup>14</sup> Imitations predating March's printed dissemination imply that their authors labored over manuscript copies of March's works that they owned or borrowed. This is how, prior to 1539, Garcilaso, Boscán, and Diego Hurtado de Mendoza read, memorized, and imitated March's poems.<sup>15</sup> However, an examination of Boscán's poems based on March's Poem 1—March's most imitated piece during the century—reveals that Boscán's texts are also related to Romani's 1539 translation.

<sup>12</sup> See Pagès, Introducció 139-41; Robert Archer, Introducció 30, 33, 37. Employing an existing edition of a text to prepare a new one was a common practice; see Pablo Andrés Escapa *et al.*, 34, 45. Manuscript iii.L.26 at the Biblioteca de El Escorial in Madrid (C) is a different but equally telling case. MS C is a manuscript copy of Amorós's 1545 own reprint of his 1543 text in a smaller format (Ramírez i Molas, «Un manuscrit inèdit»). Montemayor employed for his translation Juan de Resa's edition, printed in 1555 in Valladolid (Ramírez i Molas, *La poesia d'Ausiàs March* 139-61). Mariner worked for his Latin version on the Amorós 1545 reprint, but also consulted Resa's 1555 edition (Coronel Ramos «La fuente de la traducción latina»).

<sup>13</sup> On Mendoza, see below n. 16, and Chapter 4, n. 65; on Lope, who owned a later partial reedition, see López Casas, «La recepció d'Ausiàs March: Romani» 81.

<sup>14</sup> See Garcilaso's Elegy 2, vv. 124-44, which was addressed to Boscán from Trapani, between August and October 1535. Garcilaso's Sonnets 14 and 27, which include obvious Marchian borrowings are considered early poems, but have not been dated. MS 359 is an autograph by Boscán, studied by Riquer. Boscán's *cancionero barcelonés* includes his only extant piece written in Catalan, which is obviously based on March's Poem 4 (Riquer, *Juan Boscán* 58-60). This MS includes readings that are considered earlier (Riquer, *Juan Boscán* 47-53; and Bleuca, «Garcilaso con *stemma*» 25-29), perhaps from the mid 1530s (Boscán 28).

<sup>15</sup> Boscán's Poem 46 («Oíd, oíd, los hombres y las gentes») imitates March's 19 («Hohiu, hohiu, tots los qui be amats») which was not included in Navarro's edition, and so predates Navarro's text. Moreover, although Mendoza owned a copy of Navarro's text, his Sonnet 31 («Tibio en amores no sea yo jamás») is inspired in March's Poem 67 («Ja de amor tebeu james no sia») which is not included in Navarro's edition.

Boscán's sonnets 105, 106, 108, 109, and 111 sequentially rewrite vv. 1-24, 33-40 from March's Poem 1 (see Appendix 1). On occasion, Boscán's text derives directly from March's (Poem 105, v. 10; 106, v. 5; 108, vv. 1, 12; 109, v. 8; and 111, v. 8). But Boscán's choice of words once and again coincides with Romaní's translation, precisely in instances where Romaní's text does not attempt to replicate March's original terms or syntactical structure (cf. 105, vv. 4, 5, 7, 13; 106, v. 9; 108, vv. 3, 9-10, 12-13; 109, vv. 3, 6; and 111, vv. 2, 4, 7-8). Even one of the first authors known to have imitated March in Charles V's court eventually resorted to printed textual sources when those were available.<sup>16</sup>

Hence, the choice of the 1539 and 1543 editions was made on the basis of their relevance and wider dissemination. It must be underscored that such dissemination is understood as historically contingent, and does not follow from any essential value intrinsic to the printing technology. The Amorós edition was the textual base for most later editions. Romaní's translation was owned by some of the most influential authors in sixteenth-century Spain. The present study thus takes as its point of departure Adrian Johns's views on the history of the book rather than Elizabeth Eisenstein's immanentist approach, and argues that the interpretation of March's works shifted in the Renaissance with each change made on their materiality.<sup>17</sup> These material changes, which were

<sup>16</sup> This finding concurs with, or further supports, the accepted dating of MS 17969 at the Biblioteca Nacional de España. Known as MS Lastanosa after its former owner, 17969 is a very valuable manuscript for the study of the transmission of Boscán's and Garcilaso's works. Lastanosa's text is believed to predate 1539 (Armisén, *Estudios* 379-84; Clavería, «Lastanosa no describe»; Morros, «El *canzoniere* de Boscán»). Lastanosa does not include any of Boscán's imitations of March's Poem 1. Since Boscán's text depends on Romaní's translation –published in 1539– the colophon of Navarro's edition sets a new date *ante quem* for Lastanosa's text: March 10, 1539. Lastanosa does include Garcilaso's and Diego Hurtado de Mendoza's imitations of March's Poem 1, vv. 13-16 (in ff. 116r and 122v respectively). Garcilaso wrote his Sonnet 14 necessarily before October 13, 1536. The incipit of Mendoza's Poem 19 («Como el triste que a muerte es condenado») almost coincides with that of Boscán's 108 («Como'l triste que a muerte'stá juzgado»). Additionally, some of Mendoza's imitations of March's 1 not included in Lastanosa bear significant similarities with Boscán's Marchian sonnets (Cabré, «Algunes imitaciones» 63-64). While Boscán's poems were definitely completed after March 10, 1539, their relationship with those by Mendoza is less straightforward. In some poems either Boscán or Romaní inspired Mendoza (see forms of verb *tragar* that appear in rhyme position in Romaní's v. 14, and reappear in Boscán's 108, vv. 3 and 10, and Mendoza's 30, v. 2; see also Alonso 256-57). In other cases, it could be that Boscán influenced Mendoza –or viceversa (see the *chimerias* pointed out by Cabré in Mendoza's 29, v. 9, and Boscán's 109, v. 4). In any case, Boscán could have rewritten his poems in view of Romaní's translation. Boscán's rewriting of his poems is well documented (Riquer 47-53; and Blecua, «Garcilaso con *stemma*» 25-29). In fact, one verse of Boscán's Poem 109 (v. 8) may depend on a word from the *tornada* of March's poem, while Romaní's translation lacks all of March's *tornades* (Cabré and Torró 118; Cabré, «Algunes traduccions» 64, n. 3).

<sup>17</sup> Exemplary contributions to the study of the interdependence between textual meaning and materiality in medieval and early modern lyric poetry include Huot; Storey; Armstrong; and McGrady.

executed by readers, translators, and editors, will be the primary subject of the following chapters. In that sense, this book aims to contribute to the history of «the labors of those actually involved in printing, publishing, and reading» (Johns 28).

At the same time, this study aims to illuminate the notoriety of a medieval author in the Spanish Renaissance. While minute attention will be paid to technical issues related to manuscript copying and book printing, subsequent chapters will also examine the meaning of texts as a socially-constructed phenomenon.<sup>18</sup> This study will not detach an historical approach to manuscripts and printed editions produced in the 1500s from the poetical analysis and interpretation of their contents. Following the example of some of Roger Chartier's later work (such as *Inscription and Erasure*), this study will combine a consideration of the technical and social conditions of the publication, circulation, and appropriation of March's poetry with an interpretation and commentary on his works (Chartier, *Inscription and Erasure* VIII).

This book is divided into two parts that consist of three chapters each. The first part is devoted to Juan Navarro's edition; the second, to Carles Amorós's. Each part argues that the editorial handling of March's poetry had the effect of conforming March's works to specific poetical qualities. These qualities, which slightly varied from one editorial project to the other, altered the ways in which March's poems could be read.<sup>19</sup>

The critical approach of this study changes completely from chapter to chapter and throughout both parts. Each of the two main sections of the book begin with examinations of the particularities of the social context in which each edition was carried out. Chapter 1 is a close reading of Baltasar de Romaní's prologue to his translation. This chapter considers how the patronage relationship between Romaní and the sponsor of his translation, the Duke of Calabria, is staged in the prologue, and raises a number of questions about Romaní's translation and Navarro's edition that are addressed later in the

<sup>18</sup> See McKenzie, *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts*; and *Making Meaning* 13-85. Shillingsburg offers a pondered assessment of McKenzie's manifesto in the first of his Panizzi lectures, in view of the work accomplished by earlier analytical bibliographers –against whom McKenzie was taking his stance. One may find a theoretical counterpart to McKenzie's historical approach in McGann; for a critique and remarks on the differences between McKenzie and McGann, see Greetham 397-419.

<sup>19</sup> My quotations in this study provide paleographical transcriptions of Navarro's and Amorós's texts, in which only abbreviations have been expanded. When my argument needs to refer to March's works as an authorial text, I quote from the Bohigas edition –as is transcribed in the *Repertorio informatizzato dell'antica letteratura catalana*– and may refer to the critical apparatus in Archer's edition.

book. On the other hand, Chapter 4, which begins the second part of this study, provides a biographical account of the Duke of Somma, the sponsor of the *Amorós* edition. The duke's biography is provided on the basis of published materials and archival work. This chapter discusses the implications of the duke's sponsorship of the *Amorós* edition for the dissemination of March's poetry across the century and through multiple reeditions of March's works. Additionally, it establishes the social and intellectual underpinnings for the *Amorós* printing of March's poems.

Subsequent chapters in each section turn to the editions themselves. Chapter 2 examines Romaní's translation, establishing the translator's poetics and exemplifying his craft. In spite of aiming to produce a replica of March's text, Romaní transformed into his own creation March's original poetry. Romaní's text thus was absorbed by other literary referents and practices in Valencia during the 1530s. Chapter 3 performs a textual analysis of a representative sample of both the translation and the Catalan text included in Navarro's edition (*Ro* and *a*). Through stemmatics, this chapter unveils hierarchical relationships between *Ro* and *a*, and a number of aspects of the production of Navarro's edition. This chapter also makes evident the insufficiencies of the stemmatical study, and essays alternative modes of textual inquiry that disclose an ideological edge in Navarro's editorial practices.

Chapter 5 turns to codicology and analytical bibliography to identify and study a uniquely revelatory document: the printer's copy of the *Amorós* edition (MS 2985 housed at the Biblioteca Nacional de España in Madrid). Through the study of *Amorós*'s printer's copy, this chapter examines the transformations that March's works underwent in Barcelona –going from manuscript form into a printed document. Chapter 6 proposes an interpretation of the *Amorós* edition in Petrarchist terms. Although March was not a Petrarchist poet, it is argued that *Amorós*'s editorial construction was mostly inspired by Petrarch's *Canzoniere* –and, at times, by the classical elegiac book of poetry.

Lantica de amor: Fo.II.

Lantica primera de Amor.

Capitulo primero.

Dize Marco.

**Q**ui com cell/quen lo somnys delita  
E son delit/de foll pensament ve  
He pren a mi/quel temps passar me te  
Limaginar/que altre be noy habita:  
Sentint venir/la guayt de ma dolor  
Sabent de cert/quen sens mans be de saure  
Temps per venir/en ningun bem por caure  
So ques no res/en mi es lo millor.

Tradución.

Bien como aquel/quen sueños deuanca  
Y se delepra/del vano pensamiento  
Asi me tiene/el contemplar contento  
Quen otro bien/mi alma no recrea:  
Lo por venir/siempre me fue peor  
Y se muy cierto/que de dar en sus manos  
Quanto bien tengo/son pensamientos vanos  
Lo que no es nada/en mi es lo mejor.

Marco.

El temps passar/me trobe gran amor  
Alant no res/puis tot es ja fiunt  
Daquest pensar/me so jorn em delit  
Mas quant lo pert/sesfora ma dolor:  
Si com aquell/qui es jutjat a mort  
E de llonch temps/la sap e sa conorta  
E creurel fan/que li sera estoira  
El fan morir/sens vn punt de recort:

Tradución.

Aloque fue/tengo infinito amor  
Y amo la sombra/pues todo es fenescido  
Tiempos de mal/fueron los que han sido  
Mas en perdellos/estaua lo peor:  
Soy como aquel/a muerte condenado  
Que de gran tiempo/la tiene ya tragada  
Si le aseguran/que sera reuocada  
Quando le matan/sientel morir doblado.

a ij

Figure 1. Las obras del famosísimo filósofo y poeta mosén Osiás Marco. Valencia: Juan Navarro, 1539, 2º, f. 2r.



## I. BALTASAR DE ROMANÍ'S GOOD LETTERS FOR FERNANDO DE ARAGON

Published in 1539 Valencia, the *editio princeps* and first printed translation of Ausiàs March's poetry is one of the earliest instances of the raising visibility of March's works in the Spanish Renaissance. Juan Navarro's edition became a long-lived textual source for the authoritative use of the poet's name, verses, and ideas during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The first part of this study will analyze how Navarro's edition –much like Carles Amorós's in 1543– materially coined March's works as prized textual currency and a complex poetic signifier that would concur in the distinction of March's poetry in the Spanish Golden Age.

The choice of poems contained in the edition, their arrangement, and their translation, all contributed to minting Ausiàs March's verses as poetic capital, in forms unlike any earlier textual witness of his poetry. Naturally, the printer sought to obtain a monetary benefit from this business. But the edition held additional symbolic value for those who played key roles in the editorial project, particularly the translator and his sponsor. The letter Baltasar de Romaní wrote for Fernando de Aragon, the Duke of Calabria, which appeared as a prologue to the edition, documents the staging of the patronage relationship between the duke and the translator. For the translator, the printing of his version of March's poetry entailed the public sanction and protection of his patron. For the sponsor of the edition, his patronage entailed an extension of his power, status, and social distinction, in another instance of his «ejercicio de poder modo cálamo» 'exercise of power by means of the pen.'<sup>1</sup>

Romaní's prefatory epistle is a short and carefully crafted rhetorical piece. As an introduction and offering of the translator's work to the duke, it falls under the species of an *epistola nuncupatoria*.<sup>2</sup> Since the letter attempts to persuade Fernando to read the translation, an overall exhortatory orientation pervades its organization. Its basic *dispositio* or layout does not significantly differ from any contemporary discourse or oration.<sup>3</sup> As was common in sixteenth-century

<sup>1</sup> The quoted expression and the terms I employ to describe the implications of Golden Age literary patronage follow Bouza. For the role played by historians in promoting their patrons in Golden Age Spain see Sieber, with particular attention to Philip III; and Kagan. For the role of power in the definition of the non-monetary value attached to cultural products and activities, see Bourdieu.

<sup>2</sup> On the Renaissance Spanish prologue, see Porqueras Mayo, esp. 104-10, 114, 135-37.

<sup>3</sup> See Luján Atienza's work on sixteenth-century Valencian rhetorical treatises, which devotes an entire section to their letter-writing *artes* (309-20). Among letter-writing manuals, Francisco

letter-writing, it can be divided into five parts: *exordium*, *narratio*, *petitio*, *confirmatio*, and a *conclusio* that actually works as a *confutatio*.<sup>4</sup> By examining these five conventional sections the following close reading will discuss Romaní's stance regarding both his sponsor and his translation, thereby unveiling essential features of his own intellectual profile. A number of questions regarding the making of the book published by Juan Navarro that arise at the end of this discussion will be addressed independently in later chapters.

### FERNANDO DE ARAGON AND BALTASAR DE ROMANÍ

Fernando de Aragon, Duke of Calabria (1488-1550), was born in Andria (Apulia) and educated there, as well as in Naples and Spain.<sup>5</sup> He was the first-born of Isabella del Balzo (1465-1533) and King Frederick I (1452-1504), the last Aragonese ruler of the *Reame*. In 1502, during Ferdinand the Catholic's conquest of Naples, Fernando was captured and honorably kept for years among the retinue of the Spanish monarch. In 1512, Fernando's alleged plans to plot against the Catholic king, return to his family living in a French exile, and claim his rights to the throne of Naples had him imprisoned in Atienza and, later on, for a decade, in Xàtiva. In December 1523, Charles V released him in accordance with the last will of the Catholic monarch, which had remained unfulfilled since his death in 1516.<sup>6</sup> Charles V was also thankful

Juan Bardaxí's proposed the exact parts for a letter's *dispositio* based on classical rhetoric: «sex sunt in uniuersum, ut exordium, narratio, propositio, confirmatio, refutatio, conclusio» *Methodus conscribendarum epistolarum secundae classis scholae Valentinae praelegenda per Franciscum Ioannem Bardaxinium* (Valencia: Juan Mey, 1564), in Garrido Gallardo's electronic edition (par. 68-69). For the humanistic changes and continuities in the art of letter-writing, in an European-wide context, see Burton; see also Henderson, «Erasmus on the Art of Letter-Writing» and «On reading the Rhetoric.» On changes in Spanish letter-writing during the fifteenth century see Pontón 39-126; for the sixteenth century see Trueba Lalland.

<sup>4</sup> The letter's short *inscriptio* and *uadictio* will not be examined. Romaní's *inscriptio* included his name and a short but respectful address to the duke («De don Baltasar de Romaní al excelentissimo señor el Duque de Calabria»). Contemporary letter-writing manuals specifically advised against long adulatory *saludatii*. See n. 3 for bibliography on the outdated practices of the *artes dictaminis*, against which humanistic manuals polemically reacted. Romaní's letter does not include a *saludatio* or a *subscriptio*.

<sup>5</sup> For the early life and education of the duke, see López Ríos, «La educación de Fernando de Aragón.» For biographical accounts of Fernando's life, see Castañeda; Querol y Roso 101-52; Almela i Vives; Romeu Figueras 55-59; Martí Ferrando, «La biblioteca real llega a Valencia»; Schwartz 246-333; Arciniega García 2: 161-83; and López Ríos «Fernando de Aragón.»

<sup>6</sup> See Castañeda; Arciniega 2: 169; but also Nugent 202, n. 13.

for Fernando's faithful support during the *Germanies* War. In 1526 Fernando married the Catholic King's widow, Germana de Foix, and was appointed the Viceroy of Valencia for the rest of his life.<sup>7</sup> After Germana's death in 1536, Fernando married the Marchioness of Cenete, Mencía de Mendoza, in 1540.<sup>8</sup> In Valencia, Fernando maintained a renowned musical chapel, with the contribution of notable composers such as Lluís del Milà and Mateu Fletxa (the Elder).<sup>9</sup> The duke sponsored theatrical festivities and fastuous courtly events—recreated in *El cortesano* by Lluís del Milà—and a number of literary and scholarly works.<sup>10</sup> Fernando inherited what was left of his great-grandfather's royal library and had it moved from Ferrara to his residency in Valencia.<sup>11</sup> Following Germana's last will, in 1546 Fernando founded the monastery of San Miguel de los Reyes.<sup>12</sup> Upon his death in 1550, lacking any legitimate descendant, he bequeathed his entire library and fortune to the monastery.

Unlike Fernando, little is known about Baltasar Romaní (ca. 1485–ca. 1547).<sup>13</sup> Born in Sardinia, he was the son of its Viceroy at the time, Eiximèn Pérez (II) Escrivà de Romaní, and a local lady, Caterina de Senna. Before 1516, Romaní had served the Neapolitan Viceroy Ramon de Cardona, who wrote for him a letter of recommendation. By 1523 he had also served in the army of Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, Count of Mélito, in the war against the Valencian *Germanies*. After the death of his brother Jaume, Romaní inherited the title of Baron of Beniparrell, a title that, beginning in 1519, involved him in a lengthy litigation with his cousin, Valencia's *mestre racional*. These

<sup>7</sup> On Germana de Foix, see Querol y Roso; and Salvador i Montserrat.

<sup>8</sup> On Mencía de Mendoza, her humanistic education, and her patronage of the arts and letters, see Lasso de la Vega; Falomir Faus; Martí Ferrando «Una humanista»; Solervicens «La literatura humanística» and «Mencía de Mendoza»; García Pérez's work, including, *Mencía de Mendoza; Arte, poder y género*, «Mencía de Mendoza,» and «The Books of Mencía de Mendoza»; Vorster; and Hidalgo Ogáyar.

<sup>9</sup> On the musical patronage supported by Fernando, Germana, and Mencía, see Romeu; McMurtry; Nugent; Schwartz 246–333; Muñoz; and Nelson «A Choirbook,» «Was Morales in Valencia?,» and «The court of Don Fernando de Aragón.»

<sup>10</sup> On the theatrical representations surrounding the viceregal court see Oleza; and Sirera. On the writers and scholars sponsored by the Valencian viceroys, including Joan Fernández de Heredia, Lluís del Milà, Juan Justiniano, Juan de Molina, Juan Ángel González, Lorenzo Palmireno, Juan Maldonado, Francisco Decio, and Girolamo Britonio, see Fuster; Escartí, Introducció; Ferrer Valls; and Vorster 199–215.

<sup>11</sup> On the evolution of the duke's library, see de Marinis; Alcina Franch; and López Ríos, «A New Inventory.»

<sup>12</sup> On the foundation of San Miguel de los Reyes, see Ferrandis Torres; Querol y Roso 146–51; Arciniega, esp. 1: 44–76; 2: 23–30, 161–83.

<sup>13</sup> For the available data on Romaní, see Escartí, Introducció 35–46; Valsalobre, «Una cort italianitzant» n. 15; and Parisi, «Els Escrivà» 73–74 and «La verdadera identidad.»

disputes would only settle well after the death of Romaní. In addition to the translation of March's works for the duke, he may have carried out a now lost Spanish translation of Virgil. Last, recent unearthing of archival documentation has allowed for a cogent proposal identifying Romaní with the author of the *cancionero* poetry attributed to the Comendador Escrivá.<sup>14</sup> While more research may seem necessary at this point to fully back this claim, the literary knowledge displayed in a few of the poetic pieces by the Comendador Escrivá would fittingly match the literary profile of March's translator, as will be evident in the next two chapters. For now, let's turn to his patronage relationship with the duke as it played out in the prefatory epistle.<sup>15</sup>

#### «EXORDIUM»

Romaní's *exordium* or *captatio benevolentiae* is aimed at gaining the attention and favor of the letter's addressee. To this end, the epistle begins by attaching a moral value to Romaní's literary offering. The letter opens with a commonplace quotation, the first sentence from Aristotle's *Metaphysics*: «Omnes homines naturaliter scire desiderant.»<sup>16</sup>

Todos los hombres, excelentísimo señor, desean saber naturalmente, y los de mayor ingenio y más virtuosos tienen más deseo de la sabiduría que los otros; así como los que tienen mayor conocimiento de las buenas letras son más amigos de la virtud. De manera que los sabios son virtuosos y solos los virtuosos son verdaderamente sabios.

<sup>14</sup> While remarking the weak points of former identifications of the Comendador Escrivá, Parisi's positive evidence to back his claim that March's translator and the *cancionero* poet were the same individual encompasses three main points. First, in the eighteenth century, Gaspar Ximeno referred to Romaní not only as March's translator but also as an eloquent poet («La verdadera identidad» 148). Second, the recommendation written by the Viceroy of Naples to Romaní leaves room for the possibility that Romaní had lived in Naples and met the *tristes reinas* the Comendador Escrivá mentions in two of his poems (144, 153). Third, and most significant, although it is difficult to determine the exact moment he actually joined the Orden de Santiago, Escrivá de Romaní was known by the title of *comendador* in contemporary Valencia (153-56). For former identifications of the *cancionero* poet, see Riquer's influential hypothesis («Los escritores mossèn Joan Escrivá y el Comendador Escrivá»); and Ravasini's comprehensive summary of all argued possibilities.

<sup>15</sup> Unless otherwise noted, all translations are mine.

<sup>16</sup> Beginning the *exordium* with a *sententia* was a conventional practice. For instance, Juan Lorenzo Palmireno (1524-79), who was professor of Greek and oratory during the second half of the sixteenth century in Valencia's *studium*, suggested the option of starting the *exordium* «A sententia aliqua communi» («From a common sententia»; see *Dilucida conscribendis epistolas ratio*, in Garrido Gallardo's electronic edition). The first sentence of Aristotle's *Metaphysics* circulated in books of commonplaces and *florilegia*, such as the *Auctoritates Aristotelis* (Hamesse 115), which, in any case, could not be the source of Romaní's Aristotelian knowledge; see n. 17.

All men, Most Excellent Sir, wish to know by nature, and those of greater wits and virtue have a stronger wish for wisdom than the rest; just as those with a greater knowledge of good letters are closer friends with virtue. Thus, wise men are virtuous, and only virtuous men are truly wise.

Romaní writes «All men wish to know by nature,» and then employs a logical figure—a biconditional—and states that knowledge and virtue logically imply each other: wise men are virtuous, and only virtuous men are truly wise. By the same token, the greater the knowledge, the greater the virtue—and vice versa. This mutual implication of wisdom and virtue may have also been inspired by a sentence from Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics* (bk. 6, ch. 13),<sup>17</sup> but Romaní's logically grounded *exordium* crucially hinges on an unstated assumption, which is also fundamental to understanding his intellectual stance and background.

In his third proposition, Romaní asserts that those with greater knowledge of «good letters» are close friends with virtue («los que tienen mayor conocimiento de las buenas letras son mas amigos de la virtud»). In doing so, Romaní has changed «saber», «conocimiento» («knowledge») or «sabiduría» («wisdom»), with «conocimiento de las buenas letras» («knowledge of good letters»). On the premise that wisdom or knowledge is achieved through *bonae litterae*, namely, Latin grammar and literature, lays the programmatic core of the *litterae humaniores* or *studia humanitatis*. Romaní's stance is an unequivocal sign. As Rico remarks: «Para la España de Nebrija y Brocar, podemos aplicar la etiqueta de *humanismo* (aunque no sin distingos) allá donde encontremos una valoración positiva de los *studia humanitatis*, las *litterae humaniores* o *politiiores*, las *artes*, *ciencias* o *letras de humanidad*, *humanas*» (*El sueño del humanismo* 168-69).<sup>18</sup> By equating moral virtue and knowledge, and assuming that knowl-

<sup>17</sup> In Leonardo Bruni's translation (1417), this passage reads: «Patet, igitur, ex iam dictis, non posse quenque esse bonum uirum sine prudentia, neque prudentia sine morali uirtute» (f. 59v). Charles of Viana's own rendering (ca. 1460) of Bruni's text into Spanish reads: «Pues manifesto es por la cosas ya dichas ninguno poder ser buen varon sin prudencia ni prudente sin la moral uirtud» (f. G iv verso). Finally, John Argyropoulos's translation of the sentence (1457) reads as follows: «Patet, igitur, ex dictis fieri, non posse ut sine prudentia sit homo proprie bonus & absque morum uirtute prudens» (f. 121r). Only the first part of the sentence appears in a *florilegium* such as the *Auctoritates Aristotelis* (Hamesse 241). For an introduction to the relevance of Aristotelianism in humanistic moral thought, see Kristeller, «Humanism and Moral Philosophy» esp. 276-78, 284-86; and Kraye. For the presence of Aristotle's *Ethics* in the university curriculum, see Lines, esp. 44-45.

<sup>18</sup> «In the Spain of Nebrija [1444-1522] and Brocar [first half of the sixteenth century], we may apply the term *humanism* (although distinctions are necessary) every time we find a positive appraisal of the *studia humanitatis*, the *litterae humaniores* or *politiiores*, the *artes*, *ciencias* or *letras de humanidad*, *humanas*.»

edge equates or is acquired through those *bonae litterae*, Romaní is revealing his humanistic position.<sup>19</sup> In fact, the whole *exordium* and argument that virtue is obtained through knowing –which is in turn acquired through the *bonnae litterae*– actually falls within the humanistic commonplace of the *laus litterae*.<sup>20</sup>

«NARRATIO»

After his praise of *bonae litterae* –to conquer the duke's good disposition towards his own literary enterprise– Romaní tackles his *narratio*. Here he develops the arguments that justify his dedication of the translation to the duke:

Como leemos de aquel muy alto y muy poderoso, sapientísimo, franco y valeroso rey don Alonso de Aragón, bisabuelo de vuestra excelencia, heredero de las Musas, hijo de las virtudes y padre de los virtuosos, el qual, después que triunfó de la larga y guerreada conquista de Nápoles, vacando los ejercicios de la guerra, ya en sus gloriosos y postrimeros días, no contento de su sabiduría, quiso gustar la dulçura y secretos de la sacra Theología, por donde no solamente a sus vasallos y criados dio ejemplo que amasen las letras, mas aun a los príncipes sus descendientes dejó por sucesión y heredamiento este divinal deseo y continuo ejercicio.

Just as we read about that highest, most powerful, wisest, generous, and courageous King Don Alfonso of Aragon, great-grandfather of Your Excellency, heir of the Muses, son of Virtues, and father of virtuous men, who, after triumphing in his long and hardly fought conquest of Naples, while he was resting from the exercise of war, during his last glorious days, not content with his own wisdom, also wanted to taste the sweetness and secrets of holy theology, whereby not only was his love for letters exemplary for his vassals and servants, but he even bequeathed to the princes, his descendants, that divine desire and continued exercise.

<sup>19</sup> For a contemporary social concept of humanism see the classical articles by Campana; and Kristeller, «Humanism and Scholasticism.» For a comprehensive definition of humanism in the *longue durée*, see Rico, *El Sueño del humanismo* 19-160; and Celenza «Humanism.»

<sup>20</sup> Francisco Decio held the chair of oratory in the University of Valencia between 1534-37 and 1547-49. He composed two inaugural *prolusii* for both the academic years of 1534 and 1536, where he amply developed a *laus litterae*. The first one, *Francisci Decii Valentini de re literaria asserenda Oratio ad Patres Iuratus Senatunque literarium Lucalibus ipsis publice habita Valentiae Anno MDXXXIII*, was printed by Juan Navarro in 1535. On the *laudes litterarum*, see Alcina Rovira, «Poliziano y los elogios de las letras» and Rico, *El sueño del humanismo*, esp. 163-194. On Decio, see Rico, *El sueño del humanismo* 174-77; and Pons Fuster 199-245, which contains long translated excerpts of Decio's *prolusii*.

Romaní invokes the illustrious precedent of the duke's great-grandfather, King Alfonso the Magnanimous (1394–1458), and praises him as an example of virtuous gentleman («hijo de las virtudes y padre de los virtuosos»). After achieving glory in the battlefield, having conquered the Kingdom of Naples –thus being portrayed as an example of *fortitudo*– King Alfonso made his love for «las letras» exemplary for both his servants and his virtuous descendants.<sup>21</sup> To illustrate Alfonso's *sapientia* and love for knowledge, Romaní singles out the king's interest in learning the secrets of theology.

Regardless of how accurate such assertions might have been,<sup>22</sup> Romaní's «leemos» points towards a specific textual source for his mention of King Alfonso's interest in theology. Before engaging in a consideration of the rhetorical function of Romaní's assertion, the text's source must be examined. Of all the historical works currently available involving King Alfonso, Romaní was referring in all likelihood to Antonio Beccadelli's *De dictis et factis Alphonsis regis Aragonum et Neapolis* (1455). The Duke of Calabria owned several copies of Beccadelli's work, which had originally belonged to King Alfonso himself.<sup>23</sup> Moreover, in the early sixteenth century, Beccadelli's biographical and exemplary treatise enjoyed a degree of repute and circulation in Valencia. In 1527, Joan Jofre published Juan de Molina's Spanish translation of Beccadelli's *De dictis et factis*.<sup>24</sup> Structured after Valerius Maximus's immensely popular book

<sup>21</sup> Romaní's portrait depicts King Alfonso as imbued in both classical princely virtues, *sapientia* and *fortitudo*, which are also in agreement with contemporary courtly social values. On the Hispanic polemics between «arms and letters» through the fifteenth century and up to the 1530s, see Russell, «Las armas contra las letras.»

<sup>22</sup> «Behind the façade of everyday practice lays a lively interest in matters theological. Attending lectures by learned theologians gave him great satisfaction, as did the cut and thrust of doctrinal debate. His constant invocation of God, the Virgin, and the saints in his speech and writings looks conventional enough, and his utterances on religious matters, as recorded by Beccadelli, may seem commonplace, especially if one allows for a ghost writer's polish, yet so great an authority as Pope Pius II wrote in a work published after Alfonso's death: 'He delved into all the mysteries of theology: penitence, free will, incarnation, the sacraments, the Trinity; quickly and judiciously he would tackle the most difficult questions and in elegant, precise terms deliver an opinion which, though brief, was never negligible. He certainly had something to say in the current debates on whether the immortality of the soul could be proved by human intelligence as well as on the problem of the 'dignity of men'» (Ryder 312). On King Alfonso's court and culture, see Ryder 306–57.

<sup>23</sup> At the death of the duke in 1550, his library contained at least three copies of Beccadelli's *De dictis et factis*; see *Inventario de los libros*, Items 463, 526, and 531.

<sup>24</sup> Molina's translation was republished in 1530 in Burgos, and again in 1552 in Saragossa. See Duran and Villalonga's introduction to their edition of the Latin text and fifteenth-century Catalan translation. See also Montaner's facsimile edition of Molina's translation. On Molina's life and works, see Pérez Priego; and Pons Fuster 77–88.

of exemplary anecdotes from antiquity, Beccadelli's collection records the king's profound interest in classical letters and knowledge of Latin authors, such as Caesar (bk. 2, par. 13), Seneca (bk. 1, par. 30, 48; bk. 3, prologue), and Livy (bk. 1, par. 16).

The brief historical accounts referring to the king's fondness of theological matters are also present. For example, Beccadelli recounts how Alfonso did not let a mere illness prevent him from meeting with Giovanni Aurispa and discussing with him philosophical and theological issues –including the errors of Jerome of Prague (bk. 1, par. 10). The king also supported the School of Theology in Naples and even attended its lectures (bk. 1, par. 39). Alfonso had read the Bible and its commentaries so many times, that he was capable of remembering many of its passages by heart (bk. 2, par. 17).

Romaní may have been recalling any or all of those memorable passages about the king's classical learning and fondness for theology. However, it seems plausible to think that he may have been quoting from, or even paraphrasing still another specific fragment of Beccadelli's treatise. The preface to the third book of *De dictis et factis* contains an eulogy of King Alfonso's theological erudition. Its formulation, as it appears in Juan de Molina's Spanish translation, reproduces Romaní's own wording of the king's theological expertise:

un varón de gentil ingenio y señaladas virtudes llamado Juan Díxar, hablando del rey don Alonso muchas vezes dezía que si el rey no fuera rey que fuera muy señalado filósofo, porque en gran manera mostrava ser nacido para saber y assí se vio que *por muchos y árduos negocios que tuviesse quales un tal rey los avía de tener, jamás perdió su ordinario exercicio de las letras, antes todos los días del mundo avía de oyr poetas, filósofos o teólogos que los unos con los otros hablassen y disputassen de cosas de letras* y en esto tanto se empleó que *dándose en mucha manera a la sagrada escritura vino a entenderla no como rey sino como verdadero tbeólogo*, y si alguno quería hablando con él algunas cosas de sciencia *muchas vezes sacava doctrina ecelente y muy de maravillar en secretos de tbeología provechosos para la conciencia y para el entendimiento.* (*Dichos y hechos* ff. 36r-36v, my emphasis)

a man of gracious wit and remarkable virtues –named Juan d'Íxar– used to say regarding King Don Alonso that had the king not been a king, he would have been a very remarkable philosopher, because he clearly showed he had been born to acquire knowledge. And this was obvious because, regardless of all the numerous and arduous business the king had, he would never miss his usual practice of letters, and he would listen to poets, philosophers, and theologians every day, as they were talking and arguing with each other about literary matters. And he practiced so much in the sacred writings that he managed to understand them not like a king but like a real theologian. And if someone wanted to talk to him about scientific matters, he many times exhibited an excellent and marvelous knowledge about theological secrets, which were good for one's conscience and understanding.

Setting aside the literal correspondences between the two texts, both in Beccadelli's account of King Alfonso's exemplary deeds and words and in Romaní's *laus litterae*, knowledge encompasses discussions between «poetas y filósofos» and «buenas letras» as much as «secretos dela sacra theología» and «secretos de theología.» Humanism defined itself by reacting against Scholasticism –the institutionalized study of theology, as an intellectual paradigm. The involvement of the *studia humanitatis* with theological matters, as Francisco Rico points out, was, however, consubstantial to the humanistic endeavors, as from Petrarch or Valla to Erasmus. Their theological interests, though, were often detached from the official university discipline.<sup>25</sup>

Romaní's ideas about relations between theology and *studia humanitatis* may defy further specifications –his conventional praise of the letters is extremely succinct.<sup>26</sup> In any case, Romaní's intellectual position was perfectly coherent with other manifestations of Valencian humanism. Two texts by contemporary professors of *litterae politiores* in Valencia may be used to gain a clear insight into Romaní's mention of King Alfonso's interest in theology and his lack of any reference to Beccadelli's passages on the king's readings of Caesar, Seneca, and Livy.

Juan Ángel González held the chair of poetry in Valencia's *studium* between 1516 and 1548. In 1527 he published his *Perlepidum colloquium*, and addressed it to none other than the Duke of Calabria. In the second book of González's dialogue, Ascanio comes to Valencia hoping to complete his education in theology. Having studied *bonae litterae* in Rome as a teenager, Ascanio intends to temporarily leave aside the *studia humanitatis* and devote himself to «the higher issues of theology.»<sup>27</sup> González –himself a professor of poetry– was certainly not denying the propaedeutical value of the *studia humanitatis*. Theological issues, however, ranked higher up in his scale of knowledge.

While González held the chair of poetry in Valencia's university, Francisco Decio taught oratory off and on during the 1530s and 1540s in the same insti-

<sup>25</sup> See Rico *El sueño del humanismo* 102-26, esp. 120-22; and Kristeller «Humanism and Moral Philosophy» for the reconciliation of humanism and classicism with Christianity. But see Celenza, *Angelo Poliziano's Lamia* 1-2 and, especially Lines, for a reconsideration of the actual weight of Scholasticism in contemporary universities, with which humanists were in close contact and collaboration.

<sup>26</sup> Fernando, perhaps in part inspired by his great-grandfather's example, projected the foundation of a school of theology and arts in San Miguel de los Reyes (Arciniega 2: 9, 37). Oviedo's portrait of Fernando in his *Batallas y Quincuagenas* also reports Fernando's interest in theology; see also Falomir Faus 122; and Cruilles 433. It is not inconceivable that Romaní's words on Alfonso the Magnanimous were implicitly mirroring Fernando's plans and/or interests ca. 1539.

<sup>27</sup> On the life and works of Juan Ángel González, see Alcina Rovira, *Juan Angel González*; and Pons Fuster 169-89.

tution (see n. 20). In his dialogue *Paedapechtia*, which served as an introductory speech or *prolusio* to academic year 1536 in the Valencian university, Decio defended the need for Valencian nobility to study good letters. He deployed a *laus litterae*, while also carrying out a defense of the Christian knight founded on the values of the Gospel (Pons Fuster 234-45). That was no contradiction. As Alcina Rovira concluded:

El humanismo de Juan Ángel, como el de Francisco Decio, se somete voluntariamente a la dirección de la teología. Es un humanismo menos filológico que el de Alcalá. Menos peligroso, por tanto, porque no pretende asediar con su gramática los santuarios de los textos cristianos. De hecho, en Valencia no se hacen anotaciones, comentarios o ediciones de textos clásicos. O si se hacen no se editan, o son obra de humanistas exiliados y se publican fuera de España. (*Juan Ángel González* 11)<sup>28</sup>

The examples of González and Decio, as much as that of Romaní, argue that the socio-cultural definition of a Valencian humanism displayed prominent local particularities *vis-à-vis* its other Spanish, Northern-European, or Italian counterparts. Nonetheless, it is also clear that the intellectual paradigm which underlies Romaní's letter, from the *exordium's* praise of good letters to his mention of King Alfonso's exemplary interest in theological matters, is that of humanism.

#### «PETITIO» AND «CONFIRMATIO»

Romaní finished the *narratio* section of his letter employing a *locus aemulatione* and writing that «not only was King Alfonso's love for the letters exemplary to his vassals and servants, he even bequeathed to his descendants that divine wish and continued practice.»<sup>29</sup> Next, Romaní went on to exploit in full the duke's genealogical links and formulated the letter's *petitio*, appealing to Fernando's generosity with false modesty:

<sup>28</sup> «Both, Juan Ángel and Francisco Decio, willingly subordinated their humanism to the direction of theology. Their humanism was less philological than that of the University of Alcalá. It was therefore less dangerous, because it did not intend to grammatically beleaguer the sanctuaries of Christian texts. Actually, no one in Valencia writes glosses or commentaries to classical texts nor produces any new editions; or if anyone did, no one published them, or were carried out by exiled Valencian humanists who saw them published outside of Spain.»

<sup>29</sup> «In exhortatoria danda est opera, ut totis viribus animum amici ad id quod agit absolvendum excitemus, erunt autem argumenta huiusmodi: a laude, spe, metu, odio, amore, miseratione, aemulatione, expectatione, exemplis et obsecratione» (Palmireno, *Dilucida conscribendis* in Garrido Gallardo).

Pues, hirviendo de tan cerca su alta sangre en las entrañas de vuestra excelencia, en esta y en las otras singulares virtudes que tuvo, le hace imitarle. No habré tenido falta de conocimiento en este caso si a vuestra serenidad, como a verdadero sucesor de aquel invictísimo Rey, enderezo mi obra, suplicándole que, más por su benignidad que por el gusto de mis versos, se digne a leella.

Therefore, since his highest blood is in Your Excellency's innermost parts, it makes you imitate him in this and other unique virtues. I may not lack perception on this occasion, if I may address my work to Your Serenity, as the real successor of that undefeated king, and supplicate you to read it out of generosity, and less so for your really admiring my verses.

This passage is the keystone of Romaní's rhetoric strategy. It projects an image of Fernando as a magnificent patron by resorting to well-calculated terms that support some of the duke's needs in the «modo cálam» exercise of his power. As mentioned above, Fernando, the Aragonese heir of Neapolitan kingdom, had to renounce to any claims over the throne of Naples after the conquest led by the Catholic King. Nonetheless, Fernando, as Romaní's words underscore («hirviendo de tan cerca su alta sangre»; «verdadero sucesor de aquel invictísimo Rey»), was naturally very conscious of his royal lineage. For one thing, the monastery of San Miguel de los Reyes was meant to become a mausoleum for his dynasty. That is where, following her last will, Germana de Foix's remains were eventually moved. Fernando also made –but never managed to fulfill– plans to move the sepulchers of his parents and siblings to the Hyeronimite monastery. In fact, the only construction Fernando began *ex novo* in San Miguel de los Reyes –which was founded over the old Cistercian monastery of Sant Bernat de Rascanya– was precisely the Kings' Chapel. This is just one example of Fernando's genealogical awareness; there are many others.<sup>30</sup>

Scholars of the Valencian viceregal court have overall agreed that in Fernando and Germana's liberally nurturing Valencia's artistic, literary, and

<sup>30</sup> The name of the new monastery was in part chosen because Fernando was the head of the order of the Knights of Saint Michael, established by his grandfather Ferdinand II (1469-96) (Cruilles 420-21, 433; Arciniega 2: 24, 108; Schwartz, «The court of Don Fernando» 200 and n. 73; and Martí Ferrando, «La biblioteca llega a Valencia» 50). Fernando's deathbed was the same in which most Kings of Naples had died (Castañeda 280; Cruilles 418-19). Germana and Fernando lived in Valencia's Royal Palace, not in the palace of the kingdom's lieutenants, although that is what they were (Querol y Roso 117). In fact, their life-appointments as viceroys were quite of an exception (Oleza, «La Valencia virreinal» 65-66). Last, in one of the farces included in Milà's *Cortesano*, the viceroy was to act as the king (López Alemany 176, 178, 182, 186).

scholarly activities, they were also fulfilling their royal ambitions.<sup>31</sup> For Fernando, in particular, the cultivation of such royal persona was decisively shaped by the image and example of his illustrious great-grandfather, as Romaní's reference to the Panormita reveals. But Romaní was not the only authors to exploit Alfonso the Magnanimous's ascendancy over Fernando. In 1552, Juan Navarro published Juan de Molina's Spanish translation of Alcuin's *Homiliario*, which was posthumously dedicated to the Duke of Calabria. In his prefatory epistle (ca. 1550; ff. 2r-3v), Molina purports to appeal the duke's interest and attention through similar discursive strategies to those employed by Romaní. Molina compares Charlemagne to King Alfonso, considers their *sapientia* and *fortitudo*, depicts the king's interest in reading the Bible, and overall invokes the duke's great-grandfather as an illustrious example whom Fernando should imitate by reading his translation.<sup>32</sup> By referring to the example of Fernando's great-grandfather, Romaní was, as much as Molina, empowering Fernando's public persona. As Fernando helped maintain his royal self by means of his patronage, both translators were, by the same token, ennobling their own enterprises by highlighting the duke's genealogical links with King Alfonso.

Now, going back to the letter, in the ensuing *confirmatio*, Romaní alleged other reasons to reaffirm his addressing the translation to Fernando. In particular, he focused on some qualities of Ausiàs March's work and on his own expertise as a translator.

Pues como ya la experiencia del mundo y mi edad me retrujesen en los bajos techos de mi casa, buscando algunos libros en que leyese, hallé entre los otros las moralidades de Osiàs Marco, caballero valenciano, en verso limosín escritas; y trabajando de entender sus dificultades, tantas vezes leyendo lo que dudaba puse la vista por sus metros que fui movido a traducillos en lengua castellana por su mismo estilo.

Since my age and worldly experience confined me at home, I looked for some book to read and found among the rest the moral writings of Ausiàs March, Valencian knight, which had been written in Limousin verse. And as I was laboring to understand their most difficult parts, and was reading many times the passages I had doubts about, I was able to take a good look at his verses, and was persuaded to translate them in their own style into the Castilian language.

<sup>31</sup> See Romeu 58; Oleza «La Valencia virreinal» 65-66; Falomir Faus 122; Schwartz 328-30; Ferrer Valls 194-96.

<sup>32</sup> Juan de Molina's relationship with the duke dates back to at least 1536, when Fernando interceded in a judicial process against Molina.

Two considerations about Romaní's stance are in order. First, Romaní deemed March's poetry a good read for someone as mature and experienced as himself, qualifying March's verses as «moralidades» 'moral writings.' Romaní's judgments are thus aimed at presenting March's poetry under a favorable light, particularly, if we consider common contemporary criticism that disapproved of romances and lyric poetry as vain and morally inappropriate readings (Gagliardi). Such censorial attitude can be read, for instance, in Juan de Molina's *nuncupatoria* epistle of his translation of Alcuin. Molina formulated the kind of critical judgment that Romaní presumably wanted to avoid for the subject of his work:

Tanto era el deseo que las gentes tenían de un semejante libro [Alcuin's *Homiliario*] que por librarse ya de amadisés, esplandianes, tristanes, lanzarotes, epístolas, sonetos, capítulos y otras burlerías llenas de vanidad –que, como Petrarca dice, hinchén las cartas de sueños– por más no poder, se han abrazado con un libro que comúnmente llaman *Epístolas y evangelios en castellano*, mezclados con ciertos sermones, buenos por cierto, santos y devotos. (*Homiliario*, f. 3r)<sup>33</sup>

So much did people long for a book like this one, that in order to get rid of the Amadisés, Tristans, Lancelots, letters, sonnets, capítulos, and other mockeries full of vanity –which, as Petrarch says, fill up the pages with dreams–, they had to embrace a book commonly known as *Epistles and Gospels in Spanish*, mixed with some sermons, truly good, saint, and pious.

Second, Romaní was also introducing his translation as a piece of the highest craft, the result of his hard labor trying to figure out March's «Limousin» and translating it «por su mismo estilo» 'in its own style.'<sup>34</sup> The precise meaning of the vague expression «mismo estilo» will be fully clarified in the following chapter.

#### «REFUTATIO» AS «CONCLUSIO»

Finally, Romaní concluded the letter with a *refutatio* that anticipated and responded to potential criticism against his translation.

Si por este trabajo alguna merced merezco, sea que Vuestra Excelencia a los sabios mande corregir mis faltas, y a los envidiosos que traduzgan las otras obras de Osías Marco que aquí faltan. Las serenísimas manos de vuestra excelencia beso.

<sup>33</sup> On Molina's recursive use of Petrarch's quotation from the *Trionfi* (*Triumphus Cupidinis* 3.79-81), see Pérez Priego 41-42.

<sup>34</sup> Romaní called March's Old Catalan language *llemosí*. As a result of the lack of political unity among the Catalan-speaking regions, this misleading term, referring to Old Catalan as much as

If I deserve any favor for my work, may it be that Your Excellency urges wise men to correct my mistakes, and those envious to translate the other works of Ausiàs March that are missing here. I kiss the most serene hands of Your Excellency.

Romaní's *refutatio* mimics a servant's request of reward for his service. This conventional rhetorical stance seems to be in slight contradiction with Romaní's previous assertions of having translated March's text *motu proprio* and having spontaneously offered it to a virtuous patron of knowledge. Regardless, Romaní requested from the duke the sole rewards of both asking wiser men to correct any mistakes that might remain in his translation and commissioning the translation of any missing poems to those who enviously notice their absence. In other words, Romaní humbly and conventionally admitted possible shortcomings in his work, and dismissed any claims of incompleteness as being motivated by envy.

This close reading of Romaní's prefatory epistle has highlighted its rhetorical structure in light of sixteenth-century letter-writing and has also unveiled the humanistic discourse underpinning and cohesively embedding the text –and Romaní's intellectual profile– in contemporary Valencian humanism. (Romaní's lost translation of Virgil might now be regarded with less skepticism.) Additionally, this reading has unveiled the implications of the patronage relationships between the duke and Romaní, with especial attention to the image Fernando constructed for himself, in a royal exercise of his power «modo cálamo,» as a reflection of his great-grandfather, King of Naples Alfonso the Magnanimous.

Moreover, in his prologue, Romaní made four subtle points regarding the work he was offering to the duke. These allusions provide some insight about Romaní's own view of the text and raise additional questions concerning the material form of the translation and Juan Navarro's edition.

First, although Juan Navarro's volume contains both an edition of the original text and a translation, Romaní's words only claims authority over the Spanish text («fui movido a *traduzillos* en lengua castellana por su mismo estilo,» 'was persuaded to translate *them* in their own style into the Castilian language'; «endereço mi obra suplicándole que, más por su benignidad que por *el gusto de mis versos*, se digne a leella,» 'I supplicate you to read it out of generosity, and less so for your really *admiring my verses*'). This, of course, does not necessarily imply that Romaní had nothing to do with the Catalan text that accom-

Old Occitan, was ubiquitous well until the nineteenth century. See Colon, «Llemosí i llengua d'oc»; Rafanell; and the conclusion to this study.

panies the translation. Strictly speaking, however, according to the prologue and to the title of the volume («Las obras...traduzidas por don Baltasar de Romaní» 'the works ... translated by Baltasar de Romaní'), Romaní's authority seems only applicable to the translation.

Second, Romaní does not claim to have translated all of March's poems, and shows awareness of the fact that March had composed more than forty-six pieces («mande ... a los embidiosos que traduzgan las otras obras de Osiás Marco que aquí faltan,» '[urge] ... those envious to translate the other works of Ausiàs March that are missing here'). It does not follow from Romaní's words, though, that he had assembled an anthology or had chosen which poems he would include and which ones he would discard. Although that may have been the case—since Romaní's acknowledgment of incompleteness allows for this possibility—his *refutatio* against those who could be envious presents Navarro's edition as an admittedly partial collection.<sup>35</sup> It certainly may have been widely perceived as such starting in 1543, when March's works started to widely circulate in a much more complete way. In fact, the Catalan text that accompanies the translation was never republished during the sixteenth century. Two questions arise. May a selection principle be ascertained in Juan Navarro's partial edition of March's works? To what extent could Romaní be held responsible for the choice?

The third and fourth points Romaní implied about his work pose additional problems. In an attempt to give a favorable image of March's verses and his own translation, he called March's works «moralidades.» Nonetheless, seeing that the title of the volume defines March as a philosopher (and a poet), one may wonder whether March could be read as a moral philosopher, or rather, whether March's poems at least foster a moral interpretation. To what extent would the texts published by Navarro do justice to such claim? And finally, Romaní stated that he had carried out a translation «por su mismo estilo.» What does «mismo estilo» mean? What were Romaní's poetics of translation? How did he elaborate his text, and what is the relationship between the original text and the translation that stems from those translation poetics? The following two chapters will attempt to answer all these questions by focusing on Romaní's poetics of translation and translation practice (Chapter 2), and on Juan Navarro's editorial practices on March's text (Chapter 3).

<sup>35</sup> As other extant witnesses show and was common for all contemporary courtly poetry, March's works did not always circulate as a complete authorial songbook. MS *A* includes March's poems along with other courtly poetry from the fifteenth century (Pagès, *Introducció* 91-94; Beltran, *Poesia, escriptura* 91-126; and Torrò, *Introducció general* 29-30). MS *H* was an original compilation of March's works (Torrò, «*El Cançoner de Saragossa*»). MS *G* is a factitious codex (Martos, «*Cuadernos y génesis*»). And MS *D* show traces of compilatory work, see below Chapter 5.



## 2. IN ITS OWN STYLE: ROMANÍ'S POETICS OF TRANSLATION AND ITS LIMITS

### POETICS OF REPLACEMENT

In Romaní's prefatory epistle, March's translator claimed that his Castilian rendering of the poems had been accomplished «por su mismo estilo»: «tantas vezes leyendo lo que dudava puse la vista por sus metros, que fui movido a traduzillos en lengua castellana por su mismo estilo.» «Su mismo estilo» refers to «metros»; those are what Romaní was prompted to translate («traduzillos») into Spanish. The seemingly vague expression «mismo estilo» becomes much more specific as soon as one notices that March's writings are referred to as metrical units, for Romaní's text is, in fact, a verse translation that attempts to replicate the stanzaic structure, the rhyme pattern, and the meter of the Catalan text.

March wrote most of his poetry in Occitan-Catalan *decasil-labs*, whose caesura falls on the fourth syllable, coincides with a stress and usually also with the end of a word (4+6). All poems included in the anthology were written in this meter. See for example the first stanza of the first poem in the edition:

Axi com cell	quen lo somnys delita	4+6
E son delit	de foll pensament ve	4+6
Ne pren a mi	quel temps passat me te	4+6
Limaginar	que altre be noy habita	4+6
Sentint venir	laguayt de ma dolor	4+6
Sabent de cert	quen sens mans he de jaure	4+6
Temps per venir	en ningun bem pot caure	4+6
So ques no res	en mi es lo millor	4+6

While Catalan metrics name meters according to the number of syllables in a verse up to the last stressed syllable, Spanish metrics count up to one syllable after the last stressed syllable in a verse. Catalan *decasil-labs* and Spanish *endecasílabos* are thus equivalent as to their total number of grammatical syllables. Romaní's «por su mismo estilo» verses experiment with an unconventional form of *endecasílabo*. Romaní's *endecasílabos*, like March's *decasil-labs* feature caesuras. But the last stressed syllable in the first half-line of Romaní's verses, unlike March's, hardly ever matches the end of a word. Romaní's caesuras normally –but not always– fall on the penultimate syllable of the last

word in the first half-line. Permitted in the Occitan tradition, this caesura is termed in Spanish metrics *cesura épica*. The issue here is that Romaní's translation combines the *cesura épica* with other half-lines not featuring it. For the sake of regularity, Romaní's verses cannot be then read, according to Spanish metrics, as nothing but actual *dodecasílabos* which, furthermore, do not keep their due stress pattern.<sup>1</sup>

Bien como aquel	quen sueños deueana	4+7 / 5+7
Y se deleyta	del vano pensamiento	5+7
Assi me tiene	el contemplar contento	5+7
Quen otro bien	mi alma no recrea:	4+7 / 5+7
Lo por venir	siempre me fue peor	4+7 / 5+7
Y se muy cierto	que de dar en sus manos	5+7
Quanto bien tengo	son pensamientos vanos	5+7
Lo que no es nada	en mi es lo mejor.	5+7

As for the stanzaic and rhyme patterns, Romaní reproduced March's eight- and ten-verse strophes and replicated March's rhyme pattern within each stanza. However, when March employed the last rhyme in a stanza again as the first rhyme of a new one (the *capcaudament* of the Occitan-Catalan tradition), Romaní did not regularly follow up. Nor did Romaní seek to reproduce all of March's rhyme-words in his translation. See, for instance, the first three stanzas of the first poem in the book:<sup>2</sup>

Axi com cell quen lo somnys delita	Bien como aquel quen sueños deueana
E son delit de foll pensament ve	Y se deleyta del vano pensamiento
Ne pren a mi quel temps passat me te	Assi me tiene el contemplar contento
Limaginar que altre be noy habita:	Quen otro bien mi alma no recrea:
Sentint venir laguayt de ma dolor	Lo por venir siempre me fue peor
Sabent de cert quen sens mans he de jaure	Y se muy cierto que de dar en sus manos
Temps per venir en ningun bem pot caure	Quanto bien tengo son pensamientos vanos
So ques no res en mi es lo millor.	Lo que no es nada en mi es lo mejor.
Al temps passat me trobe gran amor	A lo que fue tengo infinito amor
Amant no res puix tot es ja finit	Y amo la sombra pues todo es fenecido
Daquell pensar me sojorn em delit	Tiempos de mal fueron los que han sido

<sup>1</sup> See Riquer, *Traducciones* XIII-XVI, and Ramírez i Molas, *La poesia* 124-27.

<sup>2</sup> This and later comparisons between Romaní's text (*Ro*) and the original published by Juan Navarro (*a*) are predicated on the assumption that Romaní's translation (*Ro* or its manuscript anti-graph [*Ro'*]) was based on a manuscript mastercopy or antigraph of Navarro's print [*a'*]. Chapter 3 offers further details on the textual form of Navarro's texts.

Mas quant lo pert sesforsa ma dolor:  
 Si com aquell qui es jutjat a mort  
 E de llonch temps la sap e sa conorta  
 E creurel fan que li sera estorta  
 El fan morir sens vn punt de recort.

Mas en perdellos estaua lo peor:  
 Soy como aquel a muerte condenado  
 Que de gran tiempo la tiene ya tragada  
 Si le aseguran que sera reuocada  
 Quando le matan siente el morir doblado.

Plagues a deu que mon pensar for mort  
 E que passas ma vida en durment  
 Malament viu qui te son pensament  
 Per enemich fentli de mals haport:  
 Que com lo vol dalgun plaher seruir  
 Prenlin axi com dona ab son infant  
 Que si veri li demana plorant  
 Ha tant poch seny que nol sab contradir.

Pluguiesse a dios que mi pensar muriesse  
 O que mi vida se passasse durmiendo  
 Que no es biuir el que biue sintiendo  
 Dentro de si quien su despecho crece:  
 Tanto por vos mi pensamiento quise  
 Que contra mi le ydo contentando  
 Como la madre que si el niño llorando  
 Pide veneno no selo contradize.

Some of March's poems had no rhyme. In Navarro's edition, Poems 18, 45, 94, 98, 104, 105, and 106 had been originally composed in *versos estramps*.<sup>3</sup> This metrical form originally consisted of blank verses ending in a sonorous word, with long consonantal groups or a difficult or unique rhyme. In March's *estramps*, however, the rhyme had already become repetitive and codified.<sup>4</sup> Romaní also sought to translate *estramps* «por su mismo estilo,» respecting March's original stanzaic forms and verse pattern, but not necessarily maintaining the rhyme.<sup>5</sup> Freed from a rhyme discipline, Romaní's rendering of the *estramps* overtly displays another aspect of his poetics of translation. Let us examine the first stanzas of Poem 45 *vis-à-vis* their translation:

Los ignorants amor e sos exemples  
 Crehen quels fets daquell son estats faula  
 Reprenen mi per quen transport en altre  
 Prenint delit en franch arbitre perdre:  
 A llurs semblants vn gran miracle sembla  
 E majorment alguns pus forts articles  
 Descrehent mort esser de grat soferta  
 E quen dolor delit damor mescle.

Los que ignoran amor y sus exemplos  
 Creyendo cierto que sus hechos son faula  
 Tachan questoy en otri trasportado  
 Y que me plaze perder franco aluedrio:  
 Delante dellos parece vn gran milagro  
 Y mayormente otros mas rezios casos  
 Como es sufrir la muerte de buen grado  
 Y hauer pesar rebuelto con deleyte.

<sup>3</sup> March wrote a total of nine poems in *estramps*. Only *estramp*-verse poems 72 and 117 were not included in Romaní's anthology.

<sup>4</sup> For the configuration and historical evolution of the *rims estramps* within the Catalan tradition, see Pujol, «Els versos estramps»; and esp. Di Girolamo, «La versification» 50-59.

<sup>5</sup> See Riquer, *Traducciones* xv-xvi; and Ramírez i Molas, *La poesia* 126.

Foch amagat nudrit en les venes  
 Faent gran fum per via dreta y torta  
 Yra dins pau e turment molt alegre  
 Llum clar e bell ab si portant tenebres:  
 Aquests contrastos los fins amadors tenten  
 Din en vn temps amor dins ell alloja  
 E tots aquells no crehents ser possible  
 Sol de ser nats natura pren vergonya.

Fuego escondido en las venas criado  
 Haziendo humo por via derecha y tuerta  
 Haz dentro yra tormento muy alegre  
 Y clara lumbre quen si tinieblas trahe:  
 Estos contrastes los amadores sienten  
 Que dentro dellos amor los aposenta  
 Aquellos todos que dudan ser possible  
 de ser nascidos natura sauerguença.

Vehent lo cel ma natura disposta  
 Volch influir dos poders separables  
 A mi viuents ab manera diuersa  
 Cascu prenent la part a ell condigna:  
 Faent amar simplement la mi arma  
 Lo seu semblant dentit de vici munda  
 E laltra part en mi no roman solta  
 Y en son voler son decret larma posa.

El cielo viendo mi natura dispuesta  
 Menfluyo dos poderes separables  
 Que me vinieron en manera diversa  
 Y cada vno tomo de mi su parte:  
 Haziendo amar mi alma simplemente  
 Su semejança de todo vicio munda  
 La otra parte no ha quedado suelta  
 Y en su querer lalma su firma pone.

As it is apparent, Romaní carried out an *ad verbum* translation, a literal rendering of March's poems, which the blank *versos estramps* must have tremendously simplified. Although seven poems in *estramps* out of a total of forty-six compositions may seem a small figure, three out of the seven poems are among March's longest pieces (104, 105, and 106); and so approximately one third of all translated verses did not need to be accommodated to any rhyme pattern. The translator's toil in the other two thirds of the text, in which a rhyme scheme had to be maintained while making the Spanish text correspond word for word with the original, must have been far more arduous.

To sum up, Romaní's poetics of translation encompassed two major principles: metrical replication and *ad verbum* rendering of the Catalan lines into Spanish.<sup>6</sup> Romaní's poetics of translation can thus be understood as ideally aiming at some sort of formal replication. By virtue of the phonic, morphological, grammatical, and lexical similarities between Spanish and Catalan, to a certain extent those two principles hinge on each other. Replicating the formal structure of March's poetry might be at times achieved by replacing every Catalan word with its Spanish cognate. But while the similarities between the two

<sup>6</sup> Contemporary Hispanic vernacular translations from Latin or Greek would frequently quote or mention Jerome's epistle 57 to Pammachium, and briefly address the translation method assumed—whether *ad verbum* or, more frequently, *ad sensum* (Morreale, *Castiglione y Boscán* 15-21; and Russell, *Traducciones y traductores* 26-39). Even Juan Boscán mentioned the Jeronian issue in his preface to his translation of Castiglione's *Il Cortesano*.

Romance languages might have permitted this formally constricted operation, they also set the limits for its success.

Translating from Catalan into Spanish, in spite of all the linguistic affinities between both languages, implies the substitution of a linguistic system with another one. Both sign systems are and were analogical in many respects, but were and are also intrinsically different. Let us analyze, for example, the first stanza of the second poem in the anthology:

Prenmen axi como al patro que en plaja  
 Te sa gran nau e pensa hauer castell  
 Uehent lo sol esser molt clar e bell  
 Creu fermament dun ancora sats haja:  
 E sent venir soptos un temporal  
 De tempestat he temps incomportable  
 Lleua juhi que si es molt durable  
 Sercar los ports mes que aturar li val.

Como el patron quen playa sin reparo  
 Piensa su nau ser muy firme castillo  
 Y que vn cabo le bastara senzillo  
 Pues vido el cielo estar sereno y claro:  
 Si de improuiso se mueue vn temporal  
 De mar crecida y viento incomportable  
 Haze juyzio que si es muy durable  
 Buscar los puertos le sera menos mal.

While Romaní manages to keep four out of eight original rhyme words, only verse 7 and the first hemistich of verse 8 are the result of a quasi-mechanical substitution of every Catalan word by a Spanish one. Fairly long sequences replicate the original word by word in lines 1, 2, 3 and 4, but note that the two latter were switched around for the sake of rhyme-keeping. The formal structure of such literal translation could not simply and perfectly mirror the original. The above-mentioned imperfect dodecasyllabism of the Spanish verses is another of the unavoidable flaws of the replica.

Considering the high formal standards that the translator set for his labor, as well as the intrinsic formal differences between Catalan and Spanish, the Catalan text naturally resisted being literally and metrically translated into Spanish through mere replacement of every word with a cognate. Romaní's poetics of translation required a difficult balance between meter and literalness. The following section will underscore a few of the translator's strategies to further illustrate his skills in and commitment to balancing both his poetical principles in his translation.

#### TRANSLATIONAL STRATEGIES FOR BALANCE

In order for Romaní to carry out a translation that was both literal and metrical, he needed to rephrase many of March's verses, especially those not written in *versos estramps*. Throughout his text, those verses that had resisted being easily replicated into Spanish feature a variety of recursive translation strate-

gies. A first example is Romani's switching either keywords or entire hemistiches around from one half-line to the next. This procedure allows Romani to move a useful rhyme word from the first hemistich to the second (henceforth, all emphases are mine):

Si com vn rey de tres ciutats <i>senyor</i>	De tres ciudades vn rey <i>señor</i> se vido (Poem 10, v. 1)
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<i>Veles y vents</i> han mos delits complir	Los mios deleytes compliran <i>vela y vientos</i> (Poem 46, v. 1)
---	--

<i>Tement</i> fiant de tot lo venidor	Y lo que espero y fio con <i>temor</i> (Poem 46, v. 40)
---------------------------------------	--

A second resource consists in switching around the order of the verses, or, on occasion, half-lines between two verses. Although this change might not have been always inspired by the translator's need to keep the rhyme pattern (as in Poem 4 below), such seemed to have been the essential virtue of this resource:

Si be no es enell prim mouiment Enell esta de tot lo jutjament	Juez de todo ques ellentendimiento No es enel el primer mouimiento (Poem 4, vv. 34-35)
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Amor suplich quem llex daruos antendre Lo sobresalt que de vos donam ve	Un sobresalto que no quiere dexarme Suplico amor queos muestre qual me tiene (Poem 34, vv. 13-14)
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Fugint la mar hon son nodrits e fets Per son remey en terra exiran	No le hallando en tierra saltaran Huyendo ellagua donde fueron criados (Poem 46, 15-16)
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Mon pensament mostra que sentrestex Quant entre gents estich mut e pensiu	Quando estoy mudo pensando en mi cuidado Y amor me haze estar entristecido (Poem 33, vv. 33-34)
--	---

Arquer nose que tres ocells plagas Ab vn sol colp que no fos be content	No hay ballestro que no se contentasse Dauer tres aues dun golpe derribado (Poem 93, vv. 41-42)
--	---

Yo no puch dir que no senta delits Del pensament puix que perdre nol vull	No dire yo que de mi pensamiento No me deleyto pues no quiero dexallo (Poem 93, vv. 49-50)
--	--

A third strategy consists in formulating a litotes by first introducing a negative particle in a clause, and then replacing an adjective, adverb, noun, or verb with its contrary:

Sercar los ports *mes que* aturar li val.      Buscar los puertos le sera *menos* mal.  
(Poem 2, v. 8)

E par ho be puix *nous vull desonesta*      Y bien lo nuestro pues *hos desseo honesta*  
(Poem 33, v. 4)

Pijor que mort es vida *sens plaber*      Peor que muerte es vida *con pesar*  
(Poem 16, v. 33)

Contra lo cos es *enemich lo mon*      De nuestro cuerpo *no es el mundo amigo*  
(Poem 106, v. 13)

*La carn no vol fam treball* ne coltell      *La carne quiere descanso* y no consejo<sup>7</sup>  
Poem 106, v. 34

A fourth strategy seeks to simplify the original meaning of a word or verse by choosing a more comprehensive term, or by summarizing the original content. These paraphrases or simplifications allow Romaní to avoid the use of words that would not have helped him keep the intended number of syllables per verse:

E tant al mon a durat est *engan*      Tanto enel mundo ha que dura este *mal*  
(Poem 106, v. 31)

E les *dolors* que pas sens grat sen perden      Y que mis *males* singradecer se sienten  
(Poem 92, v. 126)

Necessitat fa la fi cambiar  
*Car lo malalt en sanitat la met*  
*Lo sedejant diu quen fartar la sed*  
*Lo pobre hom en bauer creu estar*  
*Lo flach eleig fort vol esser e bell*  
Necesidad haze su fin trocar  
*A cada vno y en aquello le pone*  
*Que ha necessario y tanto se dispone*  
*Quanto passiones enel tienen lugar*  
*Ellas rebueluen y truecan nuestro ser*  
(Poem 106, vv. 353-57)

Poble yo dich a rey peons e roch  
*Duch caualler juriste menestral*  
Yo llamo pueblo del rey hasta el peon  
*Y aquellos todos siguiendo en general*  
(Poem 106, vv. 449-50)

<sup>7</sup> Romaní misunderstood or misread «coltell» («knife») for «consell» («advice»), and so translated «consejo» («advice»). The recursive translation strategy appears earlier in the verse.

Romani's search for a balance between meter and literalness is a daring attempt to harmonize mutually exclusive principles. A rigorously literal translation of March's poetry would only have been possible provided that the translator had overlooked any metrical constriction. By the same token, perfectly crafted *endecasílabos* or *dodecasílabos* with caesura are unlikely to translate original poetry word for word. Romani's poetics of translation sought to achieve a perfectly metrical and literal Spanish replica of the Catalan text. While not totally successful, the former recursive translational techniques illustrate Romani's commitment to render March's text into Spanish while keeping as faithfully as possible Romani's own poetical principles and work.

In spite of these strategies for balancing literalness and meter, and despite the potentially unproblematic translation into blank verses of one third of the lines, a systematic comparison between the Spanish text and March's textual tradition yields numerous examples of the untenability of Romani's principles. The following four sections will unveil typical shortcomings in Romani's text and will exemplify in what ways the translator failed to consistently render *ad verbum* March's verses. At the same time, some poetical features that were absent from March's original verses will emerge as defining characteristics of March's poetry when read in translation.

#### FALSE COGNATES AND WRONG MEANINGS

Romani's misunderstandings of the original are the first problem of his translation. Several examples can be singled out:

D'aquell *sech* foch quels amadors sescalfen      Del *seco* fuego do los que aman arden  
(Poem 18, v. 11)

Romani's confusion is between «*sech*» –in Spanish «*seco*»– which means «dry,» and «*sech*» also spelled «*cech*» or «*cec*» –in Spanish «*ciego*»– meaning «blind.» In this context, «*sech*» could also be translated as «*mancat o escàs d'obertures*» («lacking outlets»; *DCVB*, s.v. «*cec*,» 3).<sup>8</sup> When March refers to a «*sech foch*» he is alluding to his secret hidden love, thus «lacking any outlets,» and only unintentionally displayed in public through the symptoms of his love sickness. Romani's mistake (facilitated by the homophony of both

<sup>8</sup> The spelling «*sech*» most likely triggered the mistranslation. No other variant in the tradition could explain it: *cech*, *FNABG<sup>2</sup>Kade*; *grech canviat en greu*, *D*; *greu*, *bc*.



Tots de per si han obs que fam los toque      A los dos cumple quel amor los maltrate  
 O quel desig del hu a laltre broque              O quel desseo del vno al otro mate

Romaní rephrases and vulgarizes verse 109: «Both [body and soul] need Love to [abuse?] them.» He misunderstands «broque»: verse 110 «or else one desire will kill the other one,» for «brocar» does not mean «to kill» but «to spur» (*DCVB*. s.v. «brocar»).

All these examples of erroneous translations are due to Romaní's *ad verbum* rendering of certain words that were wrongly taken as cognates or totally misunderstood. Some of the verses analyzed above even feature the aforementioned strategies for balancing meter and literalness. So these minute instances of Romaní's failure in correctly translating March stand for the first symptom of collapse of the very principles that sustain his translation.

#### VULGARIZATION, SENTIMENTALITY, AND RHETORIC

Vulgarization is one of the most common issues in Romaní's text. In order to keep the metrical structure, Romaní elaborates passages very vaguely based on motives from March's verses, simplifying or debasing their original meaning.<sup>10</sup> That is precisely what Romaní accomplishes in verses 21-24 of Poem 18. In the original quatrain, March boasts of his moral qualities as a lover and asserts his skill in detaching virtuous desires from those that are not so:

Car yo tot sol desampare la mescla  
 De llegs desigs que ab los bons sembolquen  
 Castich nom cal puix que aquests nom tentem  
 La causa llur en mi es feta nulle.

Romaní, on the other hand, omits any reference to the mixed nature of Love, and only emphasizes the virtuous desires inhabiting the lover's soul:

Solo desseo los limpios desseos  
 Estan enesto conformes mis sentidos  
 Y dentro en mi esta quien los possehe  
 Dondella esta no cabe cosa fea.

<sup>10</sup> See the just mentioned translation of verse 109 in Poem 87. Ramírez i Molas also commented on another case of vulgarization to illustrate the reliability issues of Romaní's text (*La poesia* 124-25).

Another case: in Poem 2's fifth stanza (vv. 33-40), March describes love's effects on his suffering body. Described as symptoms of a sickness, love's effects prevent the lover from sleeping, thereby exhausting him and making him lose weight. In the first two lines of the second quatrain (vv. 37-38), March asserts how insomnia makes him thinner, while at the same time refines his wits for contemplating love. Then in verses 39-40 March ponders that a fat, rested body would not be fit to surmount the harsh slope of love labors:

Lo poch dormir magreça al cos ma costa  
 Doblam languir<sup>11</sup> per contemplar amor  
 Lo cos molt gras troban se dormidor  
 No pot dar pas en aquesta aspra costa.

(Poem 2, vv. 37-40)

Romani's translation does not reproduce March's opposition between his meager and restless but fit body, and someone else's larger and rested one, but unready to endure love's harshness. Romani's translation is in fact a commentary on the original text, and freely elaborates and dramatizes («contrarios terribles») on the opposition of thin / fat body, as a paradoxical effect of Love on the lover's body.

Estos effectos son de causa tan alta  
 Que han hecho amigos dos contrarios terribles  
 Al parecer no son cosas posibles  
 Amor las haze y en mi no tienen falta.

The translation seems to wrongly identify verse 38's half stanza with the *topos* of the contrary effects of Love, as in verses 11-16 of Poem 45:<sup>12</sup>

Ira dins pau e turment molt alegre,  
 llum clar e bell amb si portant tenebres.  
 Aquests contrasts los fins amadors senten  
 dins en un temps Amor dins ells alloga,  
 e tots aquells no creents ser possible,  
 sol d'esser nats natura pren vergonya.

<sup>11</sup> The rest of the tradition reads «l'enginy» («brains, intelligence, wittiness»). It is quite safe to assume a paleographical mistake in Romani's edition, but very difficult to decide the moment of occurrence, whether in Romani's own manuscript copy of March's text or in the process of composing the text in Juan Navarro's printing shop: lengyn *F*, langiny *N*, lenginy *ADEG<sub>2</sub>KLbcde*, lengen *B*.

<sup>12</sup> For *cancionero* formulations of this *topos* see Chas Aguión, «El amor ha tales mañas» 26 and 30; for French formulations and influence on fifteenth-century Catalan authors, see Marfany 273-80.

Romaní's vulgarizations of March's verses often recast original themes along the lines of conventional topics. In several instances, March's references to death are translated –regardless of their original sense– as if the poetic voice anticipated his end, resulting from a long-lasting distress. In Poem 13, March considers that his sorrows are as deep as the pain suffered by the souls of those condemned to hell (vv. 1-24). In the first half of the fourth stanza (vv. 25-28), March asserts that, while he is not afraid of dying, death would not make him content, since once he were out of this world he would not see his beloved anymore:

E si la mort nom dugues tal ofensa  
 Fer mi absent duna tan plaent vista  
 No li agraxech que de terra no vista  
 Lo meu cos nuu qui de pahor no pensa:

Romaní's text, on the other hand, only presents a commonplace about a lover's painful dying of love:

No temo yo la muerte por quereros  
 Antes querría que cerrasse mis ojos  
 Porque conellos no os diese mas enojos  
 Sino me fuesse tan gran descanso veros:

In another fragment, from Poem 46 (vv. 41-44), March ponders the intensity of his love, and deems his pain may only be surpassed by the pain of those who died of love. In Romaní's translation, March's poetic voice just claims to be the «més extrem amador» among both the dead and the living, but his utmost condition will be clearer when he dies.

Yo so aquell pus estrem amador	Yo soy aquel mas extremo amador
Après de qui la vida deus li tol	De quantos bien y quantos son sin vida
Puix yo so viu mon cor no mostra dol	Biyo y muerto mi pena es conocida
Tant com la mort per extrema dolor:	Mas quando muera se mostrara mejor:

While Romaní's translation of vv. 43-44 is only vaguely related to March's lines, the idea conveyed by Romaní, namely, that death will reveal the true condition of the lover, does appear at the end of the following original stanza, which Romaní renders in literal translation:

Lladonchs les gens nols calra donar fe	Y muerto yo no cumplira dar fe
Al que amor fora mi obrara	A lo que amor fuera de mi obrara

Lo seu poder en actes mostrara  
E los meus dits ab los fets prouare.

Que su poder en autos mostrara  
Y lo que digo con obras prouare.

(Poem 46, vv. 53-56)

The very first poem of the anthology features the same casuistry of near-death love suffering as a measure for the intensity and quality of the lover's feelings. The first three stanzas (vv. 1-24) develop a reflection of the poetic voice, in which March explains how his present suffering is caused by his foolish thinking about better past times. Those thoughts bring little pleasure or consolation to the poetic voice, but as soon as March's mind races back to the present, he realizes that the past is gone, and his memories double his ongoing suffering. In the first half of the fourth stanza (vv. 25-28), March declares that he should better simply endure the pain caused by the absence of his beloved. In the second half he describes his condition with a simile:

Fora millor ma dolor soferir  
Que no mesclar poca part de plaher  
Entre aquells mals quem giten de saber  
Com de plaher passat me conue exir:  
Llanc<sup>13</sup> mon delit dolor se conuerteix  
Dobles lafany apres dun poch repos  
Si col malalt que per vn plahent mos  
Tot son menjar en dolor se nodreix.

(vv. 25-32)

Romaní, however, transforms March's sick man into a dying sick man who not only suffers, but also passes away owing to his fatal indulging in cravings that worsen his condition:

Fuera mejor esforçarme a sufrir  
Que con gran mal pequeño bien juntar  
Dobla el trabajo el poco reposar  
*Y el dilatar la pena del morir:*  
Poca speranza junte con mi desseo  
*Morire del como el doliente muere*  
Por un contrario que su apetito quiere  
Hermoso al gusto y ala salud muy feo.

When Romaní vulgarizes March's poetic discourse, he often imbues the poetic voice with somber and fatalistic tones regarding the extreme conse-

<sup>13</sup> «Llanc» is a mistake only in *a*, the rest of the tradition rightly reads «Llas.»

quences of the lover's suffering. Romaní's vulgarized variations of March's poetic voice also emphasize his love experience as being hopelessly unrequited:

Sens lo desig de cosa desonesta  
 Don ve dolor a tot enamorat  
*Uisch dolorit desijant ser amat*

Sin el desseo de cosa desonesta  
 De donde viene al amador desgrado  
*Amo y no espero ser algun tiempo amado*  
 (Poem 33, vv. 1-3)

Romaní follows March's text word for word in verses 1-2, but fails to do so in verse 3. Both half stanzas start: «Lacking any dishonorable wish, / which would bring pain («displeasure», in Romaní's text) to any lover.» Then March introduces the main clause in his sentence: «I live in pain, wishing my love was requited,» which becomes much more dramatic in Romaní's version: «I am in love and do not hope it might ever be requited.»

Poem 2 also features two vulgarized variations in the third stanza, which emphasize the lover's unrequited feelings:

Menys que lo peix es enlo bosch trobat  
 E los lleons en laygua an llur so jorn  
 La mia amor per null temps pendra torn  
*Sols conexent que de mius doneu grat:*

Como no crian los peces enla sierra  
 Ni el leon dentro enla mar descansa  
 Menos hara amor en mi mudança  
*aunque desgrado me haga siempre guerra:*  
 (Poem 2, vv. 17-20)

March's first three lines were literally translated: «Sooner will fish be found in the woods [«mountain woods» in Romaní] / or a lion rest under the sea / than my love ever change, / if I ever got to know that I please you.» But this last verse became in Romaní: «although displeasure may always be assailing me.» This change leaves no room for hope in the lover's thoughts and, at the same time, carries to an extreme the intensity of his feelings. Similarly, an extreme hopeless situation comes up in the last verse of the second half of the stanza:

E fiu de vos quem sabreu be conexer  
 E conegud nom sera mal grayda  
 Tota dolor hauent per vos sentida  
*Lladonchs veureu les flames damor creixer.*

Mucho confio que sabreys conocerme  
 Y es imposible que siendo conocido  
 Loque yo sufro no sea agradecido  
*Mas en tal grado no pienso jamas verme.*  
 (vv. 21-24)

All these reductions of March's poetry to commonplaces related to unrequited and fatal love erode and disfigure the singularities of March's original discourse on love. The accentuation of the poetic voice's distress brings March's concepts closer to other contemporary literary texts that prominently

feature an erotic pathos, such as the *ficción sentimental* or the *poesía de cancionero*. This not to suggest that Romaní's vulgarized rewritings of March's poetry were directly inspired by other contemporary lyric works, for no particular composition or specific genre could be proposed as a source.<sup>14</sup> What is at stake here is the realization that Romaní's non-literal renderings blurred specificities of March's discourse, enhancing its *pathos* along discursive lines that were widespread in other contemporary literary works.

Actually, a number of passages from Romaní's translation adopt or underscore rhetorical configurations that are missing from the original and can be plausibly linked to *cancionero* poetry. The *annominatio*, for one, is a rhetorical device consisting in the usage of a lexical root under a variety of phonic changes, within a short range of verses. *Annominatio* encompasses figures based on morphological variation of either word endings (*poliptoton*) or word stems (*etymological figure*), and also the derivation of a given root (*derivatio*).<sup>15</sup> These figures, which are among the most distinctive rhetoric patterns of the highly codified *cancionero* poetry, also appear in Romaní's text. The translator either further developed March's own word repetitions, or simply introduced *annominatii* on his own accord. Of note is the pervasive use of same-root words within on single stanza:

Plagues a deu que mon pensar for mort  
E que passas ma *vida* en durment  
Malament *viu* qui te son pensament  
Per enemich fentli de mals ha port:

Pluguiess a dios que mi pensar muriesse  
O que mi *vida* se passasse durmiendo  
*Que no es biuir el que biue sintiendo*  
Dentro de si quien su despecho crece:

(Poem 1, vv. 17-20)

De fet fuy a sa merce vingut  
Lenteniment per son conseller pres  
E mon voler per algutzir lo mes  
Dant fe cascu que may sera rebut:

Y por mejor prender mi libertad  
*Este señor que por mi señor quiero*  
Lentendimiento tomo por consejero  
Por secutor puso mi voluntad:

(Poem 10, vv. 33-36)

Si passions damor dins vos jutjassen  
Fosseu del seny quantseuol consellada  
La voluntat de dona enamorada  
*Nos troba frens que aquella refrenassen.*

Mas si passiones damor hos sojuzgassen  
Aunque del seso fuessedes consejada  
La voluntat *quen vos es refrenada*  
*No hauria frenos que aquella refrenassen.*

(Poem 87, vv. 45-48)

<sup>14</sup> Note, for instance, that so closely intertwined were the love discourses from *ficción sentimental* and *cancionero* poetry that *cancionero* poems appear often embedded in prose works. See Deyrmond, «Lyrical Traditions and Non-Lyrical Genres» and Haywood, «Lyric and Other Verse Insertions» and «Romance and Sentimental Romance as *cancionero*.»

<sup>15</sup> See Casas Rigall's comprehensive study on *cancionero* rhetoric; for the *annominatio*, 219-33.

Aquell dictat als que nous hauran *vista*  
 Res no valdra car fe noy donaran  
 E los grossers que dins vos no *veturan*  
 En creure mi llur arma sera trista.

Aquellos todos que *ver* nos merecieron  
 Lo que dire por fe no creheran  
 Ni los grosseros que hos *vieron* no *veran*.  
 Vuestro valer pues dentro en vos no *vieron*».  
 (Poem 23, vv. 6-8)

Donchs com sera que yo fuja de mi  
 Culpa nous tinch si so forsats damar.

Este me *fuerça* quanto su *fuerça* crece  
 Culpa nos tengo *forçado* fuy de amar.  
 (Poem 34, vv. 23-24)

De perdre pus que lo ymaginar  
 Los meus deïsgs no poderse complir  
 E sin coue mon darrer jorn finir  
 Seran donats termens a ben amar.

Mas porque pierdo *muriendo* el contemplar  
 Y aquel desseo que no espero cumplir  
 Huyo la *muerte* y querria *morir*  
 Por ver si *muerto* hos podre contentar.  
 (Poem 13, vv. 29-32)

These examples of *annominatii* in the translation showcase non-literal renderings of March's works. As with the pathetic vulgarizations discussed above, this is not to say that Romaní had concrete *cancionero* models from which he was borrowing to elaborate his variations on March's verses. Just as with his reductions of March's verses into sentimental commonplaces, these instances of *cancionero* rhetoric bear witness to the translator's cultural and literary models and may well reflect the literary taste of his potential readership. Romaní's own closing poem, dedicated to March, was composed in *arte mayor* (f. 119r).

Textual forms and poetical discourses assimilated by the translator shape his text when he departs from literalness. Romaní therefore rendered March's original words according to rhetorical, discursive, and cultural models of the fifteenth-century Castilian courtly tradition, that were nevertheless widespread in the sixteenth century and fundamental until the seventeenth.<sup>16</sup> The first edition of the *Cancionero general* was published in Valencia in 1511. Even the Duke of Calabria had composed *cancionero* poetry during his imprisonment in Xàtiva, as Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo, who was at his service, remembers.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>16</sup> For the diversity of Spanish sixteenth-century poetical tendencies, see Bleuca's «Corrientes poéticas.» On the survival of generic *cancionero* forms in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century poetry, see Lapesa «Los géneros líricos.» On the material dissemination of *cancionero* poetry throughout sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Spain, see Labrador and DiFranco, «Continuidad de la poesía.» For the presence of Catalan poetry in the *Cancionero general*, see Riquer, *Història de la literatura*, vol. 3; and Ferrando Francés.

<sup>17</sup> See López Ríos, «La educació» 140. Fernández de Oviedo records a *cancionero* poem composed by the duke: «Los que no pueden hablar / lloran sin dezir su pena, / y es la mía más que

## MARCHIAN PASTICHES

The previous commentaries on Poems 2 and 46 showed how Romaní freely elaborated his translation according to Marchian expressions that were not in the fragments that were being translated. In fact, several of Romaní's departures from literalness follow closely March's phraseology and at times echo idiosyncratic features that appear in other poems. Three specific cases will be examined.

In Poem 4, March stages an allegorical *disputatio* between *Enteniment* (Reason) and Body. Each part represents the two opposing desires that have assailed the poetic voice. Reason wins the argument. The poetic voice implies a resolution of his inner conflict, as the purity of his desire for his beloved becomes apparent. In March's vv. 49-50, Reason names instances of its superiority, which Romaní translated literally («If any supreme good can remain in this world, / it is thanks to me that men can enjoy it»).

Si be complit lo mon pot retenir	Si bien cumplido puede el mundo tener
Per mi es lom en tan soberan be	Por mi es el hombre en bien tan soberano
E qui sense mi sperança rete	<i>Yo soy aquel</i> allalma tan cercano
Es foll o pech o terrible grosser:	Que despues della tengo mayor poder:

(Poem 4, vv. 49-52)

Next (in vv. 51-52), Reason asserts its role in men's chances to reach any supreme good: «and may whoever hopes reaching such good without me / be crazy, foul, or terribly stupid.» Romaní, however, chooses to reassert Reason's role and power by providing a vaguely physiological explanation: «I am the one who is so close to the soul / that after her, I have the greatest power.» Romaní's physiological choice is not foreign to March's own preferences.<sup>18</sup> However, it is Romaní's «Yo soy aquel» which introduces one of March's most characteristic phrases: «yo son aquell de qui·s deu hom complanyer» (Poem 11, v. 35); «Yo son aquell pus estrem amador» (Poem 46, v. 41); «yo so aquell qui·n puch fer lo report» (Poem 54, v. 28); «Yo son aquell qui·m fora desexit» (Poem 55, v. 37); «Yo son aquell qui del carçre l'an tret» (Poem 59, v. 29); «Yo son aquell qui·n lo temps de tempesta» (Poem 68, v. 17); etc.<sup>19</sup>

suen a / y déuese de callar. / Basta que por qujen yo peno / conoçe lo que yo siento, / y así lo tengo por bueno / y que lo calle mj seno: / sé con esto la contento» (*Batallas y Quinquagenas* 140).

<sup>18</sup> Regarding March's physiological knowledge, derived from Aristotle's *De anima*, see Cabré, «Aristotle for the Layman.»

<sup>19</sup> Pere Torroella, a Marchist poet from a previous generation (ca. 1420-ca. 1492), wrote in Catalan and Spanish. Two of his Spanish poems also resonate March's «yo son aquell.» See his

A second case can be found in verses 201-04 from Poem 102, which belong to the first stanza of a series of three (vv. 201-24) all starting with the vocative «O amadors.» Each stanza introduces a series of advice featuring March's poetic voice as a master in the art of love that admonishes others against the passing, changing, and unreliable nature of love.

O amadors rebeu asso en lo si	O amadores quel mal teneys por bien
Los que jouent vol que sia cubert	<i>Oyd oyd</i> y hazed que se hos acuerde
Delit damor en lome tot se pert	Todo deleyte damor ellombre pierde
Si vol saber com ama ne aqui:	Si saber quiere como ama ni a quien:

(Poem 102, vv. 201-04)

In the two verses of this quatrain, Romaní employed the verse- and hemistich-switching strategy studied above. He switched the first hemistich of verse 201 («rebeu asso en lo si») with the second hemistich of the following verse (v. 202, «hazed que se os acuerde,» «you need to remember this»), and vulgarized the content of verse 202 in the second hemistich of v. 201: «those who want to remedy their candor» becomes «those who take bad for good.» This vulgarization is perhaps due to the obscurity of March's grammar, for the subject of verse 202 («Los que») does not agree with the verb («vol»). On the other hand, the Marchian pastiche is found in the first hemistich of verse 202: «Oyd oyd» («Listen, listen!»). These two words perfectly constitute the required first four syllables. They replicate the famous first hemistich from the incipit of March's Poem 19: «Hohiu, hoiu, tots los qui bé amats», which was not translated by Romaní –but was, for example, imitated by Juan Boscán in his poem: «Oíd, oíd, los hombres y las gentes» («Listen, listen, you people and everyone»).

A third example appears in the first two verses of the following quatrain where Romaní's variations do not radically alter the original wording or meaning:

La gran dolor ha ma forsa aflaquida	<i>Tanto el pensar</i> mi fuerça ha enflaquecido
<i>Tant que</i> pietat so forsat de mi pendre <sup>20</sup>	<i>Que</i> soy forçado de mi ser piadoso
E quant en cor fembrill me veig descendre	Coraçon flaco me hallo y temeroso
Uull mesforsar e ma forsa es perida:	Quiero esforçalle mi esfuerço es ya perdido:

(Poem 88, vv. 9-12)

poem «Aquel deseo que vence» (ID1888, version from ME1-7; vv. 55-58): «Que yo foi aquel por quien / en vos fola detiene / vno que aver fe conuiene / con amor por mayor bien.» See also «Si no benigna e cruel» (ID1880, version from ME1-11; vv. 49-50): «Yo foy aquel amador / humil coftante y secreto.» For Pere Torroella, see Rodríguez Risquete's edition of Torroella's works, and «Del cercle literari,» «Pere Torroella,» «El mestratge,» and *Vida y obra de Pere Torroella*.

<sup>20</sup> This «Tant que pietat» is a *lectio singularis* from *a*, the rest of the tradition reads «Que pietat.»

Changes, however, resurface in one of the most typical Marchian phrase structure: «Tant... / que...» («*Tant* en Amor l'esperit meu contempla, / *que* par del tot fora del cors s'aparte», Poem 18, vv. 5-6; «*Tant* en Amor ma pens·a consentit / *que* sens aquell en als no puch entendre» Poem 21, vv. 1-2; «*e tant* pot ser envers nos mal usant / *qu·* en mal voler giram nostra sciença.» Poem 40, vv. 23-24; «*Tant* es lo be qui m'es davant possat / *que* sens dolor visch aquell esperant,» Poem 54, vv. 9-10; «*Tant* son en ell les virtuts manifestes / *qu·* es d'ira cech l'om qui be no les veja,» Poem 72, vv. 13-14, etc.).<sup>21</sup>

The last two verses of the former quatrain also reflect another detail regarding the translator's work on the original text. Once the first two verses were rephrased, the conjunction «E,» 'and', at the beginning of verse 11, was not employed to structure syntactically the half stanza. Then, both verses 11 and 12 became sententiously end-stopping, another common feature of March's syntax and versification.

A final example comes from Poem 26, where Romaní rephrases the original syntax by underscoring March's original simile:

Menys que la lley christianas presenta	<i>Como</i> entre alarbes nos nuestra fe honrada
Als barbereschs no la volen oyr	Ni es porellos oyda ni creyda
Uey la virtut en nullesment venir	<i>Ansi</i> es virtud del mundo aborrecida
Pegesa la ab vici dada empenta: <sup>22</sup>	Uicios y necios la tienen desterrada:

(vv. 9-12)

March's subtle comparison is therefore rebuilt through a reinforced simile structure, which is, once again, characteristic of March's discourse: «Axí m'es nou aquest mal sentiment, / com si amat yo per null temps agues» (Poem 102,

<sup>21</sup> Another example of Romaní's reliance on the productivity of the Marchian structure «Tant... / que...» is found in the very first poem of the volume:

Plagues a deu que mon pensar for mort	Pluguiesse a dios que mi pensar muriesse
E que passas ma vida en durment	O que mi vida se passasse durmiendo
Malament viu qui te son pensament	Que no es biuir el que biue sintiendo
Per enemich fentli de mals ha port:	Dentro de si quien su despecho crece:
Que com lo vol dalgun plaher seruir	<i>Tanto</i> por vos mi pensamiento quise
Premlin axi com dona ab son infant	<i>Que</i> contra mi le ydo contentando
Que si veri li demana plorant	Como la madre que si el niño llorando
Ha tant poch seny que nol sab contradir.	Pide veneno no selo contradize.

(Poem 1, vv. 17-24)

<sup>22</sup> Verse 10 reads «barbereschs no» in *a*, but all other textual witnesses read «africans ne.» At the same time, verse 12 reads «Pegesa la / ab vici dada empenta» in *a*, whereas *FNBHKG<sup>2</sup>bcd*e read, with different spellings, «Lom vicios el pech lan dat.»

vv. 44-45); «Si com los rius a la mar tots acorren, / axi les fins totes en Tu se n'entren» (Poem 105, vv. 133-34); «Sí com dolor contra delit esta, / axí fa-n l'om contrari-accio» (Poem 106, vv. 257-58); «sí com lo mal hom d'ànima es buy, / axi lo bo, lo cors nosa no-l fa» (Poem 107, vv. 75-76), etc.

Although much emphasis has been put on illustrating Romaní's failures to keep faith with his own translation principles, these last examples are instances of what could be deemed a half-success –or only a half-failure. While Romaní resorts to some of March's recurrent or idiosyncratic structures, he does not manage to reproduce March's own words, meter, and sense. At least, Romaní succeeds in arranging his text with March's own materials. By impersonating the Marchian voice, these echoes do not convey the original sense, but they do fulfill the metrical demands of the translation.

#### TRANSLATING «AD SENSUM»

Occasionally Romaní does provide *ad-sensum* translations of some passages.<sup>23</sup> As with the pastiches, these instances of *ad-sensum* renderings of March's text cannot be simply judged in terms of success or failure. While failing to keep to his own general translation principles, translations *ad sensum* both properly convey the meaning of March's verses and maintain their metrical form. The reasons for Romaní's radical procedural changes are at times quite self-explanatory. One of these cases can be seen in the final sententious couplets in March's ten-verse stanzas.

These ending couplets enjoy a degree of syntactical and semantic independence within the stanza. Being cohesive and quite autonomous, these pairs of verses need to be fully rephrased whenever the usual replacement methods cannot be applied. Rephrasing can lead to vulgarized free variation, such as the one commented above (Poem 92, vv. 229-30), or yield excellent non-literal renderings of March's text. In Poem 87, for example, after devoting eight verses (vv. 61-68) to explaining how body and soul need to end their dispute and agree so that the lover should «atènyer delit» («reach pleasure»), March concludes the stanza asserting that:

Larma per si contentament no tasta  
Si fa lo cos mas poch e tost se gasta

Lalma por si no ha contentamiento  
El cuerpo si mas passa como viento

(vv. 69-70)

<sup>23</sup> In spite of choosing to translate either *ad litteram* or *ad sensum*, contemporary Latin translators would very frequently alternate between both (Russell, *Traducciones y traductores* 38-45).

The value of Romani's rendering of the couplet derives from his use of the phraseological and sententious expression «pasar como el viento,» which translates correctly the sense of March's original couplet.<sup>24</sup>

In the same poem, only a couple of stanzas later, March considers the lover's need for a third «voler» («desire») in addition to those of body and soul, and recommends that love must be like a cord made of three different threads. One thread represents bodily desire, another the soul's own longing. March concludes the stanza in dealing with the third one, which he describes but does not identify:

Aquest te ferm y als altres fa que tinguen <sup>25</sup>	De tres quereres quando falta el honesto
Eser nols fa mas te quen bax no vingén	Los dos no duran antes quiebran de presto <sup>26</sup>

(vv. 99-100)

On most other occasions, though, the context is not that of a couplet but the usual half stanza. The fourth stanza of Poem 2 (vv. 25-32) features Romani's entire reworking of its second half. In the first four verses, March apologizes to his beloved for not having clearly displayed his «vera amor» («true love») for her.

Si mon voler hedad mal ha pareixer	Si lo que os quiero os mostre mal y tarde
Creu de sert que ha vera amor nom lluny	No es ya menos poresto mi querer
Puix que lo sol es calt al mes de Juny	Mas enla cumbre esta mi merescer
Hart mon cor flach sens algun grat mereixer:	Comosta el sol al tiempo que mas arde:

(Poem 2, vv. 25-28)

Romani cannot avoid simplifications and free variations in rendering March's first quatrain. Instead of claiming a certain quality for his love («You must believe that I am not far from real love,» v. 26), Romani's poetic voice offers a maximum of intensity («My feeling for you is not any less intense»). Additionally, the translator fails to include March's remark that he does not receive

<sup>24</sup> See for instance, a gloss from poem «Al dolor de mi cuidado» by Juan Fernández de Heredia included in Juan del Encina's *Cancionero de las Obras*: «Que fi tu tienes buen tiento / por mas que feas tentado / dexaras mal penfamiento / que fe paffe como viento» (Salamanca, 1496; 96-JE77; ID4474 G 1961; v. 51-55). See also the *dezir* by Gonçalo Martínez de Medina included in the *Cancionero de Baena* (ca. 1435) «Oyd la mi boz todos los potentes»: «pues todo pafo afoy commo viento / & queda la muerte & el perdimiento» (PN1-338; ID1464; vv. 31-32).

<sup>25</sup> te EG<sup>2</sup>a : es FNABDKbde. «Te» seems a worse reading most likely caused by attraction of the rhyme word «tinguen.» Either way, the sense of the verse is evident.

<sup>26</sup> The obvious mechanical mistake «turan» has been corrected.

any reward for his most fervid desires («hotter than the sun in June / is the way my weak heart burns without receiving any reward in exchange,» vv. 27-28). Rather, Romani's poetic voice vulgarizes March's mention of the sun and freely re-elaborates it as a correlative of his merits («my merits are rather on the summit / just like the sun, when its heat is at its most intense»).

In the second quatrain, Romani's results are more skillful, after his rephrasing all four verses. He starts v. 29 with the original contents of v. 32, revealing who is to blame in the event that the poet's beloved did not notice his feelings:

Altre sens mi daço mereix la culpa	Culpa es damor que por mi daño quiso
Uullauli mal com tal humil seruent	Cubrir mi mal y mostrar su defecto
Uos te secret per son defalliment	Gran seruidor hos tuuo muy secreto
Est es amor que mi amant enculpa. <sup>27</sup>	Queredle mal que gran traycion hos hizo.

(vv. 29-32)

Once again: metrical issues are the main cause for such rephrasing, as is apparent in the following brilliantly solved example from Poem 105. The first hemistiches correspond, word for word, to the original, whereas the second halves of both verses, which contain the rhyming words, are rephrased:

Si Job lo just por de deu lo premia	Si el justo Job a dios temia tanto
Que fare yo que dins les colpes nade.	Que hare yo enla mar de mis culpas.

(vv. 65-66)

Up to this point, Romani's translation «por su mismo estilo» has appeared as a verse rendering of March's poetry, with the goal to replicate *ad verbum* March's original words and meter. The operation has relied on formal similarities between Catalan and Spanish as linguistic systems; it has also resorted to an abundance of blank *versos estramps* in the poems translated. However, the high formal standards of Romani's poetics have repeatedly proved untenable. In consequence, the translator has had to design systematic strategies in order to balance literalness with meter. In spite of those strategies, Romani's text has failed time and again to convey March's verses literally; it has either rephrased the original by employing typically Marchian structures, or translated March's verses *ad sensum*.

Moreover, Romani's verses often formulate variations based on lexical elements from the original. While succeeding in keeping the meter, these frag-

<sup>27</sup> One only manuscript contains a variant, negligible for the general meaning of the verse: Cert F : Cest ADELG<sup>2</sup>[2a]Kbcde, Ell B, çï est G<sup>2</sup>[1a].

ments vulgarize March's love discourse and emphasize the *pathos* of the poetic voice by presenting the lover's suffering as unrequited and deadly—a commonplace in contemporary Spanish erotic literature. Romaní's text features rhetorical figures belonging to contemporary *cancionero* poetry as well. Therefore, Romaní's translation sometimes renders March's text in contemporary textual and discursive forms, thus mediating between March's original works and Romaní's contemporary readership.

Notions of «faithfulness» or «unfaithfulness» reveal the idiosyncrasy of Romaní's text *vis-à-vis* March's textual tradition and provide a starting point to profile the distinctiveness of March's text as embodied in and circulating through this particular printed edition. Assessing Romaní's practice of his poetics refines our perception of his translation devices and focuses attention on Romaní's translation practice as a textual product in itself, which features contemporary rhetorical and poetical trends.

This chapter has argued how flaws in Romaní's translation standards engendered a poetical discourse that is no longer March's, but Romaní's own. As such, this discourse has occasionally revolved around Romaní's knowledge of March's poetry, but has also emerged from a literary culture based on *cancionero* poetry and *ficción sentimental*.<sup>28</sup> The next chapter will focus on other aspects of Romaní's poetic codes that were formulated as if belonging to March, but that were actually introducing other discourses that are Romaní's alone.

<sup>28</sup> The *cancionero* poetry attributed to the Comendador Escrivá (cf. Ravasini 38-96) would easily befit this poetic culture. One might also find two echoes, both from March's Poem 1, in Comendador Escrivá's «Quejas al Dios de Amor,» which appeared in the 1514 and later reeditions of the *Cancionero general*. The first one is: «Con tal dolor como suelen los condenados a morir antes de su fin **tragar** la cruda muerte, me partí del Amor» (Escrivá 148). This lines might recall March's Poem 1, vv. 13-16: «si com aquell qui es jutgat a mort / he de lonch temps la sab e s'aconorta, / e creure-l fan que li sera estorta / e-l fan morir sens un punt de recort»; particularly, in Romaní's own formulation: «Soy como aquel a muerte condenado / Que de gran tiempo la tiene ya **tragada** / Si le aseguran que sera reuocada / Quando le matan siente el morir doblado.» The other passage is: «Abiertos los ojos de la fantasía, cerrava los de fuera por provar si dormiría y, al tiempo que más reposado el corazón para descansar estava, despertava mi memoria un nuevo dolor de mis passados dolores» (Escrivá 133). These lines may again be reminiscent of March's Poem 1, especially: «Axi com cell qui 'n lo somni-s delita / e son delit de foll pensament ve, / ne pren a mi, que-l temps passat me te / l'imaginar, qu'altre be no y habita, / sentint estar en aguayt ma dolor, / sabent de cert qu'en ses mans he de jaure. / Temps de venir en negun be-m pot caure; / aquell passat en mi es lo millor. // Del temps present no-m trobe amador, / mas del passat, qu'es no-res e finit; / d'aquest pensar me sojorn e-m delit, / mas quan lo pert, s'esforça ma dolor, / ... // Plagues a Deu que mon pensar fos mort, / e que passas ma vida en durment! / Malament viu qui te lo pensament / per enamich, fent li d'enuyts report;» (vv. 1-12, 17-20).

In his prefatory epistle to the Duke of Calabria, Romaní had deemed March's poetry a book for the mature reader and had described March's poems –and by implication his own– as «moralidades.» This word connotes a judgment and a minimalist interpretation of the essential matter of March's verses. Romaní formulated his remark at a moment when he had completed his translation and was offering it to the duke. Romaní deemed March's poetry to be «moral writing»: his own translation is in accordance with that term, as it is apparent in his choice of March's poems to be translate, in the textual constitution of those poems, and in the specific words Romaní employed to translate March's poetry, especially on several occasions when he left aside his *ad verbum* poetics. Chapter 3 will address Romaní's «moralidades» by examining the relationship between Romaní's text and March's textual tradition.

### 3. NAVARRO'S TEXTS, MARCH'S IMMORAL DISCOURSE, AND THE PATHS TO PETRARCHISM

In the first critical edition of March's works, Amadeu Pagès studied the Catalan text (*a*) that accompanies Romaní's translation (*Ro*) and detected that some of the poems lacked a number of stanzas concerning «religious issues» («assumptes religiosos»; Introducció 55-60). Pagès linked those missing stanzas to a number of verses originally containing, as the rest of March's tradition shows, words like «Déu» 'God,' or «paradís» 'paradise,' which Romaní would have «modified» in his translation. Pagès's conclusion was that Romaní had edited his translation to avoid problems with the Inquisition. However, while Pagès examined *a* alongside other extant witnesses of March's poetry, he did not take *Ro* thoroughly into account, nor did he offer any examples of those «modified» verses. Only recent scholarship has partially exemplified Pagès's observations on the religious allusions suppressed from Romaní's anthology.<sup>1</sup>

Such editorial interventions could have a plausible contextual significance. Contemporary moralist authors considered lyric poetry to be a vain if not dangerous kind of literature. Numerous reprints of Hernando del Castillo's *Cancionero general* (1511) underwent purges, some occurring before the enforcement of inquisitorial book censorship. In fact, many extant copies of the *Cancionero general* appear expurgated and customized by individual readers.<sup>2</sup> Spiritual *contrafacta* «a lo divino» of the most popular secular poets were in circulation. Censorship, performed by translators themselves, had not been rare before the Inquisition, and was not uncommon even among humanist translators from the fifteenth century onwards.<sup>3</sup> It would not be surprising that Romaní had also censorially edited his translation and/or March's work.

<sup>1</sup> See Martí de Riquer, *Traducciones* xviii; Ramírez i Molas, *La poesia* 126-29; Escartí, Introducció 38-39; Mahiques, «D'Ausiàs March a Baltasar de Romaní»; López Casas, «La recepció: Romaní» 88. Escartí reminded that the Inquisition had condemned Erasmianism as close to Romaní's endeavors as 1537.

<sup>2</sup> On contemporary moralistic censorship against entertainment literature, including lyric poetry and chivalry romances, see Gagliardi. On «a lo divino» versions of lyric poetry, see Wardropper. On censorship and the *Cancionero general* see Whetnall; Mahiques «Expurgos al *Cancionero General*»; and González Cuenca 79-82. See Ramos for a detailed case-study of the expurgations the *Cancionero general* underwent in 1624, in the hands of the Portuguese Inquisition.

<sup>3</sup> As Morrás notes, humanist translators of Latin and Greek works worked under completely different assumptions, occasionally acknowledging their censorial actions, and marking the suppressed or edited passages; see also Russell, *Traducciones y traductores* 51-54.

However, the fact is that Navarro's texts (both *Ro* and *a*) did not exclude any of March's references to God.<sup>4</sup> On occasion, *Ro* does not feature the literal translation of «Déu» (a monosyllable), which would be «Dios» (another monosyllable). Instead, Romani employed synonyms like «cielo» 'heaven' (a bisyllable), whose Catalan equivalent «cel» had been used by March himself in other passages.<sup>5</sup> Even when «Déu» is not literally translated, it still remains in the Marchian text. All missing literal renderings of this word are justifiable because of the metrical constraints that affected Romani's literal renderings, as pointed out in the previous chapter.<sup>6</sup> Likewise, of the three occurrences of «paradís,» two are uncontroversial as regards to Christian doctrine, and one involves the same synonymic change brought upon by Romani's metrical choice.<sup>7</sup>

What, then, is behind those missing stanzas noted by Pagès? While the operations involved in the manipulation of the text during the actual printing process may have been responsible for the typesetters unwillingly skipping verses or perforce deleting lines due to space constraints, the content of those verses remains indisputably religious.<sup>8</sup> Could their absence from the edition be a sign of censorship anyway? In order to argue for any censorial interventions on Romani's part, Romani's translation (*Ro*) and the original text printed by Navarro (*a*) need to be examined within March's extant textual tradition. One way to postulate an editing process based on ideological grounds may be by identifying a number of Romani's literal renderings of March's text that show deviations from March's textual tradition, and arguing that those deviations were introduced in order to avoid expressions, concepts, and images that the Catholic Church would have considered inconvenient on doctrinal grounds. That will be one of the principal aims of this chapter. Devoted to the textual study of Navarro's texts, this chapter will look into the sources and relations of *Ro* and *a* among themselves and with the rest of the extant textual tradition of March's works. Given that previous students of March's textuality have aroused

<sup>4</sup> See Poem 16, v. 1; Poem 23, vv. 24, 26; Poem 26, vv. 35, 37, 54, 56; Poem 34, v. 33; Poem 46, v. 22; Poem 46, vv. 37, 42, 52; Poem 57, vv. 32, 38; Poem 102, vv. 26, 161; Poem 100, vv. 72, 120, etc.

<sup>5</sup> See, for instance, Poem 13, v. 33; Poem 15, v. 43; and Poem 77, v. 1.

<sup>6</sup> See Poem 13, v. 33; Poem 26, v. 37; Poem 36, v. 33; and Poem 98, v. 19.

<sup>7</sup> See Poem 98, vv. 5-8; and Poem 105, vv. 122, 188. In Poem 105, vv. 187-88, both *Ro* and *a* feature a synonym: «lo dalla» («the other world»). This substitution—as in other cases examined later on in this chapter—was a later edition of *a* inspired by Romani's translation. *Ro* cogently rephrased both verses, opposing «aquí» and «allà,» whereas *a* only changed the first hemistich of v. 188; *Ro*: «Por quellos sienten aquello que aqui dexo / Y lo de alla por sola fe lo juzgo;» *a*: «Car yo llex so que mos sentiments senten / E lo dalla per fe y raho jutge.»

<sup>8</sup> See Chapter 5, «Setting by forms» for examples of missing stanzas due to the printing process in March's complete works published by Carles Amorós in 1543 (*b*).

suspicious of a possible ideologically biased editorial intervention in Navarro's edition, variation in the *loci critici* will be handled without the prejudice that only or mainly scribal or printer errors could have been the agents of change.

Most of the ensuing discussion arises from an extensive collation of both *a* and *Ro* with the existing direct witnesses of March's works. Thanks to Romaní's *ad verbum* poetics of translation, a collation that encompasses an indirect witness such as *Ro* has been for once particularly productive. Escartí's facsimile copy of Navarro's edition and the critical apparatus included in Archer's edition of March's works have been the sources of this work. With the goal in mind of drawing conclusions for both texts, *Ro* and *a*, in their entirety, the choice of collated poems is grounded on material criteria. Spreading the collation through most material units of the book's physical structure may reduce distortions in the results of the collation caused by mishaps in the printing process that may have affected limited parts of the volume –whether forms or quires.

Navarro's edition contains portions of text belonging to 46 poems –the number between parentheses stands for the actual number of verses printed from each poem:

[Cantica de amor] 1 (40 vv.), 2 (40 vv.), 4 (56 vv.), 9 (40 vv.), 10 (40 vv.), 13 (40 vv.), 14 (32 vv.), 87 (340 vv.), 18 (40 vv.), 46 (56 vv.), 71 (40 vv.), 8 (40 vv.), 23 (40 vv.), 98 (72 vv.), 91 (72 vv.), 45 (96 vv.), 66 (40 vv.), 85 (64 vv.), 89 (56 vv.), 77 (24 vv.), 5 (32 vv.), 22 (32 vv.), 15 (48 vv.), 61 (40 vv.), 34 (40 vv.), 33 (32 vv.), 16 (40 vv.), 17 (56 vv.) [Cantica moral] 106 (448 vv.), 102 (224 vv.), 26 (56 vv.), 100 (216 vv.) [Cantica de muerte] 92 (250 vv.), 94 (128 vv.), 93 (96 vv.), 90 (56 vv.), 88 (72 vv.), 57 (32 vv.), 96 (40 vv.), 95 (72 vv.), 97 (56 vv.), 114 (48 vv.) [Cantica spiritual] 105 (160 vv.), 104 (272 vv.), 105 (32 vv.), 115 (10 vv.), 113 (10 vv.)

Of those 46 poems, 32 have been examined; that is a 70% of the printed pieces:

[Cantica de amor] 1, 2, 4, 9, 10, 13, 14, 18, 46, 8, 23, 45, 89, 5, 22, 15, 34, 33, 16, 17  
[Cantica moral] 102, 26, 100 [Cantica de muerte] 93, 90, 88, 57, 96, 95, 97, 114 [Cantica spiritual] 105

Out of a total of 3,876 verses, 1,974 were collated –that is, 51 percent of Navarro's actual text. Regarding the physical distribution of this amount of text, the 32 collated poems are located through 13 of the edition's 15 quires (a, b, c, d, e, f, g, h, i, k, m, n, o); that is to say, in 87 percent of all quires.<sup>9</sup> Within

<sup>9</sup> Navarro's folio edition is made of 15 quires, each one containing 4 *bifolia* (a<sup>8</sup> b<sup>8</sup> c<sup>8</sup> d<sup>8</sup> e<sup>8</sup> f<sup>8</sup> g<sup>8</sup> h<sup>8</sup> i<sup>8</sup> k<sup>8</sup> l<sup>8</sup> m<sup>8</sup> n<sup>8</sup> o<sup>8</sup> p<sup>8</sup>). See Appendix 2 for the position of the poems within the quires.

those 13 quires, collated poems occupy 77 of the 120 forms (64 percent) set in Navarro's printing shop. That is a 64 percent of the hand-printing units of this folio edition.<sup>10</sup>

a: 8/8	e: 3/8	i: 8/8	n: 8/8
b: 4/8	f: 8/8	k: 8/8	o: 8/8
c: 6/8	g: 1/8	l: 0/8	p: 0/8
d: 5/8	h: 3/8	m: 8/8	

In sum, this collation of 51 percent of verses, that makes up 70 percent of poems, through 87 percent of quires, and in 64 percent of set forms, seeks to be sufficiently representative of *Ro*'s and *a*'s textual nature as a whole.

This collation considers *Ro* and *a* to be individual witnesses of March's works. But the textual analysis is predicated upon two premises. First, that a single poem may have been the primary unit of textual circulation of March's works. Second, that a loose sheet or a quire may have been the primary material base for the circulation of March's verses. Although some manuscripts transmitting March's works reproduce various series of poems in a similar order –hinting at a genealogical relationship of common ascendancy among them– at least three manuscripts show that those two premises pertain to March's tradition.<sup>11</sup>

Manuscript *G* is a factitious codex: it includes groups of quires copied at different stages and only later gathered in their present form. Section *G*<sup>3</sup> in this codex contains only Poem 112, and consists of one single quire (i) that had been copied in the fifteenth century. Manuscript *O* also includes just one composition by March among the works of Joan Roís de Corella: Poem 126, a *resposta* to a poetical *demandà* by Bernat Fenollar. Finally, the codicological structure of *H* shows evidence of a very early compiling work.<sup>12</sup> The following analysis

<sup>10</sup> See Richardson, *Printing, Writers, and Readers* 3-24; and Moll for updated accounts of the hand-printing technique. For an illustration of the folio printing-form, see Gaskell 88.

<sup>11</sup> See Di Girolamo «Il 'canzoniere'» 49-51. On the written circulation of the poetry of the troubadours, see Gröber; and Avalle, *I manoscritti*. Gröber deployed the thesis that authorial *Liederblätter* were in the origin of the written circulation of the troubadours' poetry. This thesis was later proved for the poetry of Guiraut Riquier –see Bertolucci; and Bossy. For a general survey and characterization of the making of Spanish and Catalan songbooks, see Beltran's «The Typology of *Cancioneros*: Compiling the Materials» and «Copisti e canzonieri: I canzonieri di corte.» See also Beltran's «Tipología y génesis de los cancioneros: Los cancioneros de autor» for examples of alleged authorial Hispanic songbooks and «Del pliego de poesía (manuscrito) al pliego poético (impreso)» for the case of a manuscript «pliego suelto» that ended up printed as such.

<sup>12</sup> On *G*, see Martos, «Cuadernos y génesis del cancionero *O*'»; «La duplicació de poemes en el cançoner *G*»; «La gènesis del cançoner *G*.» On *O* see Martos, «El còdex de Cambridge» and «Fechas para la datación.» On *H* see Torró «El *Cançoner de Saragossa*.» Pagès believed that these

focuses on individual poems, but draws conclusions that may apply to *Ro* and *a* as a whole. The full collation, which is the basis of this chapter, is included in Appendix 5. Hereafter, only the most relevant *loci critici* will be addressed.

### TEXTUAL AGREEMENT

To date, *Ro* has received almost no critical attention as an indirect textual witness of March's poetry. There might be no single reason for this neglect. For one thing, most textual studies on March's poetry have had the ultimate purpose of contributing to edit March's complete works. A late, indirect, and incomplete witness would not have seemed the most immediately valuable source to reach an authorized text.<sup>13</sup> An unstated assumption on the genealogical relationship between *Ro* and *a* may have not helped either. If *Ro* has not entered any previous textual study on March's works, it might be because it was believed that since *Ro* and *a* were printed together, and *Ro* was set on the pages as the translation of *a*, *Ro* must have derived from *a*. In philological terms, it appears to have been assumed that Romaní employed a manuscript antigraph of text *a* (henceforth [*a*']) to carry out his manuscript translation of March's poetry (hereafter [*Ro*']). If one maintains that [*Ro*'] genetically stems from [*a*'], then *Ro* must descend from *a*, and so both lost manuscript witnesses, and both extant printed ones, must carry essentially the same readings, and so are to be considered *descripti* for editorial purposes.

On closer scrutiny, one may support this assumption with three observations on Navarro's edition. First, there is a nearly complete correspondence between original and translated verses, as four of *a*'s idiosyncrasies concerning verse order and strophic constitution apply to *Ro* as well: one, all poems

similarities in the order of the poems proved that all witnesses descended from the poet's own authorial songbook, which March would have mentioned in his last will. Archer's critical edition implies a similar scheme of transmission under a neo-Lachmannian approach, replacing «authorial songbook» with «common archetype» (Introducció 34-35). Recently, Beltran has given further support to the thesis of an authorial songbook by means of a codicological study of MS *A*, and a comparison of *A* with early Marchian manuscripts and authorial songbooks (*Poesia, escriptura*). Riquer, on the contrary, proposed that March's poems need to be read according to the *senyal*-defined cycles in which they were originally composed. A series of recent contributions have been favoring the thesis of a non-authorial ordering of the poems in the MSS, and an original composition in cycles, see Cabré and Torrò, «Perché alcun ordine»; Torrò, «El Cançoner de Saragossa»; Cabré and Torrò «L'origen del senyal 'Plena de seny'» and «Dona Teresa d'Híxar.» For a critical introduction to both theories concerning the order of the poems, see Cabré, «Ausiàs March.»

<sup>13</sup> See Pagès, Introducció 145-46; Archer, Introducció 20; but also Ramírez i Molas, *La poesia* 130-33.

lack *tornades* –this is a crucial issue that will be further commented on below. Two, *Ro* and *a* only include Poem 115's first stanza (vv. 1-10) and Poem 113's last stanza (vv. 241-50), which were printed continuously, as a single piece (f. 118r). Three, Poem 105 is divided into two different parts, which were printed as two different poems: vv. 1-160 (ff. 104r-08v) and vv. 169-92 (ff. 117v-18r).<sup>14</sup> And four, full stanzas are missing from other poems, besides 105, 113, and 115: Poem 5 (vv. 9-16), 14 (vv. 33-40), 18 (vv. 25-40), 22 (vv. 1-8), 33 (vv. 9-16), 71 (vv. 17-24, 33-48, 65-108), 102 (vv. 105-12), 104 (vv. 49-64), and 106 (vv. 409-32, 473-88).

At first sight, there is only one flaw in this congruous equivalence of missing and fragmentary verses from both *Ro* and *a*: while *a*'s Poem 57 lacks vv. 17-24, *Ro* lacks the second half of 57's second stanza (vv. 13-16) and the first half of the third stanza (vv. 17-20). The textual discrepancy between *Ro*'s and *a*'s Poem 57 may perhaps be appreciated more visually in Appendix 4, but, to rephrase, while *a* lacks the third stanza of the composition as transmitted in other codices, the translation of vv. 9-12 and 21-24 appears printed as the translation of Poem 57's second stanza (f. 96v). Consequently, *Ro* carries the translation of four verses that are missing from *a* (vv. 13-16), and *a* has four verses (21-24) that *Ro* did not translate. This entails a first objection to the assumption that *Ro*, *a*, and their manuscript antigraphs carried identical readings. This apparently minor lack of correspondence may be even more revealing. As I tackle the explanation of this discordance, I will argue that [*Ro*'] and [*a*'] were probably split in different codices before *Ro* and *a* appeared united in Navarro's edition.

This small flaw in the correspondence between *Ro* and *a* can be illuminated by envisioning the process of material production of both texts as they appear in Navarro's edition. In terms of *mise en page*, both texts *Ro* and *a* feature a second stanza. From a material point of view, groups of eight verses have always been set one beneath the other. The lack of correspondence is only apparent when one compares the meanings of both stanzas and their sources. The textual mismatch thus entails a lack of attention to the meanings of the two texts. It is very unlikely that the translator would have committed such an error. Romani was devoted to achieve a perfect equivalence between his text and March's. Rather, it appears that this mistake was mechanical. For such mechanical error to occur, though, certain conditions would have to be met, such as that March's verses needed to be matched with their translation. If the error were mechanical and involved the matching of both texts, only a prior separa-

<sup>14</sup> In consequence, Navarro's edition lacks Poem 105's vv. 193-224, which were included in other witnesses, *BDEbcde*.

tion of original and translation could justify the need to accord them. If both texts matched in a manuscript written by Romaní himself this mistake would not have occurred. Only in the event that March's text and Romaní's translation required re-matching would [*Ro*']s second stanza—which is made of two halves of stanza—have been paired with the wrong full stanza.<sup>15</sup> One juncture at which this mistake could have occurred would be when a clean printer's copy of both texts was produced for Navarro to use in his shop.<sup>16</sup>

Romaní's prefatory epistle also hints that his translation and March's text had most likely been set apart. As pointed out in the first chapter, Romaní only claimed authority over a translation («mis versos»), nothing more. The Duke of Calabria was being dedicated a translation, not an extensive gloss to understand the original text. The Catalan text could well have been an afterthought, an addition to the translation after the publisher considered March's potential readership and the language in which both Spanish and Catalan poets had been and were reading him.<sup>17</sup> Antigraph [*Ro*'] would have been copied alongside [*a*'], in the manuscript that Navarro would have employed in his printing shop. At this point, each original stanza would have been matched to its alleged translation, and the patched-up constitution of *Ro*'s second stanza would have been overlooked.

### MORAL CONCERNS

The second point conveying *Ro*'s dependence upon *a* is disseminated through more than 200 critical places gathered in Appendix 5, section 1. Of note are more than 100 belonging to subsection 1.1, where *Ro* and *a* read together, often against the rest of March's textual tradition, but at times alongside other witnesses. Subsection 1.2 includes more concurrent readings that may be less conclusive by themselves, but remain nonetheless meaningful in light of those included in 1.1. Additionally, 1.2 encompasses *a*'s single readings on verses where *Ro*'s text did not feature a literal translation and so *Ro*'s collation was unfeasible.

<sup>15</sup> Verses 17-24, which correspond to a full stanza and are included in the poem in the rest of the textual tradition, are both missing both from *Ro* and *a*.

<sup>16</sup> It would not be typical, but it would not be unimaginable either, that Navarro's compositors had been handling two codices in their shop, matching March's text and Romaní's translation as they were setting the forms.

<sup>17</sup> On the editorial function of the Catalan text included in the edition, see López Casas, «La recepció» 83.

The sizable number of verses in which *Ro* and *a* read against the rest of the tradition singularizes Navarro's texts, and particularly *a*, as eccentric witnesses. Several of those idiosyncrasies apparently convey, or can be convincingly explained, by editorial interventions on moral and religious matters originally present in March's verses. In fact, as Pagès stated but failed to exemplify, an ideological profile emerges from those eccentric readings, and may indeed be linked to the stanzas dealing with religious issues that are missing from Navarro's edition. Some relevant examples are in order.<sup>18</sup>

Per que d'Amor yo mal ja no diria,  
qu'en ell no es de ben fer lo poder,  
car fermetat de dona y es mester,  
e si la ves, per Deu l'adoraria.

(Poem 8, vv. 37-40).

That's why I would not criticize Love, / for he is powerless to do well, / since constancy on the woman's part is required / and if she had it, I would adore him as a god.

v. 40: Gran **miraglo** seria, *Ro*; per **miracle** ho tendria, *a* || per **deu** la doraria, *FNB*  
*DEG<sup>2</sup>G<sup>+</sup>HKbcde*

In this passage, March's poetic voice attacks women and complains about their alleged inconstancy and changeability. In verse 40, March hyperbolically asserts that if he ever found constancy in any woman, he would adore Love as a god. Here March is implying that Love would have accomplished something impossible, and should be regarded as almighty. This assertion may well have been considered disrespectful in religious terms and, if literally understood, idolatrous as well. Both *Ro* and *a*, still in a hyperbolic mode but more tactfully, deem that feminine constancy is «a miracle.»<sup>19</sup>

In the following example, both *Ro*'s and *a*'s readings distort the original comparison between the ignorance of natural philosophers of God's knowledge revealed to his martyrs, and the ignorance of alleged wise men concerning the secrets of love revealed to the poetic voice (vv. 49-52):

<sup>18</sup> See also the following passages, which will not be discussed in detail: Poem 33, vv. 39-40; Poem 88, v. 7; Poem 95, v. 31; Poem 100, vv. 46, 67, 193; and Poem 114, v. 81.

<sup>19</sup> In this stanza the word *Deu* was not a problem in itself, since March's verses were not invoking the Christian god. The issue here was the potentially idolatrous statement that was being implied by considering love a god.

Als naturals no par que fer se pusquen  
 molts dels secrets que la deytat s'estoja,  
 que revellats son stats a molts martres,  
 no tan suptils com los ignorants y aptes.  
 Axi primors Amor a mi revella,  
 tals que-ls sabents no basten a comprendre,  
 e quant ho dic, de mos dits me desmenten,  
 dant aparer que folles coses parle.

(Poem 18, vv. 49-56).

Natural philosophers do not deem possible / many of the secrets God keeps / and  
 reveals to many of his martyrs, / who are not as subtle as the ignorant-but-capable. /  
 Thus Love reveals niceties to me / that the wise men cannot get to understand / and  
 when I say so, they deny it, / pretending I am talking foolishness.

v. 50: que la **deytat** sestoia, *FNABDEG<sup>2</sup>Kbcde* || que **amor** no reuela, *a*; **damor** ques-  
 tan sabidos, *Ro*

In both texts *Ro* and *a* God's martyrs become love martyrs, and the secret knowl-  
 edge revealed by God becomes «love secrets». <sup>20</sup> Tellingly, Poem 18 is one of the  
 Navarro compositions lacking stanzas (4 and 5, vv. 25-40). In those missing stan-  
 zas, the poetic voice describes its purely spiritual love experience by comparing  
 it to the divine illumination bestowed upon the saints, and to Saint Paul's spiri-  
 tual rapture.

Si com los sants, sentints la lum divina,  
 la lum del mon conegueren per ficta,  
 e menyspreants la gloria mundana,  
 puys major part de gloria sentien,  
 tot enaxi tinch en menyspreu e fastig  
 aquells desigs qui, complits, Amor minva,  
 prenint aquells que de l'esperit mouen,  
 qui no 's lassat, ans tot jorn muntiplica.

<sup>20</sup> See also the full stanza of text *a*. Once the comparison has disappeared, the content of both  
 halves of the stanza becomes redundant: «Als naturals no par que fer se puxquen / Molts dels  
 secrets que amor no reuela / Sino aquells que son estats son martres / No tan subtils com los igno-  
 rants abtes: / Ami sols donchs a mostrat sos miracles / Tals quels sabents no basten a comprendre /  
 E quant ho dich de mos dits me desmenten / Dant a parer que folles coses parle.» Romaní, on the  
 other hand, elaborated a second half stanza vaguely inspired in the original's theme of the poetic  
 voice's secret or exclusive love knowledge: «Naturalmente no parescen posibles / Muchos secre-  
 tos damor questan sabidos / Y otros quesconde que no son reelados / Sino adaque que martir  
 escogido: / De poco seso seria descubrillos / Y de muy menos quien de mi los creyese / Secretos  
 son que no dexan creherse / Sino por fe o por mi que los passo.»

Si com sant Pau Deu li sostrague l'arma  
 del cors perque ves divinals misteris,  
 car es lo cors de l'esperit lo carçre  
 e tant com viu ab ell es en tenebres,  
 axi Amor l'esperit meu arrapa  
 e no y acull la maculada pensa,  
 e per ço sent lo delit qui no-s canssa,  
 si que ma carn la ver'amor no-m torba.

(Poem 18, vv. 25-40).

Just like the saints who, after experiencing an illumination from God, / judged that the light of this world was fictitious, / and disdained any mundane glory / because they were already experiencing a higher glory. / Thus I despise and loath / those amorous desires that, once accomplished, dwindle. / I'd rather take those that move my soul, / that do not become weary, but multiply everyday. // Just as God retrieved Saint Paul's soul / from his body, so that he contemplated the divine misteries / (for the body is the prison of the spirit, / and as long as they live together, the soul is in darkness). / Thus Love seizes my spirit / and does not shelter my blemished mind, / and that's why my spirit feels a tireless desire, / and my flesh does not disturb true love.

*Ro*'s and *a*'s single readings in verse 50 are fundamental to sketch the ideological slant of the editorial process that modified the moral and religious content of some of March's verses.

In the following fragment, March's poetic voice claims to be the only one to blame for his foolish unrequited love. He should not seek forgiveness from anyone but himself:

Del pare sant no-m cal haver perdo,  
 car mon peccat es amar follament;  
 deman l'a mi, c'ab mon consentiment  
 he fet d'Amor cativa ma raho.

(Poem 22, vv. 25-28).

I do not need to be forgiven by the Pope, / for my sin is to love like a fool; / I ask forgiveness to myself, because it has been with my consent / that Love has captured my soul.

v. 25: **Damor** nom cal hauer iames, *a*; No complira **damor** hauer perdon, *Ro* | |  
 Del **pare sant** nom cal hauer perdo, *FNBDEG<sup>2</sup>Kbc*; Del pare sant no cal hauer, *de*

*Ro* and *a* suppress any reference to the Pope. Their poetic voice claims that there is no need for him to ask Love for forgiveness. The rest of the textual tradition allowed for a literal and possibly irreverent reading of the Pope's

spiritual authority. As in Poem 18, *Ro*'s and *a*'s peculiar readings crucially fall on a composition that lacks one stanza. In it, the poetic voice judges his suffering for love to be alike the pains of those condemned to hell:

Callen aquells que d'Amor han parlat,  
 e dels passats deliu tots lurs escrits,  
 e'n mi pensant meteu los en oblits.  
 En mon esguart degu's enamorat,  
 car pas desig sens esperanç'aver  
 Tal passio james home sostench;  
 per als dampnats nostre Deu la retench;  
 sol per aquells qui moren sens esper.

(Poem 22, vv. 1-8)

Those who used to talk about love cannot say a word now, / and you shall delete all their writings: / if you think of me, you must forget them. / I don't see anyone in love, / for I suffer from desire and lack any hope. / No man ever bore such passion; / God had kept it for the damned, / only for those who die hopelessly.

In vv. 25-27 from Poem 57, March's poetic voice claims that whoever despises this worldly life is already resting and enjoying the eternal afterlife. All pain goes away, just as if one had died, and had already cleared one's debts with death.

Del viure lonch ja sent lo gran repos  
 qui d'aquest curt lo viure avorreix;  
 e la dolor de la mort se parteix  
 com lo qui mor compte de mort ha clos.

Whoever detests this short life / is already enjoying his long rest / and the pain of death abandons him / like that who has cleared his debts with death.

v. 26: carcre, *a*; carcel, *Ro* || curt, *FNBDEG'HKbcde*

*Ro*'s and *a*'s readings undo March's hyperbaton through a word that falls right within the tradition of penitential meditations on death: the bodily prison, or the prison of the secular world (e.g., *Psalms* 142.7). *Ro*'s reading of verse 25 also exploits those same lexic connotations by embracing the traditional metaphor of life as a path: «Ya se reposa de la larga jornada.» (cf. *Psalms* 142.3).<sup>21</sup> In spite

<sup>21</sup> Note how verse 25's first hemistich becomes feminine; *Ro*: «Ya se reposa dela larga jornada / Quien de la vida su carcel aborrece / Y dela muerte el gran dolor descrece / Tener conella la

of the lack of correspondence between some original and translated verses, Poem 57's verses 17-20 are missing from both *R0* and *a*:

Jesus en creu fon pus fort e potent  
 que no aquells qui-ll feren mort pasar,  
 car son voler no-l feren cambiar  
 ne fon complit lur dampnat pensament.

When Jesus was set on the cross, he was stronger and more powerful / than those who killed him / because they were not able to change his will, / nor were their damned thoughts accomplished.

This half-stanza refers to an episode of Jesus's life narrated in all gospels except John's (Matthew 27.39-44, Mark 15.29-32, Luke 23.35-35). Once Jesus had been crucified, some of the audience contemplating his agony mocked and challenged him to save himself and thereby prove he was the Messiah. The reasons for omitting the reference to this episode cohere with the ideological profile displayed in the singular readings and other missing stanzas analyzed so far. On this occasion, the example of Jesus might have consciously been left out from Poem 57 –a meditation on good dying–, as perhaps the redemptive sacrifice of God's son and the suicide of a pagan politician would have appeared irreverently at the same level, as examples of free will. Note how March's verses put the stress on Jesus's determination to die («car son voler no-l feren cambiar»). That is exactly the case of Cato the Younger, who is mentioned in the first stanza of the poem:

Por de pijor a molts fa pendre mort  
 per esquivar mal esdevenidor;  
 si be la mort ressembla cas pijor,  
 cell qui la pren la te per bona sort,  
 e de aço Cato mostra cami  
 e li mes nom hus de la libertat,  
 car de tot als pot hom esser forçat  
 sino 'n morir, qu'es en lo franch juhi.

(Poem 57, vv. 1-8)

Fear of worse times has lead many to choose death / in order to avoid any forthcoming ill fate. / While death looks like the worst possibility, / whoever chooses it regards it as

cuenta rematada.» *a*: «Del viure llonch ja sent gran repos / Qui d'aquest carcre lo viure auorreix / E la dolor dela mort se parteix / Com lo qui mor compte de mor a clos.»

good fortune. / Cato showed the way / and named it «use of freedom,» / for one may be forced to do anything else, / but not to kill oneself—that only depends on our free will.

So far, these examples have revealed editorial activity concerned with toning down those of March's verses that, when taken literally, could appear disrespectful of Catholic beliefs, practices, and institutions. Two additional examples provide further details about the editor's ideological profile.

Pren me n'axi com grosser erbolari  
 qui prop la mar les erbes del bosch cerqua,  
 e com lo clerch fahent de festes cerqua  
 en lo *Troya*, llexant lo *Breviari*.

(Poem 100, vv. 57-60).

With me it is like with a vulgar herborist / who looks for forest herbs by the seaside; / and like the cleric who looks for festivities to celebrate / in the *Historia Troiana*, not in the *Breviary*.

v. 60: lo troya, *FBDEG<sup>1</sup>HKbcde*; la trona, *A | |* lo alcora, *a*; lalcoran, *Ro*

March introduces two examples of foolishness: a herborist looking for the herbs he needs in the wrong place, and a cleric who consults the *Historia Troiana* instead of the *Breviary* to learn what rites and festivities he needs to celebrate. Both *Ro* and *a* replace the reference to courtly entertainment literature with a reference to the Quran. These replacements are conditioned by the original content, clearly related to a moral or religious issue. On this occasion, however, the editorial intervention does not tone down a potentially irreverent passage, but instead sharpens the Catholic edge of March's verse.

Finally, in the following fragment, March censures the behavior of the «riques gents,» those rich lords who badly suffer when imagining that someone could steal their belongings. Those lords, March wrote, are actually enslaved by their wealth:

A les honors grans penssamens seguexen;  
 a riques gens servex la roberia:  
 dolor de mort han que llur be tolt sia;  
 senyors en nom e com esclaus servexen.

(Poem 100, vv. 101-04)

Honor brings heavy thoughts; / little does robbery serve the rich: / they are afraid, and feel deadly pains for it, that someone may steal their goods; / they are masters in name only, but they serve as slaves.

v. 101: Ales honors **mals** pensaments segueixen, *a*; **Malos** desseos y robos honra siguen, *Ro* || **vans**, *ABDEHKbcde*; **grans**, *FG'*

v. 102: riques, *FABDEG'HKbcde* || poques, *a*; pocas, *Ro*

*Ro*'s and *a*'s readings expand March's moral criticism to reach out to a wider social spectrum. The readings in Navarro's texts include and differentiate between, on the one hand, the robbers, whose crimes will be of no use to themselves, and, on the other, the rich, who are enslaved by greed. Along the same lines of moral criticism against the powerful, Poem 104 lacks two entire stanzas where March disapproves of princes and their counselors for not enforcing the law against their powerful peers. In addition –and this could have been another reason for leaving the first stanza out– Poem 104 deplores the ineffectiveness of God's justice on earth.

Segurs de Deu son de lurs crims los homens  
 en aquest mon, puy castich no se-n mostra,  
 e ja los reys los potents no castiguen  
 perque-ls han ops y en part alguna-ls dupten.  
 Si com lo lop la ovella devora,  
 e lo gran tor, segur d'ell, peix les erbes,  
 axi los reys los pobres executen  
 e no aquells havents en les mans ungles.

No roman sol la colpa en los princeps,  
 mas en aquells qui en mal fer los insten;  
 ells ja son mals, y en mal fer los enclinen  
 per lur profit o per causa d'enveja.  
 De nos mateixs pren lo mal causa prima,  
 qui-ns fem senyors, ab lo poder del princep,  
 en contr'aquells qui-ns son pars e 'guals frares,  
 per fer nos grans d'onor e de riqueses.»

(Poem 104, vv. 49-64)

Men's crimes are safe from God's punishments / in this world; since no punishment is apparent to us; / kings do not punish the powerful / because they need them and, in a way, are afraid of them. / Just like the wolf devours the sheep, / and the big bull self-confidently pastures the grass, / thus kings execute the poor / –and not those with sharp nails on their hands. // The blame lies not only with the princes, / but also with those who incite them to wrong-doing; / they are evil but are also induced to do evil, / for their own benefit or for envy's sake. / The first cause for evil-doing is within ourselves, / for we become lords thanks to the princely power, / against those who are our peers and brothers, / so that we can increase our honor and wealth.

## BESIDES MORALITY

The issues at stake up to this point in the aforementioned single readings of Navarro's texts relate to the few stanzas missing from the edition. Single readings and missing stanzas have so far reflected a consistent ideological profile and revealed an editorial policy that must have affected the constitution of both *Ro* and *a*. That does not seem true, however, for most of the other of readings that separate *Ro* and *a* from the rest of the textual tradition. See the following selection:

Poem 5, v. 8: No ve d'amor, *a*; de parte de desamor venir, *Ro* || Nos ueramor, *FNA DG'KLbcde*; no es amor, *E*

Poem 8, v. 33: **si** he contramor hablado, *Ro*; **si** damor he mal dit, *a* || **com** damor he mal dit *FNBDEG'G'HKbcde*

Poem 13, v. 1: Bus**quen** las gentes/las **muy** solenes fiestas, *Ro*; ab **mol**talegres festes, *a* || ab alegria festes *FNBDEG'Kbcde*; ab alagria festes, *A*

Poem 22, v. 21: **Mas** vos no veu, *a*; **Mas** desamor os tiene tan cegada, *Ro* || Vos no ueheu, *FNBDKbcde*; E no vehets, *E*; E no veheu, *G*<sup>2</sup>

Poem 23, v. 7: grossers, *a*; grosseros, *Ro* || vehents, *FNABDEG'Kbcde*

Poem 23, v. 24: Verge no **fos**, *a*;<sup>22</sup> (23) Virgan no **fue**, *Ro* || **sou**, *FNABDG'Kbcde*; sots, *E*

Poem 26, v. 8: E **conegut** tampoch no se, *a*; Y entre los malos **desconoscida** va, *Ro* || sa valor en lo mon nol, *FNBDEG'HKbcde*

Poem 46, v. 8: Que tots **em semps**, *a*; (6) Todos **conformes** se juntaran en vno, *Ro* || e que tots **cinch**, *FNABDEG'HKbcde*

Poem 57, v. 30: peticio, *a*; peticion, *Ro* || opinio, *FNBDEG'HKbcde*

Poem 95, v. 46: besar, *FNABDEKbcde* || abras, *G*<sup>2</sup>*a*; abraços, *Ro*

Poem 95, v. 48: sostenir, *FNABDEKbcde* || soferir, *G*<sup>2</sup>*a*; sufrir, *Ro*

Poem 100, v. 78: E desi ella lanima no contenten, *ABDKbcde*; E dessi ells laia no contente, *F*; **e** si ells lanima no contenten, *G*<sup>1</sup> [*al marge en una segona mà*: e si en ells llur arma

<sup>22</sup> This was probably a mechanical error. The printer's copy may have read «fou.»

no contenten]; e si en ells llur arma no contenten, *E*; E de si els lanima no contenan *H* | **Que** per si ells a larma no contenten, *a*; **Que** por si mismos a lalma no contentan, *Ro*

Poem 100, v. 111: folls amans [amants *BDEG<sup>1</sup>Kbcde*] *FBDEG<sup>1</sup>HKbcde*; seus amants, *A* | | E son poch fruyt als amants no, *a*; Su poco fruto al que ama no, *Ro*

Poem 100, v. 167: Enlo comens pot ser quel voler gire, *a*; En los principios podra ser que se buelua, *Ro* | | en voler [poder, *B*] dom es al comença que gire [gira, *bcde*] [ques, *ABDHKbcde*], *G<sup>1</sup>ABDEHKbcde*

Poem 102, v. 124: Mas mon oyr fora va daquest joch, *a*; Mas el oyr fuera va deste juego, *Ro* | | Laurella [Luncella, *D*; lorella, *EGIde*, luny cella, *bc*] es queli [qui li, *BE*] fa mortal joch, *FBDEG<sup>1</sup>HKbcde*

Yet, while these examples entail changes in the meaning of the text –in contrast with the text carried by all other witnesses– many other readings involve more subtle differences:

Poem 5, v. 23: quant, *Fa*; quando, *Ro* | | com, *NABDEG<sup>1</sup>KLbcde*

Poem 8, v. 33: **si** he contramor hablado, *Ro*; **si** damor he mal dit, *a* | | **com** damor he mal dit *FNBDEG<sup>2</sup>G<sup>1</sup>HKbcde*

Poem 9, v. 20: No deuo ser **culpado**, *Ro*; donchs nom vullar **culpar**, *a* | | vullau **reptar** *FNAG<sup>1</sup>Lbcde*, vull **reptar** *D*

Poem 9, v. 21: el cargo **si falezco**, *Ro*; lo carrech **si fallesch**, *a* | | lo carch **sin res fallesch**, *ADG<sup>1</sup>Lbce*; lo carech **sin res fallesch**, *FNB*; lo carrech **sin res fallesch**, *E*; lo carh **sin res fallesch**, *d*

Poem 15, v. 22: amor gita *FNBDEG<sup>2</sup>HKbcde* | | amor **nos** gita, *a*; amor **nos** embia, *Ro*

Poem 16, v. 17: qualquier, *Ro*; qualsevol, *a* | | de cascun, *FNABDEG<sup>2</sup>HLbcde*

Poem 22, v. 21: **Mas** vos no veu, *a*; **Mas** desamor os tiene tan cegada, *Ro* | | Vos no ueheu, *FNBDKbcde*; E no vehets, *E*; E no veheu, *G<sup>2</sup>*

Poem 23, v. 2: Quen llur escalf **passen** la veritat, *a*; Que la verdad **passan** quando sen-cienden, *Ro* | | Qui per escalf [esclaf, *b*] **trespassen** [**traspassen**, *D*; **transpassen**, *e*] *FNADEG<sup>2</sup>Kbcde*; Qui solen dir mes de la, *B*

Poem 23, v. 13: **So** ques del cos, *Ea*; **Lo** quenel cuerpo, *Ro* | | **Quant** es, *FNA BDG<sup>2</sup>Kbcde*

Poem 26, v. 6: Mas **no**, *a Ro* || Mas **poch**, *FNABDEG<sup>2</sup>Kbcde*

Poem 45, v. 67: Sils, *a*; Si vn, *Ro* || Y els, *FNDEbc*; Els *A*; Los, *B*; ils, *G<sup>2</sup>de*; y los, *K*

Poem 46, v. 21: en tal, *a Ro* || en lo, *FNABDEG<sup>2</sup>HKbcde*

Poem 57, v. 9: algu pren mort, *a*; algunos toman muerte, *Ro* || algu la pren, *FNBDEG<sup>2</sup>HKbcde*

Poem 88, v. 48: frens aquella, *FNABDEG<sup>2</sup>HKbcde* || frens que aquella, *a*; frenos que aquella, *Ro*

Poem 95, v. 9: me trob yo [ya, *B*] tan, *FNABDEbcde* || yom trob ental, *G<sup>2</sup>a*; yo estoy en tal, *Ro*

Poem 100, v. 143: Axi, *FEG<sup>2</sup>*; Axils, *ABDHKbcde* || Com los, *a*; Como el, *Ro*

Poem 100, v. 194: puix que, *G<sup>2</sup>Dde*; Pusque, *A*; puy que, *BEHbc*; puy que, *K* || Perque, *a*; Porque, *Ro*

Poem 100, v. 220: *Donchs*, *a*; *Pues*, *Ro* || *Car*, *FABDEG<sup>2</sup>HKbcde*

Poem 105, v. 14: Que de semblant mal, *a*; Que deste mal, *Ro* || De semblant mal, *FBDEG<sup>2</sup>HKbcde*

Poem 105, v. 18: **es** carreguat, *a*; **es** cargada, *Ro* || he, *FBDEG<sup>2</sup>Kbcde*; ha, *K*

Some of these *loci critici* feature a variety of readings in *Ro* and *a* that are often synonymous or almost equivalent to those provided by other witnesses.<sup>23</sup> Others simply consist of small grammatical adjustments.<sup>24</sup>

In conclusion, both *Ro* and *a* feature common readings in twenty-five out of the thirty-two poems,<sup>25</sup> often against all the other witnesses that preceded Navarro's 1539 edition—that is, *FHNALG<sup>2</sup>*.<sup>26</sup> The other seven poems, which

<sup>23</sup> For example, Poem 9, v. 20; Poem 23, vv. 2, 13; Poem 26, v. 6; Poem 46, v. 21; Poem 57, v. 9; Poem 95, v. 9; Poem 100, vv. 143, 194, 220; and Poem 105, vv. 14 and 18.

<sup>24</sup> For instance, Poem 5, v. 23; Poem 9, v. 21; Poem 15, v. 22; Poem 16, v. 27; Poem 22, v. 21; Poem 45, v. 67; and Poem 88, v. 48.

<sup>25</sup> Poems 2, 5, 8, 9, 10, 13, 15, 17, 18, 22, 23, 26, 33, 45, 46, 57, 88, 90, 93, 95, 96, 100, 102, 105, and 114.

<sup>26</sup> See, for instance, from Appendix 5, subsection 1.1: Poem 5, vv. 2, 8; Poem 8, vv. 8, 40; Poem 9, v. 20; Poem 13, vv. 1, 21, 34-35; Poem 15, v. 29, Poem 17, vv. 23-24; Poem 18, vv. 3, 50; Poem 22, vv. 21, 25, 27; Poem 23, vv. 7, 12, 13, 16, 39, 40; Poem 26, vv. 6, 8, 25, 26, 42, 39; Poem 45, v. 26;

have not conclusively grouped together *Ro* and *a*, are 1, 4, 14, 16, 34, 88, and 97. Three of them (14, 16, and 88), nevertheless, contain some secondary critical places that do group together *Ro* and *a*.<sup>27</sup> Furthermore, poems 14, 16, 34, and 88 also feature *lectiones singulares* concerning *a* only –which could not be collated with *Ro*.<sup>28</sup> As a whole, *Ro* and *a* feature enough textual elements to argue that Navarro's texts essentially carry equivalent readings: first, because of their basic correspondence in terms of both order and constitution of the poems; second, because of the high proportion of common readings against all other extant witnesses; and finally, due to an underlying editorial process that affected the order and constitution of the poems as well as some readings.

### FILIATION

Besides assisting a critical reconsideration of the links that exist between the two texts printed by Navarro, the study of the collation leads to a reevaluation of *a*'s ascendancy and of the genealogical relationships between *Ro* and other earlier witnesses. The methodological premises of this analysis, however, as clarified earlier, vary from previous textual studies of March's text. Each poem has been taken as a base unit of inquiry, whereas March's modern editors have attempted to filiate entire manuscripts and editions as discreet units. Amadeu Pagès deemed *a* a «text eclètic,» given the variety of readings that link it to different and opposed witnesses (Introducció 136). And although Robert Archer did not analyze *a* in the introduction to his critical edition, his *stemma* makes evident that he shared Pagès point of view, for no direct filiation line relates it to previous witnesses (Archer, Introducció 33).

The collation available in Appendix 5 has added a dozen critical places to those provided by Pagès, and has incorporated *Ro*'s readings whenever possible. The following list highlights the most significant critical places in the filiation of Navarro's texts:<sup>29</sup>

Poem 46, vv. 1, 8, 20, 21, 33; Poem 57, vv. 9, 26, 30, 39; Poem 90, v. 10; Poem 93, v. 8; Poem 95, vv. 3, 4, 9, 12, 31, 46, 48, 58; Poem 100, vv. 25, 30, 35, 46, 50, 55, 59, 60, 67, 78, 79, 101, 102, 111, 140, 143, 160, 193, 194, 219, 220; Poem 102, vv. 41, 52, 66, 113, 124, 151, 207, 218; Poem 105, vv. 14, 16, 18, 48, 131, 147, 157; and Poem 114, vv. 51, 81.

<sup>27</sup> See Poem 14, v. 18; Poem 16, vv. 9, 17; and Poem 88, v. 1.

<sup>28</sup> See Poem 14, vv. 16, 32; Poem 18, vv. 47, 53; Poem 34, v. 22; and Poem 88, vv. 11, 21, 24.

<sup>29</sup> Section 4 in Appendix 5 contains Pagès's critical places that involve poems that have not been collated but will be taken into account in the discussion regarding the filiation of Navarro's edition.

Poem 2, v. 9:	<i>FABK, a, Ro</i>    Moltes, Muchas es quel	<i>NDEG<sup>2</sup>Lbcde</i> (Pagès, Introducció 125) Mes ales es lo
Poem 4, v. 51:	<i>FNABK, a</i>    rete	<i>DG<sup>1</sup>bcde, E</i> soste
Poem 8, v. 1:	<i>N, a</i>    Vull	<i>FBDEG<sup>2</sup>G<sup>2</sup>HKbcde</i> (Pagès 135) me plau
Poem 8, v. 20:	<i>NB, a</i>    Donamor	<i>FDEG<sup>2</sup>G<sup>2</sup>HKbcde</i> (Pagès 135) Dauamor
Poem 15, v. 17:	<i>NBHK, a, Ro</i>    foch, fuego	<i>FDEG<sup>2</sup>bcde</i> (Pagès 132) sol
Poem 17, v. 13:	<i>HDEG<sup>2</sup>bcde, a, Ro</i>    Est / Cest / Este es amor	<i>FNABKL</i> Damor ho dich
Poem 17, v. 16:	<i>HDEG<sup>2</sup>bcde, a, Ro</i>    Porta nos lesperar Portal desesperar Trae el desesperar	<i>FNABKL</i> se causa desperar se causa desesperar
Poem 17, v. 27:	<i>HDbc, a</i>    esperant rebre	<i>FNAEG<sup>2</sup>KLde</i> uolent li donar
Poem 17, v. 40:	<i>HDEG<sup>2</sup>bcde, a, Ro</i>    arditment gran esfuerço	<i>FNABKL</i> foll gosar
Poem 26, v. 42:	<i>AEG<sup>2</sup>, a, Ro</i>    De Armogenes	<i>FNBDHKBcde</i> Dorigenes
Poem 89, v. 29:	<i>NABK, a</i>    Si tal cas ve	<i>FDEG<sup>2</sup>Hbcde</i> (Pagès 134) E siu compleix
Poem 90, v. 19:	<i>NAG<sup>1</sup>BK a, Ro</i>    am / ab loy e despit	<i>FHDEbcde</i> (Pagès 134) trobe gran despit
Poem 91, v. 9:	<i>G<sup>1</sup>, DHbcde, a, Ro</i>    lo delit / delit / deleyte	<i>FNBEK</i> (Pagès 133) lo dit

Poem 92, v. 12: <i>DHbcd, a, Ro</i>    sol lo vici tira que los vicios procura	<i>FNABEG'Ke</i> (Pagès 127) per lo / los vicis tira
Poem 93, v. 81: <i>FNBKde a, Ro</i>    Un gran	<i>ADEHbc</i> Algun
Poem 98, v. 13: <i>A, NDKbcde, a, Ro</i>    tolre / dolre / dolerme	<i>FEG'</i> (Pagès 127-28) perdre
Poem 98, v. 14: <i>NKde, a, Ro</i>    yol vull mas, yol vull e	<i>FG'ADEbc</i> (Pagès 135) si be u vull / si bem vull si ben vull
Poem 100, v. 1: <i>FAHBK a, Ro</i>    Ssoportat / son portat soy llevado	<i>G'DEbcde</i> so posat / son posat
Poem 102, v. 93: <i>FG', a</i>    farta la sua carn	<i>BDEHKbcde, F</i> (2a mà) farta la sua fam
Poem 102, v. 180: <i>BDHKbcde, a, Ro</i>    O tal senyal / O tals senyals	<i>FEG'</i> O als peior / o als pijor
Poem 102, v. 204: <i>BDHKbcde, a, Ro</i>    com ama e /ne aqui como ama ni a quien	<i>FEG'</i> lamor daltrey desi
Poem 102, v. 206: <i>BDHKbcde, a, Ro</i>    no creu be amor esser	<i>FG'E</i> ja no creu que sia ve
Poem 102, v. 232: <i>FEG'de, a</i>    Lom bestial o lntenent complit Lom bestial que nos de seny complit	<i>HBDKbc</i> Lo qui damor com bestia sentit Lo qui raho lo fa ser ahunit
Poem 105, vv. 7-8: <i>F, a, Ro</i>    order: v. 8, v. 7	<i>HG'BDKbcde</i> , (Pagès, 121) order: v. 7, v. 8

The following second list accounts for other less decisive *loci critici*. These critical places are considered secondary because they contain readings that either were perhaps triggered by amendable *lectiones faciliores* (Poem 8, v. 40; and Poem 102, v. 74), feature potentially poligenetical synonymic variations (Poem 9, v. 25; Poem 10, v. 21; Poem 15, vv. 20, 29; Poem 89, v. 18; and Poem

90, v. 30), or present changes in order that are more likely to have occurred or been corrected poligenetically (Poem 88, v. 20; and Poem 91, v. 61):

Poem 8, v. 40:	<i>FEG<sup>2</sup>K, a, Ro</i>    laves, la houiesse	<i>N</i>    lay ves	<i>HBDG<sup>+</sup>bcdē</i> la vehe / vehes / vahes
Poem 9, v. 25:	<i>FNABKL, a</i>    e sol/s		<i>DG<sup>+</sup>Hbcdē</i> tot sol
Poem 10, v. 21:	<i>FNBK, a, Ro</i>    todo / tot		<i>HAEDG<sup>+</sup>bcdē</i> er / ell
Poem 15, v. 20:	<i>H, a</i>    quis tot ple		<i>FNBDEG<sup>2</sup>Kbcdē</i> (Pagès 132) qui es ple
Poem 15, v. 29:	<i>HBE, a</i>    fets		<i>FNDG<sup>2</sup>Kbcdē</i> (Pagès 132) fes
Poem 88, v. 20:	<i>DHbcdē, a, Ro</i>    la raho nes la razon es		<i>FNABEG<sup>+</sup>K</i> (Pagès 133) es la raho
Poem 89, v. 18:	<i>NABK, a</i>    al/el meu		<i>FDEG<sup>+</sup>Hbcdē</i> (Pagès 134) a mon
Poem 90, v. 30:	<i>NABK a, Ro</i>    sense nos		<i>FHG<sup>+</sup>DEbcdē</i> (Pagès 134) menys de nos
Poem 91, v. 61:	<i>NDHKbcdē, a</i>    de mi yo veig		<i>FBEG<sup>+</sup>, Ro</i> (Pagès 133) yo veig de mi / veo de mi alexarse
Poem 102, v. 74:	<i>FEG<sup>+</sup>, a</i>    report		<i>BDHKbcdē</i> recort

Finally, the next two *lectiones faciliores* from *a* and *Ro* could have been triggered by particular readings, that would link them to a branch of witnesses:

Poem 26, v. 25:	<i>NBK, aE, Ro</i>    haombren honrren / honramos		<i>FHADG<sup>2</sup>bcdē</i> desombren / descombren
Poem 90, v. 10:	<i>FNHB, a, Ro</i>    la terraluent lo terral vent / el terral viento		<i>ADG<sup>+</sup>KEbcdē</i> La terra vent / (La) terra y vent

An examination of these series of critical places elicits a number of observations. First, *Ro* and *a* read concurrently in all critical places where *Ro* has been capable of yielding a comparable reading, which further supports the consideration of *Ro* and *a* as essentially exchangeable witnesses.<sup>30</sup> Second, at least two poems, 98 and 102, feature readings from two opposite branches of witnesses.<sup>31</sup> This evinces *contaminatio* –at least, a partial collation and edition of these poems before *a* and *Ro* were constituted. Third, a total of fourteen different poems seem to be safely related to particular branches of March's textual tradition.<sup>32</sup>

At the same time, as Appendix 6 illustrates, some readings inconclusively relate different poems to opposite manuscript groups. This comes as no surprise. As March's modern editors had implied, such high fluctuation does not permit linking *Ro* and *a*, as whole single witnesses, to any earlier extant witness. Moreover, *Ro*'s and *a*'s readings also coincide with *N*, a manuscript that Pagès did not take much into consideration. This implies that *Ro* and *a* read against *FHA*, which, paradoxically, is the branch Pagès deemed *a* was the closest to (Introducció 136). Similarly, *Ro*'s and *a*'s readings alongside *F*, *A*, *FA*, *H*, and *HG*<sup>t</sup> are at odds with *a*'s provisional placement in Archer's *stemma* (Archer, Introducció 33). All this evidence either makes it necessary for the *stemmata* to display numerous contamination lines or makes it extremely difficult to accept that *a* and *Ro* can be set in a *stemma* as discreet witnesses, evincing the limits of stemmatics in the study the circulation of poetical texts.<sup>33</sup>

#### FROM VALENCIA TO BARCELONA

A look at section 3 from Appendix 5 reveals that texts *Ro* and *a* concur with later witnesses. Antigraphs of later editions might have been collated with Navarro's edition. One way to establish this possibility requires finding significant readings, if not common errors, that group *Ro* and / or *a*, as well as

<sup>30</sup> With the exception of a secondary critical place: Poem 91, v. 61, whose different readings were brought by their word order. However, although a reading from *Ro* has been provided, perhaps the critical place remains uncertain, for the change in *Ro*'s order might have been intended to keep the first hemistich masculine.

<sup>31</sup> Secondary critical places belonging to Poems 8 and 26 may indicate that these two poems also feature readings from opposite branches.

<sup>32</sup> Poems 2, 4, 8, 15, 17, 26, 90, 91, 92, 93, 98, 100, 102, and 105.

<sup>33</sup> On the challenges of contamination, see Segre; Avallé, *Principi* 70-86; Timpanaro 177-87; Blecua, *Manual* 91-101; Reeve 65-69; regarding printed texts with multiple previous editions, see Rico, *En torno al error* 22-23.

one or more of the later witnesses, from all witnesses dated earlier than 1539. Excerpts of the most relevant critical places follow:

Poem 17, v. 41: Metgen lo mon, *FNADEG<sup>2</sup>HKLabcde* || Medico alguno, *Ro*; Metje algu, *B*

Poem 18, v. 3: homens es nit, *FNDEG<sup>2</sup>Kbcde*; homens es mig, *A* || **altres** par nit, *B*; **altres** es nit, *a*; a **otri** es noche escura, *Ro*

Poem 22, v. 13: Car non [no *D*] es hu no trobe tot, *FNEG<sup>2</sup>Kd*; Car nos un noble tot merce, *D*; Car no noblex tota merce, *bce* || Per esser es **qui no** trop tot, *B*; Car no es hu **que no** trop tot, *a*; No hay ninguno **que no** halle su grado, *Ro*

Poem 46, v. 33: Apres ma mort damar perdau poder, *FNADEG<sup>2</sup>HK* || **Quant** sere mort damor perdreu poder, *B*; Apres ma mort d'amar perdal poder, *b*; Apres ma mort d'amar perda poder, *c*; Apres ma mort de amar perdra poder, *d*; Apres ma mort d'amar perdra poder, *e*; **Quando yo muera pierda amor su poder**, *Ro*; **Apres ma mort amor perdal poder**, *a*

Poem 90, v. 10: La terraluent, *FNH*; La terra vent, *AK*; la terra y vent, *DG<sup>1</sup>bcd*; terra y vent, *E* || **Lo terral vent**, *Ba*; Para el llouer le ayuda **el terral viento**, *Ro*

Poem 100, v. 59: E com lo clerch fahent de festes, *FADEG<sup>1</sup>HKbcde*;] O com aquell quel jorn de festa, *a*; O como aquell quel santo quiere hallar, *Ro*; E com aquell qui les matines, *B*

Poem 100, v. 207: cascu per si lom hauent ne, *G<sup>1</sup>AEKa*; cascu per si hauent lom [-], *Dbcde*; cascu per si lom hauent [-], *H* || E **separats** quinalgu te, *B*; Y **diuididos** pierdese, *Ro*

Poem 105, v. 64: que no tema, *FEG<sup>1</sup>HKad* || no tremole, *BDbce*; que no tiemble, *Ro*

As these examples suggest, before *B* was copied, *B*'s antigraph had been collated with both *a* (see the definitive critical place in Poem 22, v. 13) and *Ro* (Poem 17, v. 41; Poem 100, v. 207).<sup>34</sup> On May 9, 1541, presbyter Pere Vilasaló single-handedly completed codex *B* at the behest of the Admiral of Naples and Duke of Somma, Ferrando de Cardona. The readings excerpted above

<sup>34</sup> Pagès had provided several critical places illustrating that *B* and *a* read together; Introducció 138-41. Only one of them is still acceptable today: Poem 105, v. 111: plau al, *FEG<sup>1</sup>HK* || semblal, *BDbcde*, *a*; parece *Ro*. The other places are either unclear, did not take into account *N*'s readings, or rely on a mistaken transcription of the readings.

not only prove that *B* was constituted by resorting to readings from an indirect witness, but, more importantly, indicate that as early as 1541 Navarro's edition had reached the literary cenacle in which the Duke of Somma participated, which would become the major center of promotion of March's poetry and the new Italianate poetical trends in sixteenth-century Spanish literature.

### SPECULAR CONTAMINATION

Up to this point, except for the second stanza in Poem 57, all other evidence has supported the traditional assumption that March's texts transmitted by *R0* and *a*, and their antigraphs were essentially interchangeable in terms of their *lectiones*. Now, an analysis of section 2 from Appendix 5's collation reveals more examples that increase the number and the quality of the differences between *R0* and *a*. Some readings (subsection 2.3), involve paleographical or mechanical errors, as is to be expected from the material transformation of a manuscript text, [*a'*], into a printed one, *a*. Others require careful commentary: subsections 2.1 and 2.2 provide two series of critical places, a total of fifty-two. The following discussion examines the results of this part of the collation.

The first meaningful reading comes from the first stanza of Poem 8. It takes into account two different *lectiones*. Their significance arises when envisioned in the process of translation and material production of the texts.

Ia tots mos cants vull metren oblit	Las alegrías el tañer y cantar
Foragitant mon gentil pensament	Huyan de mi y el lindo pensamiento
E fin amor de mis partra breument	Mi fino amor vayasse en vn momento
Si com fal brut yo sercare delit:	Que los deleytes del cuerpo he de buscar:
Ja nos conquer com aquell temps ay mia	<b>Passosel tiempo</b> quel bien seruir valia
Ab cobles llas dances e bon saber	Y el trobar dulce las armas y el saber
Lo dret damor no pogui may hauer	Ya no se gana amor por merescer
<b>Ni en aquest temps</b> ni quant fauor hauia.	<b>Ni eneste tiempo</b> ni quando el florescia.

(Poem 8, vv. 1-8)

*a*: I want to forget all my songs / and cast off my sweet thoughts; / *fin amor* will leave me soon, / and I will seek for pleasure like beasts do. / One cannot conquer his beloved as was customary / with stanzas, dances and good wits. / I have never had a right to Love / neither now nor when I was favored by it.

*R0*: Happy moments, music and songs: / leave me like my sweet thoughts are leaving me. / May my fine love depart all of a sudden / so that I can seek bodily pleasures. / The time when good service was rewarded is over, / nor are rewarded sweet composi-

tions, arms' exercises, and wits. / Love is not earned on a merit basis, / neither now nor when love used to flourish.

v. 5: **Passosel tiempo**/quel bien seruir valia, *Ro* || Ja nos conquer com aquell temps ay mia, *a*; Axis conquer en aquest temps aymia, *FNBDEG<sup>2</sup>G<sup>+</sup>HKbcde*

v. 8: **Ni eneste tiempo** ni cuando el florecia, *Ro*; **Ni en aquest temps** ni quant fauor hauia, *a* || **Passa lo temps** quel bo fauor hauia, *FNBDEG<sup>2</sup>G<sup>+</sup>HKbcde*

Verse 8's first hemistich contains a reading that sets both *Ro* and *a* apart from all earlier and later manuscripts and editions. The reading carried by the rest of witnesses, though, surprisingly resurfaces in Romaní's translation of verse 5, in which, naturally, the translator does not render the original word by word—not, at least, as verse 5 appears in *a* or the rest of the textual tradition. This is another clear instance in which *Ro*, *a*, and their antigraphs are not perfectly interchangeable. At least two hypotheses could explain how Romaní's free translation of verse 5 was based on March's verse 8. First, if [*a*'] carried the same reading of verse 8 as *a*, Romaní necessarily had to consult another witness that included the reading he used in verse 5. This possibility seems unlikely, since both *Ro* and *a* feature the same readings in every single critical place that separates witnesses in two opposite branches.

The second option would not involve additional witnesses. The lost antigraph [*a*'] would have originally carried a reading similar to the earlier textual tradition. Romaní would have borrowed this reading for his own rendering of verse 5. After Romaní had carried out his translation of verse 8, and at some point before *a*'s text was set, [*a*'] would have been corrected in view of [*Ro*']—the original in view of the translation. This practice should not raise any eyebrows. As has just been illustrated, *B* contains amendments to March's verses that were inspired by Romaní's translation. The amendment of verse 5 could have taken place either during a preliminary correction of the printer's copy to be employed in Navarro's printing shop—by Romaní himself or by an editor—or during the actual proof correction of Navarro's edition.<sup>35</sup> Timpanaro distinguished between *intra-stemmatic* and *extra-stemmatic* contaminations according to the presence or the absence of a source of contamination in a stemma.<sup>36</sup> This would be a somewhat different phenomenon. In this case,

<sup>35</sup> See Dadson; Rico, *El texto del Quijote* 75-81; and particularly Grafton, esp. chapters 1 and 2, for an updated exposition of proof correction in hand-printing press shops, and the broader cultural meaning of correcting, proofreading, and emending of, mostly, classical texts in Renaissance Europe.

<sup>36</sup> See Timpanaro 179-80; and Reeve, esp. 66, n. 29, for criticism of this notion.

an essentially *descriptus* witness –and so, effectively left out of the stemma– but one that materially conjoins with its antigraph, occasionally serves as a source of contamination. I propose to term this phenomenon *specular contamination*.

Accepting the hypothesis of the specular contamination as the most plausible for this critical place is crucial to understanding another *locus criticus*:

Aquest dictat al que nous haura vista	Aquellos todos que ver nos merecieron
Res no valdra car fe noy donara	Lo que dire por fe no creheran
E los grossers que dins vos no veuran	Ni los grosseros que hos vieron no veran
En creure mi llur arma sera trista.	Uestro valer pues dentro en vos no vieron.

(Poem 23, vv. 5-8)

*a*: My writing, for those who have never seen you, / will be disregarded –they will not believe it. / And the ordinary people, incapable of seeing inside of you, / when they believe me, their souls will be sad.

*Ro*: All those who did not deserve to see you / will not believe what I will say. / Nor will the ordinary people who saw you see / your value, for they could not see inside you.

Poem 23, v. 7: grossers, *a*; grosseros, *Ro* || vehents, *FNABDEG<sup>2</sup>Kbcde*

While in verse 7 *Ro* and *a* read against all other witnesses, there is proof that here [*a*] was also edited in view of [*Ro*] after Romaní had carried out his translation. Attention needs to be paid to the entire context of this critical point. Romaní's version translates a reading unlike *a*'s, and actually similar to the rest of the tradition: «que hos vieron» in verse 7 is in fact the «vehents» from *FNABDEG<sup>2</sup>Kbcde* that is nowhere to be found in *a*.

In the next example, *Ro* and *a* read independently from the other witnesses in the first word of the first hemistich («Tall» / «Talle»). But immediately afterwards, *Ro* reads with the rest of the tradition («color»), while *a* carries a reading that does not exactly accord with *Ro*, but is still semantically related to it.

Poem 23, v. 15: Tall e **blancor**, *a* || Talle y **color**, *Ro*; Vostra **color** yell tall pot, *FNEG<sup>2</sup>K*; Vostre color yl [el, B] tal pot, *ABDbc*

The singularity of *a* within the direct textual tradition of this verse may be well accounted for if, once again, Romaní's translation of this line is seen as the source for an editorial intervention in the Catalan text. Similarly, in the next case, a single verse encompasses a reading that separates *Ro* and *a* from the other witnesses and a reading that separates *Ro* and the rest of the textual tradition from *a*:

Tot lo que fa le [sic] torna en contrari  
 Y no coneix lenemich seu quil mata  
**So quel poria** portar ius la sabata  
 Te sobrel cap per molt bell vestuari.

En quanto haze ser su contrario halla  
 Con su enemigo va sin saber quien es  
**Loque deuria** de traer so los pies  
 En su cabeza lleua por gran medalla.

*a*: Whatever he does becomes its contrary, / and he does not recognize the enemy who is killing him. / What he could have under his shoe / is actually on the top of his head, as beautiful attire.

*Ro*: In whatever he does, he finds its contrary. / He goes alongside his enemy and does not know it. / What he should have under his feet / he has on his head as a great medal.

Poem 100, v. 55: Aquell [y aquell, *bcd*] qui [que, *EG*] **deu**, *FABDEG'HKbcde* || So quel **poria**, *a*; Lo que **deuria**, *Ro*

Romaní translates a text just like the one in all other witnesses except for *a*. He employs the verb *dever*, while *a* switches to *poder*. But the pronominal periphrasis «lo que» and the verb in the conditional separate *Ro* and *a* from the rest of the witnesses.

In the next example, *a* shows that *Ro* was one more time the source of an editorial intervention:

Poem 26, v. 12: **Pegesa la ab vici** dada empenta, *a* || **Lom vicios el pech** lan dat, *FNBDHKbc*; **Lom vicios yl pech** lan dat, *G*<sup>2</sup>; **Lhom vicios y el pech** lan dat, *de*; **Vicios y necios** la tienen desterrada, *Ro*

*Ro*'s reading does not descend from *a*, but carries the same *lectio* as the rest of the tradition. All witnesses except for *a* individualize and specify the subject of the sentence («L'hom viciós i el pec» 'The vicious man and the stupid'). So does Romaní; although he does not mention those «viciosos,» but «vicios y necios,» 'Vices and stupid men.' On its own accord, *a*'s subject is composed of two abstract notions («Pegesa l'a ab vici» 'Stupidity together with Vice'). Thus, *Ro*'s reading has something in common with the rest of the tradition that could not have derived from *a*, and so, *a* could not have served as the source of Romaní's translation; rather, it resulted from a later correction.

In addition to these critical places, the following also feature analogous cases, where *Ro* does not derive from *a*, and *a* reads independently:

Poem 26, v. 21: Los [Los *canviat per mateixa mà en Lo, F*] **nombres** tant daquella qui la desonren [desonbren, *C*] *FNDEG'HKbcde*; Son **infinitos** que desonran la honra, *Ro*; Del pensament de la virtut sasombren, *B* || **Bes lo nom** tant dels que virtut desonren, *a*

Poem 26, v. 48: Lo viure llur mes quel present duraua, *FNABDG<sup>2</sup>HKbc*; lo veure llur mes quel present duraua, *de*; Si estos faltaron que haran los que veo, *Ro* || Corrent camí lla per la mar anaua, *a*; Corrent camil (*mots borrats*) sus per la mar anaua, *E*

Poem 100, v. 34: o de fortuna uolen, *FADEG<sup>1</sup>HKbcde*; o de fortuna quieren, *Ro* || o de natura colen, *a*

Poem 102, v. 208: Si en amat [lo amat, d] la proua be noy, *FBDEG<sup>1</sup>HKbcde*; Si donde ama no prueua lo que tiene, *Ro* || per cosa al mon fins que la proua y, *a*

Twenty-one of the thirty-two poems contain readings that separate *Ro* from *a*.<sup>37</sup> All these readings and others from subsections 2.1 and 2.2 in Appendix 5 convincingly back the claim that Navarro's texts were not totally equivalent in transmitting March's works –nor had been their antigraphs. More remarkably, after combining a critical analysis of the text with a study of its translation practices, we can see that [*a*] had been edited. In some instances, the edition was made *ope codicum*, according to [*Ro*].<sup>38</sup> In others, it may seem that the correction was done *ope ingenii*, setting aside any extant codex.<sup>39</sup>

This variation in readings showing that [*a*] had been edited in view of [*Ro*] raises another question. How many of those critical places where both texts read independently from the rest could have been the result of March's text being edited according to Romani's translation? Navarro's texts read together and are unlike other Marchian codices and editions in many critical places, turning *a* into a very eccentric direct witness. If there is further evidence that corrections inspired in the translated text were extensive, *a*'s particularities would be justified.

Answering the question with the set-theory tools that stemmatics offers is not feasible, given the two only elements available: *Ro* and *a*. At least one more set would be necessary, such as the codex Romani used or an unedited copy of [*a*]. Incorporating another witness to the analysis would allow a collation that could isolate *Ro*'s and *a*'s single readings, and logically determine which of *a*'s readings come from [*Ro*]. But of course, had one of those witnesses been available, the issues at stake in Navarro's textual constitution would be much less intricate.

All critical places in which *Ro* and *a* read against the rest of witnesses have been reexamined (Appendix 5, section 1) in an attempt to try to locate distinct

<sup>37</sup> Poems 2, 8, 9, 15, 16, 17, 22, 23, 26, 33, 34, 45, 46, 57, 88, 90, 93, 95, 100, 102, and 105.

<sup>38</sup> For example Poem 8, v. 5; Poem 23, v. 7; and Poem 100, v. 55.

<sup>39</sup> For instance Poem 26, vv. 12, 21, 48; Poem 100, v. 34; and Poem 102, v. 208.

translation traces (originating in [*Ro*']) that could have determined particular readings of [*a*'] or *a*. Additional examples of editorial interventions in accordance with *Ro*'s readings have been identified, in which the analysis extended to the readings's context:

Colguen les gents ab molt alegres festes	Busquen las gentes las muy solenes fiestas
Lloant a deu entremesclant deports	Uistanse ricos muy llenos de joyeles
Plasses carrers e delitables orts	Gozense dentro los floridos vergeles
Sien sercats ab recort de grans gestes:	Dancen con damas hermosas y honestas:

*a*: May people \*celebrate with much joyful feasts; / may they praise God, enjoy their leisures; / may public places, streets, and sweet gardens / bustle with the memory of great deeds. (\* indicates an agrammaticality in the original).

*Ro*: May people look for grand feasts; / may they dress with rich jewelry; / may they enjoy themselves in flourished gardens; / may they dance with beautiful and virtuous ladies.

Poem 13, v. 1: Busquen las gentes/las **muy solenes** fiestas, *Ro*; ab **molt alegres** festes, *a* || ab **alegria** festes *FNBDEG<sup>2</sup>Kbcde*; ab **alagria** festes, *A*

By introducing the adverb «molt / muy» and qualifying «festes» («alegres / solenes»), *a* reads alongside *Ro* and against the rest of the witnesses. While *Ro*'s reading is the result of a translation that reorganizes the original constituents of the sentence, *a* undoes the original prepositional phrase governed by preposition «amb» and referring to «festes.» Consequently, «colguen» («they celebrate»), which is a transitive verb (DCBV, s.v. 'colgar'), ends up lacking a direct object. A sloppy correction inspired by Romaní's translation would clarify this lack of grammar. A similar phenomenon occurs in the following instance:

Salomo diu quen pochs es sauiesa	Salamon dize quen pocos es sauieza
E yo conech en molts menys la virtut	Y en menos he yo la virtud hallado

Solomon says that few are wise; / and I find virtue in even fewer.

Poem 26, v. 14: **E yo conech** en molts **menys** la virtut, *a*; **Y en menos he yo** la virtud hallado, *Ro*; e yo conech en menys homens, *E* || **Los enemichs** son **molts** de la virtut, *FNB DG<sup>2</sup>HKbcde*

No semantic or metrical imperfection reveals a correction in view of *Ro*'s text. However, if one compares Navarro's readings with other witnesses, it is clear

that Navarro's texts feature a formulation *a contrario* of the text transmitted by the rest of witnesses. Instead of the *many* enemies of virtue, Navarro's texts mention a *few* virtuous men. As exemplified earlier on, this is one the recursive strategies Romaní used to convey a literal rendering of March's words, which, unlike other examples, also passed from *Ro* to *a*. The same occurs in the next case:

So ques del cos menys de participar	Lo quenel cuerpo es sin participar
Ab lesperit conex be lo grosse	Conel spiritu vera qualquier que os viere
Tall e blancor pora molt be saber	Talle y color mas si discreto fuere
Mas ja del gest jui no sabra far.	Podra vuestralma en vuestro ayre juzgar.

*a*: What pertains to the body / and does not join the spirit, that is well known by an ordinary man. / He may be able to judge your disposition and light complexion, / but will not be capable of judging your demeanor.

*Ro*: What pertains to the body and does not participate / with the spirit, anyone who saw you could see: / that is, your disposition and complexion. But if he were smart, / he could judge your soul by your demeanor.

Poema 23, v. 16: **jui** no sabra **far**, *a*; Podra vuestralma en vuestro ayre **juzgar**, *Ro* || no pora be [ben, *bcd*e] parlar, *FNABDEG·Kbcde*

Again the long litotes through verses 15-16 may be attributed to Romaní. An edition of [*a*'], based on the translation, would explain *a*'s second hemistich and its rhyme word –which is unlike the rhyme word of any earlier or later witnesses.

No son enpes nintentat per desalt	Nunca desgrado tento mi voluntad
De res quen vos los meus vlls hajen vist	Por cosa fea quen vos haya mirado
Lenteniment per lo vostr es conquest	Mi entendimiento del vuestro es conquistado
En gran raho es causat aquest alt:	Con gran razon quise vuestra beldad:
Mas vos no veu ma pura intencio	Mas desamor os tiene tan cegada
Car desamor vos enfosquex la vista	Que nunca vistes mi pura intencion
Per so roman ab la mi arma trista	Mi alma triste esta en confusion
Com no mirau la mia affeccio.	que vos nos days porello nada.

*a*: Aversion has not driven nor tempted me, / nor has anything that my eyes have found on you. / My understanding has been conquered by yours; / my care for you is caused by good reasons. / But you cannot see my pure intentions, / since your disliking me blurs your sight. / That is why my soul is sad, / when you do not recognize my affection.

*Ro*: Aversion has never tempted me / for whatever ugly issue I might have found on you. / My understanding has been conquered by yours; / I longed for your beauty with good reason, / but you so blindly dislike me / that you have never seen my pure intention. / My sad soul is confused / since you do not care about it.

Poem 22, v. 21: **Mas** vos no veu, *a*; **Mas** desamor os tiene tan cegada, *Ro* || Vos no ueheu, *FNBDKbcde*; E no vehets, *E*; E no veheu, *G*<sup>2</sup>

In this last example, «Mas / Mes» separates *Ro* and *a* from all witnesses. This «Mas,» which was inspired by the translation, added an extra syllable to the verse and thus forced the elision of one of the vowels from «veheu.»<sup>40</sup> Curiously enough, in other critical places where *Ro* and *a* read independently, *a*'s first hemistich is hypermetric.<sup>41</sup>

So far this chapter has studied a sample collation of Navarro's edition to inquire into editorial practices that could have conditioned and shaped texts *a* and *Ro*. The analysis has found an ideological rationale that links missing stanzas with peculiar readings. The rationale stems from moral concerns regarding verses or stanzas that, literally understood and detached from the poetical context to which they belong, could entail a lack of respect for Catholic institutions, rites, and beliefs, as well as to princes and lords. An editor –it cannot be ascertained whether it was Romaní himself– watched over and filtered March's discourse. This filter supposes a second instance of mediation in the circulation of March's poetry through this particular edition. Thus, not only is this Romaní's «March,» as it followed from the analysis of his translation theory and practice; it is also Navarro's March.

The analysis of the collation has proved that *Ro* and *a* transmit a very similar text. It is most likely that indeed [*Ro*'] was produced from a text that was very closely related to [*a*']. However, traces have been found indicating that [*Ro*'] and [*a*'] had been materially separated from one another before going into print. The possibility of relating Navarro's texts to other earlier manuscripts, as whole discrete witnesses, has been ruled out. It has become apparent that [*Ro*'] and [*a*'], and perhaps their own antigraphs, had collated different witnesses before the printing of Navarro's texts. Another issue that will be elaborated in the second part of this book is that Romaní's translation was collated with manuscript *B*'s antigraph, indicating that Navarro's edition had reached Barcelona and the circle of the Duke of Somma before March 1541.

<sup>40</sup> Another likely possibility could be that the editor normally used «veu» for the second person plural of verb *veure*'s present tense. He found the verse to be hypermetric and had to supply the missing syllable with a reading from the translation.

<sup>41</sup> Poem 15, v. 29; Poem 57, v. 26; and Poem 100, v. 55, already commented on earlier.

Moreover, it has become evident that [*Ro*'] and [*a*'] –or *Ro*'s and *a*'s editorial proofs– had been corrected. On occasion, the text of the translation was the source of, or the inspiration for, those editorial interventions, in effect producing a specular contamination. It is not clear whether the author of these interventions was the same editor who had reworded March's morally problematic fragments. Moreover, an important number of eccentricities in Navarro's texts either do not produce major changes in meaning or do not appear to have an ideological edge. The lack of systematicity of these emendations, at least to the extent that the collation has made this phenomenon noticeable, and the linguistic nature of many of these changes, may point to a corrector working in Navarro's shop. Therefore, this analysis argues that March's text was equally appropriated by the translator's own practices and literary culture and by the different stages in the material or editorial handling of March's text and translation. Navarro's edition mass-disseminated –by Renaissance standards– a complex recodification of March's poetry as it had been circulating through manuscripts. Navarro's particular interpretation of March's poetry was thus not only apparent in the meaning of Romaní's translation, but also embodied in its printed form.

All of these editorial actions pose again a question that was formulated in the first chapter and that remains unanswered. In his prefatory letter, Romaní recognized that he had not translated all of March's poems –he did so urging the envious to translate those poems he had not tackled. As evinced in his pastiches of Marchian phraseology, Romaní was acquainted with more poems than those he translated. The last question to be answered is whether Romaní chose the poems he would translate. Or more precisely, whether there is an editorial rationale behind those forty-six poems rendered into Spanish. The choice and distribution of March's poems will be the topic of the last section of this chapter. I will argue that the Romaní-Navarro choice and order of March's poems editorially fabricates a moralizing discourse on love that was partially inspired by Petrarch's *Canzoniere*. According to Romaní's own words, and in view of the former textual study of *Ro* and *a*, Romaní's translation takes a hierarchical precedence over *a*. Accordingly, the following analysis will be based on *Ro*.

#### SELECTION, TRANSFORMATION, AND PETRARCHISM

The last two aspects of the editorial shaping of March's text in Navarro's edition to be considered are the choice and organization of the poems. It is not possible to ascertain what exact poems of March's corpus Romaní knew besides those included in the edition and also number 19. However, Romaní's prefa-

tory words indicate that he was aware of more poems than those he had translated. A careful observation of Romaní's choice from an ideal pool consisting of March's entire corpus will show that his choice agrees with the moralizing editorial policy pointed out earlier in this chapter.

Romaní—or perhaps Navarro—distributed the translated poems according to four thematic sections.<sup>42</sup> Through opening epigraphs and running titles, poems were divided into «cantica» on love, morality, death, and spirituality.<sup>43</sup> As Sanvisenti noted, this division of March's works might be reminiscent of Petrarch's *Rerum vulgarium fragmenta's* sections «in vita» and «in morte» of his beloved Laura; but perhaps even more likely is the idea proposed by Amador de los Ríos that the four sections of Navarro's edition more closely mimic, and simplify, the progression from love to death, chastity, fame, death, and eternity of the *Trionfi*.<sup>44</sup> March's poems labeled as dealing with «morality» only make up 25 percent of the total number of verses in the edition.<sup>45</sup> Romaní's moral focus and policy, however, extended through most of the works on love. Romaní chose to translate those «love poems» that emphasize March's spiritual, pure, eternal and quasi-religious love against the mundane and passionless one that is controlled by the body (cf. 4-3rd, 87-8th, 18-9th, 71-11th, 23-13th, 98-14th, 45-16th, 5-21th; 34-25th).<sup>46</sup> The casuistry of Love's effects on

<sup>42</sup> Running titles, epigraphs, and other paratextual material were often the responsibility of the correctors; see Grafton. If this was the case for Navarro's edition, the lack of a numeration of the poems in the printer's copy would have caused some of the mistakes in the numbering of the poems within Navarro's shop, such as the lack of *capítulo* number for Poem 94, in f. 97r, right at the beginning of a new quire (n), and the subsequent incorrect numeration of Poems 95, 97, and 94. Poem 46 (f. 20v) incorrectly has *capítulo* number 26 (instead of 10), but following poems are correctly numbered; Poem 17 (f. 47v) appears again as 26, although it should be 29; and Poem 16 (f. 46v), which should have been *capítulo* 28, has no rubric.

<sup>43</sup> See the frontispice page of the edition: «*diuididas en quatro Canticas: es a saber: | Cantica de Amor / Cantica Moral / Cantica de Muerte / | y Cantica Spiritual.*» A thematic division was not common among contemporary Hispanic books of poetry (Núñez Rivera, «Los poemarios líricos»). Nonetheless, the *Cancionero general* featured a thematic division.

<sup>44</sup> See Amador de los Ríos 6: 495; Sanvisenti 374-75; and Farinelli 1: 41, n. 1. Moreover, one of March's few borrowings from the *Trionfi* in Poem 1 seems to be translated closely following Petrarch's text: «Si col malat que per un plahent mos / Tot son menjar en dolor se nodreix» (Poem 1, vv. 31-32) recalls an image from the *Trionfi*: «come uom ch'è infermo e di tal cosa ingordo / ch'è dolce al gusto, a la salute rea» *Triunfus cupidinis* 3.107-08; while Romaní translated: «Por vn contrario que su apetito quiere / Hermoso al gusto y a la salud muy feo.»

<sup>45</sup> On love; 1588 / 3874 = 41 percent; on morality: 944 / 3874 = 25 percent; on death: 850 / 3874 = 22 percent; on spirituality = 484 / 3874 = 13 percent.

<sup>46</sup> Cardinal numerals will refer to March's poem number according to their canonical numbering (1, 2, 4, 9, etc.). Ordinal numbers will be used to refer to the position of March's poems in *Ro / a* (1-1st, 2-2nd, 4-3rd, 9-4th etc.)

March's soul and senses are also included in the edition (2-2nd, 4-3th, 9-4th, 10-5th, 87-8th, 18-9th, 45-16th, 17th-28). March's near-death suffering and unrequitedness are also present (46-10th, 66-17th, 77-20th, 22-22th, 15-23th, 61-24th, 17-28th), along with claims about the lover's faithfulness (46-10th, 85-18th, 89-19th). Navarro's edition excludes March's expressions of passionate, bodily and dishonorable love (e.g. 24, 74, 99, 116, 120, 121). When such love is mentioned, it is clearly characterized as ontologically inferior or morally undesirable (4, 45, 87, 18, etc.). Further, when the poetic voice does confess to having indulged to such acts, he shows attrition (102).

As still another textual detail will further prove, this passionate, sensuous perspective on love was systematically purged. Poem 45 is one of March's longer compositions in which the poet deploys his ideas on love. Encompassing both natural and moral philosophy, March introduces the kinds of love that exist, love's effects on the lover, and the moral implications of such effects.<sup>47</sup> The fourth stanza of the poem (vv. 24-31) distinguishes between an «amor honest» («virtuous love») and an «amor delitós» («pleasurable love»). Verses 32-40 explain the physiology of «amor delitós», which starts/enters the lover's body through his senses, reaches the common sense, and moves to the understanding from which desire grows, insofar as it produces pleasure in the lover. The «amor delitós» requires the lover to long for the beloved's faculties and mind.

In verse 38, the lover who reaches that pleasurable Love is described as «lamant puje / dins en lostal que Uenus lo alleuja» («the lover is lifted up to the house of Venus»). The reference to Venus does not appear in the Spanish text: «por quen grado de muy mayor deleyte / Suba el amante en el lugar que ama» («so that to a much higher pleasure / the lover may be lifted, reaching the place he loves»). The translation of verse 38 should have been as simple and literal as the rest of the poem. Poem 45 is one of March's poems written in *estramps* and so the verse did not need to accommodate any rhyme scheme. Verse 37 is absolutely uncontroversial in March's textual tradition, so it is not likely that [a'] contained a peculiar reading for this verse.<sup>48</sup> Surprisingly, Romaní intended to skip this reference to Venus.

Why would Romaní edit that word? March mentions «Venus» in six of his poems.<sup>49</sup> The name of the Roman goddess and third celestial sphere is invoked as an allegorical reference to sensual love –either in the form of an anthro-

<sup>47</sup> For March's acquaintance with natural philosophy, see Cabré, «Aristotle for the Layman.» See also Archer, «Ausiàs March as a Theorist of Love.»

<sup>48</sup> Verse 38. que ] de N | | lo alleuja ] lalleuja K

<sup>49</sup> Poems 20 (v. 32), 45 (v. 38), 47 (v. 30), 75 (throughout), 87 (vv. 161, 172, 175, and 222), and 117 (v. 73).

pomorphic figure, or as the third celestial power.<sup>50</sup> Of all of March's pieces, Poem 75 most thoroughly exploits Venus as an allegorical character. This poem is actually a mythological allegory in which March stages a comparison among the powers of several major Roman deities (Bacchus, Ceres, Juno, Saturnus, Mars, etc.). In Poem 75, Venus stands as the most powerful of all gods, and the poetic voice as the most passionate of lovers.<sup>51</sup>

In Navarro's edition, Poem 75 was excluded, but 45 was printed. In addition to Poem 45, Navarro's book contains another piece with original allusions to Venus: Poem 87 deploys March's ideas on love even more thoroughly than 45. According to March's textual tradition, Venus should appear in three verses. March first mentions Venus when describing and explaining the effects on the lover of that «amor delitable» of Poem 45 (vv. 161-70). Romani's translation eliminates any reference to Venus:

Aquella amor hon Venus aças regna  
 A nostre cors ensemps ab larma guarda  
 A molts plahers e dolors no es tarda  
 (vv. 161-63)

Venus rules that sort of Love which / regards both our body and soul / and does not linger to cause many pleasures and pains.

Aquel amor quentre nosotros reyna  
 Y a dar plazer y pesar no se tarda  
 Al alma y cuerpo juntamente sesguarda  
 (vv. 161-63)

Among us rules a sort of love / that does not linger to cause pleasure and grief / and regards both our soul and body.

Two other references are more revealing. In verse 222, Venus simply becomes «amor de la carne» («love of the flesh»)<sup>52</sup> But before that, in verse 172 Venus

<sup>50</sup> See representative instances of this use in Dante, *Commedia*, Par. 8 and 9, or Petrarch *Triumphus Mortis* 2.172-74. And see Seznec; Green; and Kay 66-97.

<sup>51</sup> March compares Venus's power with the power of other gods. Venus is the most popular deity: «solempnes deus a tots veig adorar; / e sobre tots Venus es mils servida» (vv. 19-20). She proclaims being almighty over any other god or lord: «Mas Venus diu: 'Yo son rey natural, / ab alguns deus, senyors jus mi sients; / per mi son bons e per si no valents; / los altres han poder accidental.'» (vv. 29-32). And as March wrote as well in Poem 45, all good men rest in Venus's house, and those who do not are not worth much: «tot home bo en son ostal se resta, / e val-se poch qui no y es albergat.» (vv. 43-44).

<sup>52</sup> «Aquell amor per qui ma carn sinclina / Compliment sent dels bens que Venus lliura» («That love my flesh is prone to, / Venus' goods fulfill») becomes «Aquel querer que mi carne

has become «falso amor» («false love»). Finally Venus's name disappears from v. 175, where she was referred to as teacher of Love:

Los apetits sensuels larma lliguen  
 Donchs tots aquells qui del tot Venus tira:  
 Molt foscament llur enteniment mira  
 Per los sechs fochs qui lesperit abrigren  
 Los escolans qui de Venus es mestre  
 Lo contemplar jaqueix en prenin lacte.

Sensual appetites tie up the soul; / for all those who Venus attracts / can only see dimly through their understanding, / because of those drying fires that wrap up the soul. / Those students whom Venus teaches / stop seeing when taking action.

Los apetitos sensuales lalmaligan  
 Por donde aquel que falso amor spira:  
 Su entendimiento muy ofuscado mira  
 Por secos fuegos que su spiritu abrigan  
 Los aquellos tienen debaxo de su mano  
 El contemplar dexan tomando el aucto.

Sensual appetites tie up the soul; / that is why whoever expires a fake love, / sees very dimly through their understanding/ because of those drying fires which the spirit wrap up. / Those who are under their command / stop seeing when taking action.

Romaní systematically eliminated Venus from his *verbum verbo* rendering of March.<sup>53</sup> An allegorical divine figure that represented «amor delitable» («sensual love») was not allowed in Romaní's morally and spiritually correct translation of March's loves.<sup>54</sup>

apetece / Cumplidamente siente bien que amor libra» («That love my flesh craves / feels the good love bestows on it»).

<sup>53</sup> Romaní's rendering of Poem 14 conceals March's reference to the third celestial sphere of Venus (v. 30). However, the subtlety of March's reference, and the vagueness of Romaní's translation—which does not specify it is the *third* heaven—do not allow for a conclusion in this case. In any case, Venus herself is not mentioned. March's text in Navarro's edition reads: E [Amor] no mereix algun reprenyment / Car del cel terç eguals forses nos fa / Segons cascu a amar dispost esta / Aytant streny enell son manament. (vv. 29-32). Whereas Romaní's translation reads: «Y [Amor] no merese ser desto reprendido / Que desde el cielo yqual ley nos ha puesto / A cada uno segun esta dispuesto / Da lo que puede que no es de mas tenido.»

<sup>54</sup> Lluís del Milà, a courtier and musician in the retinue of the Duke of Calabria, published *El cortesano* in 1561. Milà's work was a dialogue supposedly based on the 1530s viceregal court of the duke and his wife at the time, Germana de Foix. Two of the characters in the dialogue—Milà's

There is another moralizing motive present in the poems translated by Romaní. This motive reveals the disposition of March's works. Several of March's poems translated by Romaní present a palinodial gaze over Love, starting with the first poem of the collection. March's Poem 1 is a lamentation for the absence of the poet's beloved.<sup>55</sup> Apart from his beloved, March looks for consolation in his memories about better times gone by, only to realize that those memories cause him a greater pain when he is again faced with the present. The topic of the painful absence of the beloved, widespread and conventional, is not openly formulated until the *tornada*.<sup>56</sup> But Navarro's texts specifically lack all the *tornades*.<sup>57</sup> Since the *tornada* that reveals Poem 1's original topic is missing, Romaní's translation does not convey the absence of the beloved. In *Ro*'s 1, March seems to exclusively elaborate on the theme of the greater pain suffered in the present as opposed to better past times. Romaní's translation enhances the potentially moralizing perspective in the poem, possibly echoing the most famous palinodial vernacular poem at that time: the first poem of Petrarch's *Rerum vulgarium fragmenta (RVF)* and his «vane speranze e'l van dolore» (Cabré, «Algunes imitacions» 69):<sup>58</sup>

Bien como aquel quen sueños *deuanea*  
 Y se deleyta del *vano* pensamiento  
 Assi me tiene el contemplar contento  
 Quen otro bien mi alma no recrea:

and the courtier Ferrandis de Heredia— recite and comment a sonnet which shows similar moral concerns regarding «God's love»: «Con alta boz yo cantaré llorando / pues es llorar cantar penalidades. / A fin de bien diré muchas verdades / que muchos van por esto sospirando. / Mi fin será que vayan escuchando / para mostrar las fieras crueldades, / que'l dios d'amor, por campos y ciudades, / a sombras va con sombras espantando. / ¿Saben quien es el dios d'amor nombrado? / Tené por fe qu'es nuestro mal desseo / por dessear desenvergonçadamente. / Desnudo va quien es desvergonçado; / no le creáys, que no's dios ni lo creo, / que lo qu'es Dios no reyna malamente» (1: 258-59).

<sup>55</sup> For the interpretation of this poem, see Riquer «Auziàs March»; Badia 167-80; Cabré and Torró, «Perché alcun ordine»; and Torró, «Ovidi exiliat.»

<sup>56</sup> «Plena de seny, quant amor és molt vella, / absença és lo verme que la guasta, / si fermetat durament no contrasta, / e creura poch, si l'envejós consella.» (Poem 1, vv. 41-44).

<sup>57</sup> Because of the missing *tornades*, all of March's original *senyals* to probably different ladies are excluded from the edition. All poems in *Ro* thus appear to be addressed to one lady; see Cabré and Torró «Perché alcun ordine»; and Cabré, «Algunes imitacions» 69. For similar editorial strategies in Neapolitan poets of the late fifteenth century, see below Chapter 6, n. 30. Additionally, Romaní's translation of Poem 23 does not translate the name of the lady to whom the poem was dedicated, Dona Teresa. However, «dona Teresa» does appear in *a*; f. 25v.

<sup>58</sup> For Petrarch's relevance in Hispanic poetry of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries see Rico, «De Garcilaso y otros petrarquismos»; Caravaggi; Fucilla; and Manero Sorolla.

*Lo por venir siempre me fue peor  
 Y se muy cierto que de dar en sus manos  
 Quanto bien tengo son pensamientos vanos  
 Lo que no es nada en mi es lo mejor.*  
 (1-8)

Like the man who talks nonsense in dreams, / whose pleasure comes from vain thoughts,  
 / that is how I am; my imagination is satisfied; / no other good thing lives in my soul. /  
 The future was always worse to me. / I know for sure that I will be in its [the future's]  
 hands; / I only own vain thoughts. / What is nothing now is what is best for me.

*A lo que fue tengo infinito amor  
 Y amo la sombra pues todo es fenecido  
 Tiempos de mal fueron los que han sido  
 Mas en perdellos estaua lo peor:*  
 (9-12)

I infinitely love my past, / and so I only love shades, for everything is over. /  
 Those were sorrowful times, / but the worst part was losing them.

Beyond Poem 1 (the 1st), a similar censorial perspective on past loves appears  
 in several of Romani's versions of poems 4, 71, 8, 98, 91 (4th, 11th, 12th, 14th  
 and 15th, all of them are within the section on love). See for instance:

*Que aprouecho ser gran contemplatuo  
 De amor sintiendo secretos escondidos  
 Ni mis seruicios en que fueron tenidos  
 Pues gaste en vano mi pensamiento altiuo:  
 Amor mi seso y aluedrio te dado  
 Mi juentud en seruirte gaste  
 Hasta oy desto jamas me castigue  
 Tu mal teniendo por bien muy estimado.*  
 (Poem 71, 1-8)

Was it any use to contemplate love, / and perceive its hidden secrets? / What was all  
 my service for? / I spent in vain my high mind. / Love, I have given you my mind and my  
 free will. / I spent my youth serving you. / Until now I did not punish myself for it, / for  
 I considered your sorrows a great good.

It has been argued that by 1541 Romani's edition was known in Barcelona  
 within the entourage of the Duke of Somma, who sponsored the 1543 edition  
 of March's complete works. As will be tackled in the second part of this study,  
 Petrarchism played a crucial role in the making of March's complete works.

A number of reasons suggest that the Navarro-Romaní editorial operation was also fundamentally inspired by Petrarch's poetry.<sup>59</sup> The very selection of poetry into «moralidades» is already a symptom of Petrarchan influence.

Indeed, the opening palinodial poem may not be the only element inspired by Petrarch. The separation between works on love and works on death as well as the spiritual ending do seem to mirror the *Canzoniere*, which is divided into works during Laura's life and works after Laura's death, and ends with two sonnets dedicated to God and a song addressed to the Virgin. The crucial part of Romaní's fabrication seems to be in the section on death. It is noteworthy that Navarro's poems on death include thirteen compositions. From the first manuscripts of March's works, a section of his poems had been grouped together and transmitted accordingly (92-95, 97, 96). This section was believed to correspond to poems that March had composed on the death of his wife and beloved.<sup>60</sup> Navarro's poems on death include those compositions, but also Poem 90 (about a good past and his present suffering), 88 (on having lost his love), 57 (on sorrow and good dying), and a much edited 114 (again on March's losing her love). According to March's textual tradition, none of these poems mentions explicitly that March's beloved is dead. Navarro deemed they were «cantica de mort» because, in fact, Romaní freely rewrote some of those stanzas so that they conveyed that March's beloved was dead (Ramírez i Molas, *La poesia* 127-29):

Mon foll pensar me dispon voler tal  
 Que follament a fet mi amar  
 E yo forsats de aquell apartar  
 Me par ser bo tot quant a tots es mal.<sup>61</sup>

(Poem 114, vv. 77-80)

My foolish thinking is making me wish such things! / It has made me love foolishly; / and since I am forced to be apart from her / I believe to be good for me what is bad for everyone.

<sup>59</sup> In a series of articles Cabré and Torró have supported the thesis that a Petrarchist editorial arrangement of March's works has defined many of March's extant textual witnesses since the mid-1400s (see Cabré and Torró, «Perché alcun ordine»; Torró, «El cançoner de Saragossa»; and Cabré, «Un lugar de Petrarca»).

<sup>60</sup> For a detailed explanation of March's cycle on the death of his beloved, see Chapter 6, section «The parts and the whole.»

<sup>61</sup> Cf. Bohigas's edition: «Mon foll pensar me disponch voler tal / que ha fet mi deu d'Amor adorar, / e yo, forçat de aquell apartar, / me par ser bo tot quant a tots es mal.»

Locos cuydados me hizieron ser tal  
 amando aquella que nunca je olvidado  
*quando por muerte me vi della apartado*  
 tuve por bueno lo que a todos es mal.

Foolish worries made me be / loving her whom I have never forgotten. / *When I saw death set me apart from her* / I took as good what it was bad for everyone.

Pus he perdut a vos quimereu vida  
 Per vos amar del mon me contentaua  
 Y de les gents tot grat abanonaua  
 E uos aueu ma sperança scarnida.  
 (Poem 88, vv. 5-8)

...for I have lost you, who was my life. / I was satisfied with the world because I could love you / and I could leave behind any pleasure from other people / and now you have undermined my hope.

Desde que nos veo me veo sin la vida  
 Despues que hos quise el mu[n]do magradaua  
 Todo lo del por vos abandonaua  
*y agora mas que os dallo [sic] del partida.*

Since I do not see you, I see myself lifeless. / After I started loving you, I enjoyed the world. / I abandoned all of it just for you / *but more so now that you have left it.*

There is in particular one of Romaní's rewritings not noticed by Ramírez i Molas that might even further support Romaní's genuinely Petrarchist inspiration. It appears in Poem 93, which is part of the original series that are documented in old manuscripts:

Yo no puch dir que yo no sia desert  
 De tot delit quant morta limagin  
 De mi mateix mespant quant yo ma fin  
 Pensant sa mort em par que no so cert:  
 Tal mudament he vist en temps tan breu  
 Que qui volgui [cf. volgue] a mi venir no pot  
 Ne sent ne veu nenten sil dich mon vot  
 E tot es be puix es obra de deu.  
 (vv. 89-96)

I cannot say that it does not / please me at all when I think of her dead. / I scare myself when I think / about her death; I think I must be wrong. / I have suffered a great change

in a short time: / she who loved me cannot come back to me, / and cannot hear, nor see, nor understand if I tell her my promises. / But everything is fine, because it is God's will.

In the original text, March recalls his beloved and is pleased with his memories of her. She cannot come back to him, and he cannot communicate with her anymore. Romani's translation recounts a different story:

Yo soy aquel de todo bien desierto  
 Quando en vos pienso y muerta hos ymagino  
 De mi mespanto si enello mas me afino  
 Se ques verdad y no paresce cierto:  
*Paresce veros hablar y estar con vos*  
*Que respondeys con honesto donayre*  
*Todo es falso castillo es enel ayre*  
 Y todo es bueno pues ques obra de dios.

I am the one lacking all good. / When I think of you, and I can see you dead in my mind / I scare myself if I think of it: / I know that it is true although it may not seem so. / *It seems to me that I can see you talk, and I can be with you; / and you answer back with virtuous gestures. / Everything is false like castles in the air.* / And everything is fine, because it is God's will.

Romani's translation rewrites March's original. In *Ro* March thinks of his beloved and imagines her. His fantasy makes him believe that he is really seeing her and talking to her, and she answers back; but everything is just his imagination. Romani's rewriting could genuinely be motivated by a poor understanding of the original text, but it also could have been suggested by a theme in Petrarch's *RVF*. In poems 279-80 Petrarch is back in Vacluse and imagines, or wants to think, that his beloved Laura is still alive there: «[Laura] veggio, et odo, et intendo ch'anchor viva / di sí lontano a' sospir' miei risponde» (279, vv. 7-8: «I see, and I hear, and I believe that she lives / and answers my sighs from afar»). In the following short sequence (282-86), Laura appears in Petrarch's dreams. This latter motive was also imitated by several Petrarchist authors.<sup>62</sup>

Finally, the last section on spirituality extends a palinodial and penitential perspective. Poems in the 43rd and 45th positions are actually parts of single Poem 105, which is a penitential prayer to God. In Poem 105, March admits his sins and asks God for help in order to achieve salvation. Poem 104

<sup>62</sup> See, for instance, Giovan Francesco Caracciolo's «Quella che di bellezza e de honestate»; and Benet Garret il Cariteo's Sonnet 125, «In sogno, men crudel ch'esser solea.»

is between the two parts of 105 and denounces the moral decadence of the world. The final composition is made of the first stanza of Poem 115 and the last stanza of Poem 113. No other textual witness mixes and unites these two stanzas from separate poems, so an editorial construct appears most likely to have occurred. The effect of his editorial construct is a conclusive contritional ending to March's poems: «Pues marrepiento conocimiento alcanço / Daquel error que a huyr mesfuerço» (Poem 115, 1-2).

In conclusion, the last part of this chapter has argued that a moral edge further pervades Navarro's edition through the choice of texts included in the book. Navarro's volume features a selection of pieces from March's corpus that, in conjunction with their distribution in the book's four different sections, overall foregrounds a chaste, spiritual love –its scientific casuistry and sorrowful expression. Navarro's volume censors (as does Romani's translation of any verse) any poem that adheres to or simply mentions love as a sensuous, bodily, desirable phenomenon.

The arrangement of March's poems in groups or *cantica* according to their alleged main theme (love, morality, death, spirituality) follows in the steps of Petrarch's vernacular works. Although the thematic distribution of the poems might recall Petrarch's *Trionfi*, the arrangement of the poems in fact structures a spiritual evolution for the poetic voice akin to Petrarch's *Canzoniere*. In it, the poetic voice moves from a (juvenile) love experience to his repentance and contrition, prompted by his maturity and the death of his beloved. A series of poems containing a regretful stance and palinodic discourse with respect to the love experience of the poetic voice contributes to this perspective. More decisively, several editorial manipulations concur to fabricate a Petrarchized Marchian poetic voice.

On the one hand, the inclusion of several poems within the *cantica* on death imposes a morbid interpretation upon them, despite the fact that, when literally interpreted, nothing related to the death of the beloved is to be found in them. On the other hand, new compositions are created by dividing Poem 105 into two different poems and by conjoining stanzas from different pieces, 115 and 113, into one single poem. Furthermore, several instances of Romani's own free versioning of March's text, in Poem 1 and in other pieces on death, seem to recreate discursive commonplaces and situations from Petrarch's *RVF*.<sup>63</sup>

This is the last –albeit central– poetic referent that fashioned March's poetry in Navarro's edition and Romani's translation, along with the translator's practices and the editorial handling of the text at the printing shop. The

<sup>63</sup> The Petrarchan echoes of the poetry attributed to the Comendador Escrivá (Ravasini 50-64) provide a perfectly coherent profile for the Petrarchism of the Navarro edition.

outcome was a poetic corpus materially and hermeneutically refashioned altogether to conform to contemporary ideologies and literature of the Valencia of the 1530s. Navarro's volume is thus a clearly distinct editorial product. The next three chapters will reveal how the Valencian edition, for all its peculiarities, shared a common poetic and hermeneutical environment with the 1543 Amorós edition.

# LES OBRES DE MOSSÈN AV. SIAS MARCH.



(cur  
 VÍ no es trist/de mos dictats no  
 ho'n algú teps/que sia trist, estat  
 e lo qui es/de mals passonat  
 p fer se trist/no cerq loch scur  
 lija mos dits/moltrâts pèssa torbada  
 lens algú art/exits d'hó fora seny  
 e la raho/que'n tal dolor me'npeny  
 amor ho sab/quín es la causa'tada:

Alguna part/he molta es trobada  
 de gran delit/en la pensa del trist  
 he si les gents/ab gran dolor m'an vist  
 de gran delit/m'arma fon companyada  
 quant simplement/amor ab mi babita  
 tal delit sent/que nom cuyt ser al mon  
 e com los fets/vul veure de pregon  
 me escladament/ab dolor me delita.

Arma per  
anima.

De pgon  
per prima  
ment.

Mils per  
millor.

Prest, es lo temps/que fare vida h'rmíta  
 per mils poder/d'amor les festes colre  
 de't viure'strany/ algu nos vula dolre  
 car per sa cort/amor me vol, hem cita  
 he yo qui'am/per si, tant solament  
 no denegant/lo do quem pot donar  
 a sa tristor/me plau abandonar  
 e per toltens/viure'n tristadament.

A

Figure 2. Les obres de mossèn Ausiàs March. Barcelona: Carles Amorós, 1543, 4<sup>o</sup>, f. 11.

#### 4. FERRANDO DE CARDONA, FROM NAPLES TO BARCELONA

On December 22, 1543, Carles Amorós finished printing in Barcelona «LES OBRES DE MOSSÈN AVSIÀS MARCH AB VNA DECLARATIO EN LOS MARGES DE ALGVNS VOCABLES SCVR» («The Works of Ausiàs March with Marginal Clarifications on Some Obscure Words»). The book came out three years after Navarro's *editio princeps*; and, as mentioned above, despite not being the first edition of March's poetry, it still was the first edition of March's complete works. All later sixteenth-century reprints of March's poetry, Jorge de Montemayor's and Vicent Mariner's translations carried a text that after all stemmed from the one published in 1543. Yet, while March's 1543 edition arguably played a crucial role in the dissemination of his verses, his long-lasting success among Renaissance Spanish poets should be credited to another one of Amorós's editions.

A few months before printing March's complete poetry, on March 20, 1543, Amorós's workshop issued the edition of *Las obras de Boscán y algunas de Garcilaso de la Vega repartidas en cuatro libros* («The Works of Boscán and Some by Garcilaso de la Vega, Divided Into Four Books»). With twenty-one reprints during the sixteenth century, *Las obras de Boscán y Garcilaso* became the herald of the new Italianate and classicist vernacular poetry throughout Spain.<sup>1</sup> This volume contained sonnets, *canciones*, *capítulos*, and eclogues, which featured poetical imitations not only of Petrarch, Ovid, and Virgil, but also of March. Thanks to Boscán's initiative to have his own works printed together with some of Garcilaso's, March's post-troubadour verses obtained authorial validation, promotion, and additional dissemination across Spain. Carles Amorós's printing-shop fostered an overarching dissemination of the most current trends in Spanish poetry. But while those trends were certainly led by the exemplary works of Boscán and Garcilaso, they were also accompanied by March's own text.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Boscán's and Garcilaso's works, regardless of the former's landmark meeting with Andrea Navagero in 1526 Granada, were not the first examples of Italianist metrics or influence of Petrarch's vernacular works among Iberian courtly lyric authors. In addition to the highly Italo-philic works of the Marquis of Santillana, including his «sonetos fechos al itálico modo» (1398-1458), Pere Torroella (ca. 1420-92), for example, authored the first extant sonnet written in Catalan. For Petrarchan motives in the *Cancionero general*, see Rico, «De Garcilaso y otros petrarquismos»; Whetnall, «Las transformaciones de Petrarca»; and Morros, «Gómez Manrique.»

<sup>2</sup> Boscán and Garcilaso were not either the first Hispanic poets to have combined in their poetry Petrarchan and Marchian referents; see, for instance, the works by Pere Torroella and Romeu Llull.

Juan Boscán and Carles Amorós would thus appear to be the two main participants in the making of both 1543 editions; but, in fact, a much more nuanced cultural and literary milieu was involved, including not only a poet and a printer, but also the most immediate local audience and the patron of one of the editions. Beatriz Fernández de Córdoba y Figueroa, Duchess of Somma, to whom Boscán addressed the prologue to the second book of his *Obras*, was among that local audience. Amorós's 1543 edition of March as well as its 1545 reprint were sponsored by Beatriz's husband, the Duke of Somma and Admiral of Naples, Ferrando de Cardona. Ferrando and Beatriz were prominent figures in the social scene from which two editorial milestones in the history of the Hispanic poetry of the Renaissance emerged.

Based on published and archival material, this chapter aims to provide a few notes on the biography the Dukes of Somma, Ferrando and Beatriz. Focused mostly on the patron of March's editions, this chapter will highlight the bonds between the Duke of Somma and each of the local venues where the so-called new poetry began and was first printed (i.e. Naples, Barcelona, and Charles V's itinerant court), and will underscore the centrality of his sponsored author. The shared intellectual community underlying the publication of both Boscán's and March's works in Barcelona will also be examined, with the aim of laying out the socio-historical foundations for the material and hermeneutical analyses of March's 1543 edition in Chapters 5 and 6.

## LINEAGE

Ferrando Folch de Cardona Anglesola, in legal documentation commonly referred to as Ferrando de Cardona, was born in Naples on November 20, 1521, and died in Sant Cugat del Vallès on September 13, 1571. He was the son of Ramon Folch de Cardona Anglesola (1467-1522) and Isabel de Requesens Enríquez (1495-1532).<sup>3</sup> As his father's universal heir, Ferrando inherited the Neapolitan titles of Great Admiral of the Kingdom and Count of

<sup>3</sup> See Yeguas, «Sobre Beatriu Fernández de Córdoba» 82. Yeguas's article provides fundamental chronological and genealogical data about Ferrando and his wife. For later events in Ferrando's life during the 1530-50s, see Molas Ribalta, «Las redes del poder de Carlos I.» Regarding Ferrando's descent well until the end of the seventeenth century see Molas, «Los Folch de Cardona y Andalucía» and *L'alta noblesa catalana* 45-52. A summary of Ferrando's testament in Salazar Castro 1: 626-27. For more details on the Viceroy of Naples see Yeguas, *El mausoleu de Bellpuig* 23-90 and 183-84, which is the most up-to-date account of Ramon de Cardona's life and patronage of the arts, alongside Yeguas's own «Giovanni da Nola e la tomba del viceré.» On the political career of Ramon de Cardona, see Hernando Sánchez, *El reino de Nápoles en el Imperio de Carlos V*

Oliveto. He also became Baron of Bellpuig and Linyola (Catalonia), and Lord of the Valley of Almonazir (Valencia). From his mother, Ferrando inherited the titles of Count of Palamós, Baron of Calonge (Catalonia), and the Dukedom of Somma (Naples). The latter title was purchased by Isabel de Requesens after her husband's death.<sup>4</sup>

Ferrando belonged to a family of Catalan ascent that had prominently settled in Naples during the 1500s when the kingdom returned to Aragonese rulership under Ferdinand the Catholic. Ramon de Cardona, who participated in the conquest, became Viceroy of Sicily (1507-09) and subsequently Viceroy of Naples until his death in 1522. One of Ramon's sisters, Isabel de Cardona, married Bernat de Vilamarí, named Count of Capaccio and appointed Admiral and Captain of the King's Navy by the Catholic Monarch. Bernat de Vilamarí also acted as the Viceroy's lieutenant in Naples while Ramon de Cardona was engaging the French army as Captain of the Holy League (1511-15). The Cardona-Vilamarins had two daughters, both of whom married remarkable members of the local nobility. Joana de Vilamarí married Antonio de Cardona, who belonged to a branch of the Cardona lineage that had established itself in Sicily in the early fifteenth century, and held the title of Marquis of Padula. The other daughter, Isabel de Vilamarí, married Ferrante Sanseverino, Prince of Salerno.

Another one of Ramon de Cardona's sisters was Castellana de Cardona, who married Ferrante d'Aragona, an illegitimate son of former King of Naples Ferrante I (1423-94). Castellana's husband was granted the Dukedom of Montalto by the Catholic King, and chaired Naples's Collateral Council for some months in 1532 –on the death of Pompeo Colonna and until the arrival of the new viceroy Pedro de Toledo.<sup>5</sup> On March 6, 1532, the day after Ferran-

passim. Finally, on the literary patronage carried out by the Cardona lineage between the twelve and the sixteenth centuries see Rubió i Balaguer, *Els Cardona i les lletres*. Footnote references to call numbers indicate my own archival contributions.

<sup>4</sup> In addition to Ferrando, Ramon de Cardona had another son, Antoni, who was disabled; two daughters, Beatriz and Maria; and at least one illegitimate son, Ramon. According to Ramon de Cardona's last will, dating February 24, 1522, the viceroy bequeathed his natural child a sum of money that was stipulated in a secret codicil kept by Ferrando (AHNSN, Corvera, folder 343, document 25). In a settlement dating July 19, 1552, Ferrando agrees to pay his half-sibling 500 ducats, legally not bound to, but *de facto* compensating for the alleged 10,000 ducats which supposedly that secret, lost codicil had assigned to Ferrando's half-brother (AHNSN, Toca, fold. 1, doc. 14). According to Salazar y Castro's summary of Ferrando's last will, Ferrando's half-brother Ramon would have become the heir of Ferrando's patrimony, if none of Ferrando's own children had outlived him.

<sup>5</sup> See Hernando Sánchez, *Castilla y Nápoles* 193-94. According to the Count Maffei, the duke was one of the six high noblemen in the twenty-four-member commission which negotiated and approved the Neapolitan contribution of 1,500,000 ducats for Emperor Charles V in January 1536 (Coniglio 354-55). The other princes were Ferrante Gonzaga, Alfonso d'Avalos, Ferrante San-

do's mother died, the Duke of Montalto became Ferrando's tutor,<sup>6</sup> and was empowered to administer Ferrando's possessions and finances.<sup>7</sup>

### EDUCATION

Thus, since mid-1532, Ferrando was raised in Naples under the tutorship of his uncle. Among other responsibilities, the Duke of Montalto was in charge of paying wages to Ferrando's servants, some of whose names and duties are recorded in an invoice dated March 9, 1535. This bill includes the name of Cardona's educators.<sup>8</sup> His *ayo* was a certain Diego Álvarez de Peralta, who received the highest annual salary in the staff, the sum of 100 ducats. In addition to the *ayo*, Ferrando was assigned the services of a *maestro*, who must have been in charge of teaching him the rudiments of the *studia humanitatis*. His teacher was Ludovico Parisetti, who received a yearly salary of 60 ducats. Parisetti is an obscure humanist who took part in the cultural entourage of local Neapolitan nobility, alongside other more famous intellectuals and artists. The exact identity of Ferrando's *maestro* cannot be established. It does not seem to correspond to that of Ludovico Parisetti the Younger (1503-70). A native from Reggio-Emilia, Parisetti the Younger studied law in Pisa and returned to Reggio to become a judge.<sup>9</sup> Parisetti's life and intellectual profile does not quite fit with a position as Ferrando's teacher in the 1530s. Nor were

severino, Pietro Antonio Sanseverino, and Andrea Doria. However, Hernando Sánchez provides another list of high noblemen that excludes Ferrante d'Aragona (see *Castilla y Nápoles* 292-97).

<sup>6</sup> In his last will, Ferrando's father established that the Duke of Montalto would become Ferrando's tutor in case his wife died prematurely; if not, Lluís Icart, Lord of Castel Nuovo; or Cristòfol de Briçeño, Ramon's cousin, who belonged to the King's Council (AHNSN, Corvera, fold. 343, doc. 25). Isabel de Requesens died on March 5, 1532 (Parisetti, *In funere illustrissimae virginis Isabellae Cardonae*). On March 6, the Aragon became Ferrando's tutor. Cardinal Pompeo Colonna confirmed Ferrante d'Aragona as Ferrando's tutor on March 20 (AHNSN, Moncada, fold. 406, doc. 8).

<sup>7</sup> On July 3, 1532 Isabel de Requesens's majordomo, Galceran Sapllana, deposited goods to the duke as the tutor of Ferrando (AHNSN, Moncada, fold. 406, doc. 1). On August 7, 1543 Ferrando and Antonio d'Aragona, son of Ferrando's former tutor, signed an agreement that settled Antonio's return of several possessions previously entrusted to the Duke of Montalto while tutoring Cardona. These possessions were returned to Ferrando after a judicial process ruling his legitimate claim over some jewels, clothes, cash, and a chapel worth 100,000 ducats (AHNSN, Corvera, fold. 341, doc. 2).

<sup>8</sup> BCPM, Nàpols, caixa xxxiii, doc. 12; see Appendix 10. The Duke of Montalto authorized the payment of one-third of the annual salary to the members of Ferrando's house in Naples.

<sup>9</sup> On Parisetti the Younger's life, see Ferrari; Tiraboschi, *Biblioteca modenese* 6: 53-58, and *Storia della letteratura italiana* 7: 1404-06.

any of the works that can be safely attributed to Ferrando's teacher signed by a «Iunioris» Parisetti.<sup>10</sup> Another Ludovico Parisetti, «the Elder,» might be a slightly more likely candidate. A Reggian humanist as well, he was related to Parisetti the Younger –they were paternal cousins– and guided his relative in the art of poetry.<sup>11</sup> Nevertheless, it could be the case that Ferrando's teacher was none of the Parisettis from northern Reggio-Emilia, but rather a native from the southern Reggio in Calabria. In any event, Ferrando's teacher can be safely linked to the following three books of panegyric poetry printed in Naples between 1532 and 1535:<sup>12</sup>

*In funere illustrissimae viraginis Isabellae Cardonae richesentiae barcinonensis hispanae cognomento vicereginae per Ludouicum Parisetum regiensem Neapoli habita panegyrica sylua, quae epicaedion.* Neapoli : per Ioannem Sulsbacchium Hagenouensem Germanum, 1532, 9 Aprilis. 12 ff.; 4°. («Panegyric Sylva Held in Naples as an Epicedium, on the Death of the Most Illustrious Heroic Woman Isabel de Cardona Requesens from Barcelona, Vicereine of Spanish Family; by Ludovico Parisetti from Reggio»)

*Ludovici Pariseti Regiensis de victoria apud coronas peloponnesi urbem nauali expeditione contra Turcas habita anno a Christo nato.M.D.XXXIII. Ad Illust. D. Andream Oriam Genuen. Magnum Caesarea classis praefectum, Melphiensium Principem Panegyrica Sylva, Quae Epaeus.* s.l. [Naples], s. n., s.a. [1533?]. 8 ff.; 4°. («Panegyric Sylva as an Aenygma by Ludovico Parisetti from Reggio, Addressed to Genoan Andrea Oria, Commander of the Royal Navy, Prince of Meplhi, on the Victory Near a City of the Peloponesus in a Naval Expedition Against the Turkish Crowns Held in the Year 1533 AD»)

<sup>10</sup> Parisetti the Younger boasts a vast and almost totally unstudied Latin body of works. A preliminary catalogue of his works can be obtained from the EDIT16 database. Akin to Erasmusism (D'Ascia), his works include an early dialogue *De perfectiori humanae vitae foelicitate* (1531), two books of Horatian epistles –which he had addressed to correspondents such as Pietro Bembo, Celio Calcagnini, and Jacopo Sadoletto– (1541 and 1553); another collection of letters addressed to Pope Pius IV (1560), a poem on the creation of the world (1550), another one on the immortality of the soul inspired by Lucretius (1541); and three orations *De diuina in hominem beneuolentia, atque beneficentia* (1552). January 28, 1533, Cardinal Bembo thanked Parisetti from Padova for the letter he had been addressed (*Opere del Cardinal Pietro Bembo* 3: 380–81). Parisetti also composed a *Pausithea ad P. Syluerium*, published in 1554 by Aldo Manuzio's sons.

<sup>11</sup> The elder Parisetti was the author of a Latin verse history of Reggio (Tiraboschi, *Storia della letteratura italiana* 6: 1404). Ferrari provides the title of Parisetti the Elder's history of Reggio: *Epodion. A condito et instaurando regio Lepidi, sua ad usque tempora; repetitae historiae Carmen*, published in 1517.

<sup>12</sup> Based on the author's name appearing on the book title, another publication may also be attributed to Ferrando's teacher: *Sylua quae Hadrianus*, printed in Rom in 1522. This work, just like the others composed by Ferrando's teacher between 1532–33, also happens to be a booklet containing a *sylva* of compositions. See the EDIT16 catalogue, and Toscano, *Contributo alla storia*.

*Clarissimae virginis Beatrici Cardonae per Ludouigum Parisetum epicedium.* Neapoli : Mathaeus Brixiensis & Ioannes Alemanus imprimebant, 1535. 12 ff.; 4°. («Epicedium for the Illustrious Virgin Beatriz de Cardona by Ludovico Pariseti»)

The first title contains a funeral collection of poems in memory of Ferrando's mother. The second book consists of three compositions: a long panegyric piece in praise of Admiral Andrea Doria; a short laudatory epigram addressed to Ferrante Sanseverino, Prince of Salerno; and a slightly longer poem celebrating the return of Maria de Cardona, Marchioness of Padula, who had travelled from Sicily back to Naples together with his aunt Isabel de Vilamarí. In short, it is a poem addressed to Ferrando's second cousin (Maria) and cousin (Isabel). The last book is another collection on the death of Beatriz, one of Ferrando's sisters, who died on May 20, 1535.<sup>13</sup>

For all of Pariseti's obscurity, the second composition attests to his relationship with two cultivated and influential patrons of letters in contemporary Naples. Isabel de Vilamarí was the recipient of poems composed by contemporary female authors, such as Maria Edvige Pittarella and Laura Terracina, and was acclaimed by humanists such as Scipione Capece and Ortensio Lando. Lando remembered Isabel reciting Latin verses and prose at the house of her niece, Maria de Cardona. As to Capece, he hosted the meetings of the Accademia Pontaniana after Sannazaro's death in 1532, and enjoyed the protection of Isabel de Vilamarí and her husband. Capece dedicated his cosmological poem *De principis rerum* (1546) to the Princess of Salerno.<sup>14</sup>

Maria de Cardona's entourage stands as a center of literary endeavors in its own right. Giovanni Andrea Gesualdo's edition and commentary of Petrarch's *Canzoniere* dedicated to Maria (1533) had been conceived by Antonio Minturno's intellectual circle.<sup>15</sup> She composed poetry, and a number of authors celebrated her love for the arts, including Juan Bautista Pino, Mario de Leo, Bernardo Tasso, and Garcilaso de la Vega. Their repeated reference to Maria in comparison to, or as one more of, the Muses of Mount Parnassus reappears

<sup>13</sup> Ferrando paid for his sister's tomb, which was next to his mother's grave in the church of l'Annunziata (Yeguas, «Sobre Beatriu Fernández de Córdoba» 85).

<sup>14</sup> See Segarra Añón for a knowledgeable account of Isabel de Vilamarí's intellectual profile and activities. On Capece, see Parenti, «Capece, Scipione.» Morros has recently proposed that Garcilaso de la Vega's Neapolitan love may have been Isabel de Vilamarí; «Proporcio y Garcilaso» and «La muerte de Isabel Freyre.» See also Fosalba for further documentation on Garcilaso's Neapolitan social circles in the 1530s.

<sup>15</sup> See Belloni 189-226; and Kennedy, *Authorizing Petrarch* 2-3, 56-64. On Minturno's circle and its relationship to Garcilaso de la Vega and Miguel Mai, see Fosalba; and Bellsollell.

in Parisetti's piece (f. 8r):<sup>16</sup> «Iam Formella madens, iam docta Neapolis, & qui / Pausilipus nautis aequora tuta parat, / Te decimam musis, quartam Sirenibus, auctu / Quartam eodem Charitum te numero inseruit» («At one time dewy Formella, then learned Naples and Posillipo too (who makes safe the seas for sailors»), added you to the Muses (as the tenth), to the Sirens (as the fourth), and by that same augmented number, you are fourth among the Graces»).<sup>17</sup>

### THE COURT OF CHARLES V

Ferrando was still living in Naples when Charles V paid a visit to the city after his victory in Tunis.<sup>18</sup> On November 25, 1535, the emperor and his court triumphantly entered Naples through the Porta Capuana.<sup>19</sup> Contemporary accounts on the imperial procession set the Duke of Montalto marching side by side with the Viceroy Pedro de Toledo, followed immediately by the Great Squire (Alfonso d'Avalos, Marquis del Vasto), the Great Treasurer, two heralds, and the emperor himself –who preceded the rest of prelates, the King's Major Chaplain, councilmen and other officials (Rosso 61). The Seven Offices of the Kingdom– with the exception of the Great Squire, who walked by Charles V –paraded directly ahead of Ferrante d'Aragona and Pedro de Toledo. Among the Offices was: «il Duca di Somma Cardona gran Ammirante del Mare» (Rosso 60). Lega provides some more details: «Dopo di lui [Ferrante Spinello, Great Protonotary] giungea il giovenetto figlio di don Raimondo di Cardona, alunno de gentilezza et de virtù, godendo l'offizio di

<sup>16</sup> The first two verses of Garcilaso's Sonnet 24 begin «Illustre honor del nombre de Cardona, / décima moradora del Parnaso.» On the flattering verses dedicated to Maria de Cardona, see Mele «Las poesías latinas de Garcilaso de la Vega» 123-25. For a recent work relating this text to Garcilaso de la Vega's stay in Naples, see Fosalba 48-49, n. 121; Fosalba, though, does not attribute this poem to Parisetti.

<sup>17</sup> I thank Christopher Celenza for turning my translation into an elegant English rendering of the original verses.

<sup>18</sup> On the political agenda involved in Charles's sojourn in Naples, see Hernando Sánchez, *Castilla y Nápoles* 285-97. See also his «El Virrey Pedro de Toledo» to learn about the local disputes surrounding the celebration of Charles's entry into the city. Visceglia has studied the symbology pervading the triumphal ceremonies following the emperor's Italian journey after his victory in Tunis.

<sup>19</sup> For contemporary accounts of the emperor's triumphant entry see Rosso, Castaldo, Santa Cruz, Vandenesse, and Lega –the latter edited by Toscano, «Le Muse e i Colossi.» On Neapolitan booklets encomiastic of Emperor Charles, see Toscano, «Carlo V nella letteratura.» Garcilaso de la Vega is assumed to have entered Naples with the imperial cortege (Kenniston, *Garcilaso de la Vega* 137-39).

grande Ammirante» («After him followed the very young son of Don Ramon de Cardona, a pupil of politeness and virtue, enjoying the Office of Great Admiral»; see Toscano, «Le Muse e i Colossi» 394). Lega's appraisal of Ferrando's youth reminds us that the Great Admiral of the Kingdom was then barely fourteen years old.<sup>20</sup>

This may have not been the only ceremony related to Charles V's visit that Ferrando attended. While in Naples, the emperor's packed agenda included the marriage of his natural daughter Margaret of Parma with Alessandro de' Medici, the I Duke of Florence. The ceremony took place in the Castel Capuano on February 26, 1536,<sup>21</sup> and prompted the publication of a rare booklet (Naples: Matteo Canze, February 1536) dedicated to the Duke of Florence, which was intended as a wedding gift: *Le cose volgare di Messer Agostino Landulfo Vescouo di Monte Piloso nelle quale se ragiona delle cause dell'una e l'altra fortuna diuise in sei libri & allo Illustrissimo Signore Allessandro di medici Duca di Fiorenzze intitulate* («The Vernacular Works of Messer Agostino Landulfo, Bishop of Monte Piloso, Which Discuss the Cause of Both [Good and Bad] Fortunes in Six Books, Addressed to the Illustrious Sir Alessandro de' Medici, Duke of Florence».<sup>22</sup>

Landulfo's piece features a report and transcription of the poems that were recited and sung in praise of the duke's future wife, along with the discussions that took place in the following five *giornate* –but in fact only one day– at the villa of Poggio Reale.<sup>23</sup> Presided over by the emperor and his natural daughter, this celebratory, literary reunion allegedly took place in December 1536 before Alessandro de' Medici's arrival in Naples. Landulfo provides a wealth of details on an event packed with highly ranked personages, such as Ferrante Sanseverino and Isabel de Vilamarí, and Alfonso d'Avalos and his wife Maria d'Aragona –Marquises del Vasto. At the same time, as Grippo and Toscano

<sup>20</sup> Giovanni Antonio Summonte's account of the parade also records Ferrando's presence in Charles's triumph, but fails to correctly convey Ferrando's age: «Ferrante giovanetto di sei anni, Figliuolo de Raimondo di Cardona, Duca di Somma, Gran Ammirante» (Summonte 5: 194).

<sup>21</sup> See Grippo and Toscano 35-37; and Hernando Sánchez, *Castilla y Nápoles 117-20*, which provides more details but also a different date for the wedding. See also Summonte's account at 5: 216 and the following pages.

<sup>22</sup> The booklet was first studied by Grippo and Toscano. See also Corsi. Curiously, the Duke of Calabria owned a copy of Landulfo's works (*Inventario de los libros de don Fernando de Aragón*, Item 719). I consulted the copy housed at the library of the Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei (RM0418).

<sup>23</sup> «Considerando piu delle uolte Illustrissimo mio Signor la si graue e fatigosa impresa di quelle rime ch'in lode della figliuola di sua Maiesta Cesarea hora per Dio gratia sua Moglie di stile non uolgare n'uguale al mio debole ingegno recetate forono, come di quei diuini dialogi in cinque giornate diuisi del giardino di Poggio reale con bellissimo ordine auanti a sua Maiesta ragionati, ch'a scriuere l'habbia impostami» (f. Aij).

acknowledge, some of its details cast serious doubts on the absolute reliability of Landulfo's account. In fact, the author stated to have not been among the guests. For example, the list of attendants problematically included Vittoria Colonna— a presence that does not seem possible to reconcile with her more than likely stay in Gennazano during that December (Grippe and Toscano 44-46). No other source of information about this event is known.<sup>24</sup> And yet, whether somewhat trustworthy or vaguely inspired by Bembo's *Gli Asolani*, Landulfo's *Cose volgare* furnish a curious and interesting portrait of Naples's local aristocracy, and a meaningful piece of information on Ferrando.

The narrator began by describing the idyllic Poggio Reale gardens, where Margaret and her father the emperor strolled in the company of their retinue. Suddenly, seven pageboys «non meno di lignaggio nobile che d'ingegno chiari» («of no less noble lineage than bright minds») stepped forward, made a circle, bowed, and together sang and played with their citharas a piece dedicated to the soon-to-be Duchess of Florence. Afterwards, each of the pageboys went on to sing his own piece dedicated to the emperor's daughter. Once the first group of young pages finished their songs, a second group stepped in, followed by a choir of young girls.

Among the first group of young pageboys, Grippe and Toscano have recognized the poet Bernardino Rota, Annibale da Gennaro, Count of Nicotera; Ferrante Carrafa, Marquis of San Lucido; and Camillo Pignatelli, Count of Borello (40-43). The third of the singers was a certain «Cardona,»<sup>25</sup> whom the editors assume to be a son of the former Neapolitan Viceroy. This Cardona played and sang the following madrigal:

Si come'l summo Dio, ch'ognaltro eccede  
 Caper nel intellet' human non pote,  
 Così se sforza'n uan, ch'al uostro uiso  
 Sta contemplando fiso:  
 Meraueglia infinit' al cor percote  
 Non gia di lui, ch'occhio mortal non uede,  
 Ma ben di uoi ch' apresso  
 Mirando'l uiso e'l lume di bei rai  
 Non mi sia donna immaginar concesso  
 Non che redir, chi sete  
 Ond' hogg' al mondo senza par uiuete

<sup>24</sup> Corsi (18) suggests without further proof that the event could have been the banquet Pedro de Toledo organized in Poggio Reale on December 19 (Rosso 65).

<sup>25</sup> «Gia se taceua lo carrafa lodato sommamente da tutti espedito del suo madrigale, E lo cardona conoscendo ch'alui toccaua senza che piu oltre si raggionasse sonando disse» (Eiii r-v).

Ch' è men bello d'assai  
 Ciocche nel ciel si scorge'n paradiso  
 Ad un breue mirar uostri occhi e'l riso.  
 (f. Eiii v)

Just as God supreme, who exceeds all else, / cannot be contained in the human mind, / so too does anyone who seeks to comprehend / your face by sight strive in vain. / My heart is struck by infinite wonder / that comes not from Him Whom mortal eyes cannot see, / but rather from you, for, / after seeing your face / and your beautiful eyes, / I'm unable to imagine, / my lady, –not to mention describe– who you are, / since you exist without equal in this world, / for far less beautiful is / what one sees in the heavens / of paradise than a brief glimpse of your eyes and smile (trans. Papio).

The madrigal received praise for its subtle and shrewd wit. Landulfo even described how the ladies in the audience were looking at each other in admiration during Cardona's performance, as if anticipating that he would be the winner of the contest. Nonetheless, out of respect for the remaining musicians, the ladies said nothing and so the rest of performances continued.<sup>26</sup> After the first round of songs, Emperor Charles ordered his secretary «Cobes» (Francisco de los Cobos) to award a medal to each and all of the young musicians, and to dress them up in cloth and gold, with the livery of his house, despite his regal decree «per moderantia.»<sup>27</sup>

This young Cardona must have been Ferrando, the same «giovenetto figlio di don Raimondo di Cardona,» who had paraded in the emperor's triumphal entry and belonged to the same social circles as the other attendants. Regarding the appearance of Ferrando in Landulfo's *Cose volgare*, several details happen to be remarkably factual. In addition to referencing the actual name of the emperor's secretary –the only Spanish character in the work– and besides these legalistic concerns about a viceregal law dating from April 1533,<sup>28</sup> the

<sup>26</sup> «Detto fin qui, diè a, suoi leggiadri uersi costui grato fine a cui le donne mentre si cantaua l'un'al'altra risguardando con accorti sembianti dauano segno di uolerli senza fallo il pregio donare, com'a colui che di tutti gli altri detto meglio hauesse, ma perche uenerano degli altri si tacquero: onde del suo Cantare, di sottil & adueduto ingegno merauigliosamente il lodorno» (ff. Eiii v-Eiv r).

<sup>27</sup> «La Ma:Ces uoltasi al .S. Cobes gl'i inpose che sette Medaglie dele piu belle elle piu ricche per hora pigliasse, & a ciascuno di Musici giouani per guidardone la sua donasse, & anche dite la d'oro, e, drappo di color di sua librea uestiti fossero e non tenuti all Regia pragmatica, che sua Ma: fatto hauea per moderantia alli soi subditi di questo nostro regno: li quali licenciati con le debite reuerenze l'accettorono, e, nel loro dipartire al improuiso dissero cosi» (f. Fij r).

<sup>28</sup> For further details on the law regarding luxurious attires see Corti 20-21, n. 40. A French chronicle of the imperial triumph pointed out the compliance with that «pragmatique et ordonnance» during the Imperial procession across the city (Vandenesse 581).

fact that Ferrando was being attired with the livery of the emperor's house is fitting with Ferrando's future presence in Charles V's entourage. Be that as it may, a character based on Ferrando de Cardona, who appears playing and singing a Petrarchist madrigal in Italian surrounded by members of the local nobility, yields a colorful snapshot of the Ferrando's social milieu in Naples.<sup>29</sup>

### FROM NAPLES TO BARCELONA

Cardona and his household left Naples for Barcelona at some point after the emperor's visit. The first of many documents that bear witness to Ferrando's presence in Barcelona is dated January 25, 1537 (AHPB, 313/97). This document is a notarized power of attorney, through which Ferrando appoints his cousin Luys de Cardona «capità de guerra» («Captain of War») in his County of Palamós and Calonge, in order to «guardar y defensar la vila y port de Palamos, per esser molt propinc a la marina y tenjr el Rey de França armada per la mar» («keep and defend the village and harbor of Palamós, since they are near the coast, and the king of France has his fleet out in the sea»). Given that Ferrando was still in Naples at the time of the imperial visit, and provided that Landulfo's account deserves some credit, Cardona might have left Naples by joining the imperial suite as a page.<sup>30</sup>

On March 22, 1536, Charles V headed for Rome and entered the city on April 5 along with a grand entourage of Spanish, Sicilian, and Neapolitan noblemen—including the Marquis del Vasto, the Viceroy of Sicily, the Count of Golisano, and apparently also Ferrando's future brother-in-law the Duke of Sessa. Cardona himself, though, is not mentioned in any extant account of the ceremony.<sup>31</sup> Departing from Rome, the emperor traveled across the Italian

<sup>29</sup> The madrigal allegedly composed by Ferrando features a sacred hyperbole that characterizes a lady with godly and heavenly attributes. Petrarch's references to Laura's smile as reminiscent of paradise are very frequent in the *RVF*, in poems that employed similar rhyme words as Cardona's (i.e., «riso,» «paradiso,» «viso,» and «fisso»): 73 (vv. 61-75), 123, 126 (vv. 46-68), and especially 292 («le cresse chiome d'òr puro lucente / e'l lampeggiar de l'angelico riso / che solean fare in terra un paradiso»). The initial simile structure might not be overlooked, considering it is the hall-mark of March's poetry, but the lack of literal parallels and the overall Petrarchist conventionality of Cardona's poem cannot be considered a hint of Ferrando's early familiarity with March's poetry.

<sup>30</sup> On the imperial journeys see the contemporary chronicles by Santa Cruz, Girón, García Cereceda, and Sandoval. See also the useful archival index by Foronda y Aguilera.

<sup>31</sup> Ferrando's name or titles are not included in the most extensive catalogue of attendants, which is provided by Santa Cruz 3: 323-24. However, a young Cardona might have participated in the parade among the «pajes de Su Majestad en muy hermosos caballos de diversas maneras guarnecidos» (Santa Cruz 3: 324).

peninsula and marched with his troops against Francis I in Provence. On September 13 Charles V was forced to retreat.<sup>32</sup> On November 14 the imperial suite left for Spain from the port of Genoa, and reached the harbor of Palamós on December 5. The next day it headed for Barcelona, and on December 7 was off again to Valladolid. Ferrando may have arrived in his own earldom of Palamós on December 5, 1536, and left the imperial suite to settle down in his dwellings at the carrer Ample in Barcelona (Yeguas, «Beatriu Fernández de Córdoba» 70). In any event, Ferrando and most of his household left Naples at some point between late November 1535 and January 1537.

Beginning in late January 1537 the notarial books of Joan Jeroni Canyelles and Joan Canyelles in Barcelona record many of Cardona's commercial and legal activities in a fairly systematic fashion. These records also reveal the names of some members of his household (*alumni, familiares*), who repeatedly appear as his witnesses and legal agents. Some had followed him from Naples, such as Jaume Forner and Diego Álvarez de Peralta. The latter took a new position as Ferrando's majordomo.<sup>33</sup> Some locals joined his staff, as did Joan Canyelles Jr.,<sup>34</sup> Vicenç Navarra,<sup>35</sup> Joan Agullana,<sup>36</sup> and Luis Pedrol,<sup>37</sup> among others.<sup>38</sup>

<sup>32</sup> It was during this retreat that Garcilaso de la Vega was fatally wounded in Le Muy and died in Nice on October 13. On the life of Garcilaso, see the classical accounts of Fernández de Navarrete, and Keniston, *Garcilaso de la Vega*. See also Sliwa's edition of Garcilaso's extant letters and other documents.

<sup>33</sup> See AHPB, 313/94, April 24, 1538. Álvarez de Peralta was married to Constanca de Mendoza, and appears holding a *miles* status on May 1, 1543 (313/14). Jaume Forner or Fornés was Ferrando's *maestro di sala* in Naples, and, at least in December 14, 1541, acted as majordomo in Barcelona (AHPB, 313/99; see also 313/99, July 6, 1540; 313/99, July 5, 1541; 313/75, September 12, 1541; 313/99, September 14, 1541; 313/100, February 2, and July 18, 1542). By 1542 and until 1547, Álvarez de Peralta might have joined the Imperial house as page of the house of Aragon and of Queen Juana (Martínez Millán, 4: 60; and 5: 76).

<sup>34</sup> Joan Canyelles Jr. was a gentleman from Barcelona who worked as Ferrando's secretary (AHPB, 313/92, February 16, 1537; 313/98 March 17 and 19 1538; 313/65 May 5, 1540; 313/98 July 6, 1541 and AHNN, Toca, fold. 396, doc. 5, March 7, 1541). In 1571 and 1577, he might have been elected *conseller* of Barcelona's city council (*Rúbriques de Bruniquer* 1: 48-49). He wrote his last will on February 2, 1583 (AHPB, 437/80). He was the son of Elisabet and Joan Canyelles, and the uncle of Jeroni Antic Canyelles—the latter a notary by both royal and apostolic authority. Canyelles Sr. was also a notary public by royal authority, and died before August 11, 1546 (*Dietaris de la Generalitat de Catalunya* 2: 24). The father of Ferrando's secretary must not be confused with Joan Jeroni Canyelles, notary public and Major Scribe of Barcelona's city hall, who died on March 11, 1563 (*Dietaris de la Generalitat de Catalunya* 2: 139). However, both homonymous notaries may have been related, or have worked together (cf. Cases i Lloscos). Cardona employed both beginning in January 1537.

<sup>35</sup> Vicenç Navarra mostly acted as Ferrando's legal agent. He was canon of the Barcelona Cathedral (AHPB, 313/92, February 7, and July 7, 1537; 313/58, March 7, 1537; 313/97, April 28, 1537; and so on until 313/99, September 14, 1541). Navarra could be the same individual who was disciple of Miquel Ivarra in the University of Barcelona, served as secretary and librarian of Tarrago-

As a young Neapolitan nobleman in Barcelona, Ferrando began participating in the official life of the city. On March 7, 1540, he attended the consecration of Elna's bishop. The event was celebrated in the palace of Catalonia's Governor, and among the audience were the highest members of the Catalan administration. They all somewhat curiously belonged to different branches of Ferrando's family: the governor Pere de Cardona; Ferran Folch de Cardona, Duke of Cardona; and Catalonia's Chancellor, Joan de Cardona.<sup>39</sup> But Ferrando did not lose touch with the Royal household. In January 1538, the emperor sojourned in Barcelona and between February 12 through 26 travelled around northern Catalonia and southern France. On February 26, if not sooner, Ferrando travelled with the emperor from Colliure back to Barcelona, where Charles V would still spend two more months (Pedro de Gante 12).

According to the *Diaris de la Generalitat*, on April 23, 1538, Ferrando and the Duke of Cardona participated in the solemn mass honoring Saint George, which took place in Barcelona and was officiated by the bishop of Gràcia (1: 454). Two days later, Ferrando left by sea towards Villefranche in Nice, together with the emperor and an eminent suite that included the Dukes of

na's archbishop Pere de Cardona, corresponded with Alfonso de Valdés, and belonged to the Erasmian circle of Miquel Mai; see Soberanas, «Les edicions catalanes» and «Las *Introducciones latinas*»; Yeguas, «Miquel Mai, embajador en Roma»; and, particularly focused on Mai's activity, Bellolell.

<sup>36</sup> Joan Agullana was a gentleman from Barcelona who often acted as Ferrando's legal agent (AHPB, 313/92, January 30, 1537; 393/13, April 20, 1538; 313/94, November 10, 1539; 313/98, November 29, 1539; 313/99, July 5, 1541; 313/14, April 28, and May 31, 1543; 313/15, February 6, 1544, etc.). Ferrando seems to have occasionally required loans from Agullana (AHPB, 313/100, June 22, 1544), but his main lenders were Bernat Taverner and Joan Bolet i Company (AHPB, 313/99, July 6, 1540; September 25, 1541). On three occasions Bolet and Taverner had been elected *taulers* («bankers») of Barcelona's city council, but had to resign due to the office being incompatible with their own private *taula de canvi* (*Rúbriques de Bruniquer* 1: 184, January 17, 1531; 5: 82, September 22, 1536; 5: 83, February 10, 1564).

<sup>37</sup> Luis Pedrol was another of Ferrando's *familiars*, who appears as witness in a couple of documents (AHPB, 313/99, December 14, 1541; 313/95, June 20, 1542). Pedrol acted as Ferrando's power of attorney in applying for a royal license to print «all the works of Ausiàs March», which «had never been printed before.» As Pagès suggested this was the application to Carles Amorós's 1543 edition of Ausiàs March's complete works (*b*) (Pagès, *Introducció* 25-26; and Madurell and Rubió 828-31, 833). By means of Pedrol, Ferrando also participated in the edition of the Spanish translation of the *Commentarie delle cose dei Turchi* by Paolo Giovio, which Carles Amorós finished printing in June 10, 1543 (Madurell and Rubió 828-29, 833-35).

<sup>38</sup> Bartolomeu Francolí, for instance, former secretary of Ferrando's, remained in Naples and worked closely with a certain Miquel Bastida (AHPB, 313/99; July 6, 1540; September 25, 1541; 313/12, May 12, and September 23, 1544).

<sup>39</sup> *Dietaris de la Generalitat* 2: 4. This event was underscored by Molas («La redes del poder de Carlos I» 389).

Alba, Nájera, Albuquerque, the Pope's Nuncio, and the Archbishop of Santiago (Girón 260-64; de Gante 22). The trip resulted in the encounter between Charles V and Francis I that led to their signing the Truce of Nice, on June 18, 1538.<sup>40</sup> De Gante commemorates how on June 14, the Duke of Nájera, the Count of Benavente, and Ferrando, Admiral of Naples, had met with the queen of France (de Gante 14).

#### MARRIAGE AND IN-LAWS

On June 15, 1539, Ferrando signed marital capitulations with Beatriz Fernández de Córdoba y Figueroa (Sessa, 1523-Barcelona, 1553).<sup>41</sup> Ferrando was the son of the former Viceroy of Naples and Beatriz was the granddaughter of Ramon de Cardona's predecessor in the Neapolitan office, Gonzalo Fernández de Córdoba, the *Gran Capitán*. Beatriz belonged to a wealthy and noble lineage that owed a great deal of their patrimony to the reconquest of Naples. She was the daughter of Luis Fernández de Córdoba y Figueroa (? - Rome, 1526), and Elvira Fernández de Córdoba (? - Sessa, 1524). Her father held the titles of Count of Cabra and Lord of Baena (Castile). Her mother Elvira was the daughter of María Manrique and Gonzalo Fernández de Córdoba, and so held the title of Duchess of Sessa and Sant'Angelo (Naples). In addition to Beatriz, Luis and Elvira had two other children, Francisca and Gonzalo. The former married Alfonso de Zúñiga y de Sotomayor, Marquis of Gibralfort.<sup>42</sup> The latter became the III Duke of Sessa.

Although Ramon de Cardona succeeded Gonzalo Fernández de Córdoba in office, and even though the *Gran Capitán* left Naples in 1507, the relationship between the Cardonas and the Fernández de Córdobas was not drastically inter-

<sup>40</sup> Before that, by December 1537, Charles V's secretaries Cobos and Gravela went to meet a delegation of Francis I on French territory, by the «cabañas de Cifitol.» The Spanish group included Hernando de Cardona (Girón 229-31); it is not clear, though, if this Cardona was the Admiral of Naples or rather the homonymous Duke of Cardona. Molas seems to favor the latter («Las redes del poder de Carlos I,» 402).

<sup>41</sup> On Beatriz's family see Yeguas, «Sobre Beatriz Fernández de Córdoba»; and Fausto Nicolini, «Il don Gonzalo dei *Promessi sposi*.» Hernando Sánchez focuses on the diplomatic career of Beatriz's father as the emperor's ambassador in Rome («Nobleza y diplomacia en la Italia de Carlos V»). Nicolini concentrates on Beatriz's brother in his twofold «Su Don Gonzalo Fernández de Córdoba.» See Álvarez-Ossorio Alvariño for Gonzalo's later career as Milan's governor. Once again, footnote references to call numbers indicate my own archival contributions.

<sup>42</sup> On July 14, 1542, Francisca renounced to her *legítima* in exchange for a dowry of 80,000 ducats from his brother Gonzalo (AHNN, Baena, fold. 23, doc. 20).

rupted at that point. On July 3, 1516, King Charles appointed Ramon de Cardona curator of the local matters of María Manrique, Fernández de Córdoba's widow. Furthermore on April 1521, Ferrando's father welcomed to Naples Luis and Elvira, the Dukes of Sessa, who had moved from Spain to their palace of San Giovanni Maggiore. A year and a half later, the duke was appointed Charles V's ambassador in Rome, and had to move there by mid October 1522.<sup>43</sup>

On February 13, 1523 while her father was serving in Rome, Beatriz was born in Sessa. Pope Adrian VI sent monsignor Cesare Garrett to christen the newborn. But in spite of Beatriz and her siblings having been born on Italian soil, they were not reared in Italy. After the premature death of their parents in September 1524 and August 1526, the three children were brought to Granada, where, after October 3, 1526, María Manrique became their tutor. Shortly after, June 10, 1527, the widow of the *Gran Capitán* died, and her cousin, Íñigo Manrique, Corregidor of Granada, took charge of Gonzalo, Francisca, and Beatriz.<sup>44</sup>

Just a few years later, Gonzalo is documented as attending the classes of humanist Pedro de la Mota in Granada's *studium*. However, as of January 1536, Gonzalo became a member of the empress's court.<sup>45</sup> On November 20, 1538, Gonzalo's uncle, Pedro de Córdoba, and Francisco de los Cobos, secretary of the emperor, agreed on the engagement of the young Gonzalo with María Sarmiento, Cobos's daughter, at that time serving as a dame of the empress. The ceremony took place in Toledo, where the courts of Castile were being held.<sup>46</sup>

The next spring, Beatriz became engaged as well. On May 5, 1539, Pedro de Córdoba was given the power of attorney for his niece in the negotiations regarding her marriage. The notary document signed in Baena addi-

<sup>43</sup> Hernando Sánchez, «Nobleza y diplomacia»; and Nicolini, «Il don Gonzalo dei *Promessi sposi*» 20-22.

<sup>44</sup> AHNN, Baena, fold. 37, doc. 10. The document was signed in Granada and stated that on October 3, 1526, all three siblings were younger than seven years old. See also Nicolini, «Il don Gonzalo dei *Promessi sposi*» 24-26.

<sup>45</sup> On Gonzalo's education see Nicolini, «Su Don Gonzalo Fernández de Córdoba» 255-56. On January 16, 1536, he was among the empress's suite during the funeral honors on the death of the Prince of Piedmont. On May 29, Gonzalo followed Her Majesty from Madrid to Valladolid. Gonzalo remained in Valladolid, and on August 24 he participated in a procession for the peace of the emperor with the King of France. The III Duke of Sessa was still part of the imperial court in Valladolid on December 14, 1536 (Girón 61-62, 66, 70, and 82). Apparently, on April 5 Gonzalo had entered Rome with the emperor (Santa Cruz 3: 323).

<sup>46</sup> See Santa Cruz 4: 23-24; and Keniston, *Francisco de los Cobos* 208-09. Pedro de Córdoba's negotiations also aimed at undoing Gonzalo's previous engagement, to which he had agreed on his own accord. Gonzalo's unconsented marriage with María Sarmiento would cause tensions between the couple and both families (Keniston, *Francisco de los Cobos* 222-31; and Rodríguez Villa 895-96, 901-02).

tionally acknowledges that it was Gonzalo who had started the conversations with Ferrando. In Baena, an estate belonging to the Fernández de Córdoba, on June 3 Beatriz renounced to her share of parental patrimony –the *legítima*– in exchange for a dowry of 50,000 ducats from her brother Gonzalo. Eventually, on June 15, Ferrando and Beatriz signed their marital capitulations in Toledo.<sup>47</sup>

Charles V had been residing in Toledo since late October 1538. On January 1539, the emperor held the Castilian *Cortes* in the city. In addition, as the Duke of Sessa, Gonzalo also held the titles of Count of Cabra and Lord of Baena, and so he was in Toledo at that time. On May 1 the Empress Isabel of Portugal died, and Francisco de Borja accompanied her corpse to Granada. In mourning for his wife's death, after May 12 the emperor retired to the monastery of San Jerónimo de la Sisa, on the outskirts of Toledo. Later in June, Ferrando and the Fernández de Córdoba were received by Charles V in La Sisa. On June 26 the emperor granted Ferrando permission to guarantee Beatriz's dowry with his Dukedom of Somma –a security measure in case the wedding never took place. That same day His Majesty allowed Gonzalo to sell property in order to pay for his sister's dowry.<sup>48</sup> The wedding between Ferrando and Beatriz must have taken place at some point before May 1541, perhaps before the summer of 1540.<sup>49</sup> On February 6, 1541, Gonzalo Fernández de Córdoba and María Sarmiento were married in the church of Santa María de la Almudena in Madrid, where beginning in late January, Ferrando and Beatriz had joined the Dukes of Sessa in their celebrations, which lasted until at least March 24, 1541.<sup>50</sup>

<sup>47</sup> AHNN, Baena, fold. 23, doc. 42; AHNN, Baena, fold. 23, doc. 20; and Yeguas, «Sobre Beatriu de Fernández de Córdoba» 94. The dowry was supposed to be paid from Gonzalo's possessions in Naples: Vico Castello, Santo Sosa, and Santo Nicola. It also included a part of the rents of Petramolara, Marçano, and Venosa (cf. AHNN, Baena, fold. 23, doc. 42). However, the sale eventually did not take place, and Ferrando lost 300 ducats in rent. On March 7, 1541, Gonzalo refunded that sum to Ferrando, and they both signed another agreement for the 40,000 ducats of the dowry that remained unpaid. Vico went back to Gonzalo, and Ferrando received 10,000 ducats in cash, the Neapolitan city of Venosa, and the rents of Carniola and Andria (AHNN, Toca, fold. 396, doc. 25).

<sup>48</sup> On the death of the empress, and the sojourns of her widower, see Girón 306-21; and Foronda y Aguilera. Santa Cruz documents Gonzalo attending the *Cortes* (4: 8-9). On the emperor's privileges granted to Ferrando and Gonzalo, see Martínez Ferrando 66, §566, and 101 §896.

<sup>49</sup> On November 9, 1540, Ferrando fell seriously ill and wrote his will. Beatriz, «his wife,» would inherit Ferrando's goods for life as long as she did not remarry (Salazar Castro 1: 626-27); see also Molas, «Las redes del poder de Carlos I» 393.

<sup>50</sup> In a letter dating from January 27, Francisco de los Cobos mentions that the Admiral of Naples was staying at his house in Madrid (*Relaciones de los reinados de Carlos V y Felipe II* 2: 157-69;

## ARMS, LEISURE, AND LITERARY PATRONAGE

Shortly after these celebrations, Charles V called his troops to arms against Algiers. On September 13, Bernardino de Mendoza<sup>51</sup> sent a letter to the King's Lieutenant in Catalonia, Francisco de Borja, in which he let the Catalan Viceroy know that he would be waiting in the harbor of Roses for Ferrando and any other knights from Barcelona who wanted to join in the Algerian campaign.<sup>52</sup> On October 15, 1541, Gonzalo embarked from Cartagena on the fleet captained by the Duke of Alba along with «quatro mil infantes y ochocientos hombres de armas» («four thousand footmen and eight hundred men at arms»); Santa Cruz 119). They set sail towards Eivissa, and then to Majorca, from where Charles V had departed on September 28. In part due to severe weather conditions, the expedition ended in a disastrous defeat.<sup>53</sup>

When not engaging his enemies, Ferrando enjoyed jousting. A little incident occurred in Barcelona that provides information on several of Ferrando's acquaintances in the city and his social consideration among local nobility. At some point during 1540, probably by Lent, the Duke of Somma organized a joust in the *plaza* del Born. In preparation for the event, the duchess ordered that a marquee be installed in a public place –an act forbidden by city laws. Nonetheless, the authorities agreed to permit it. A year later, the King's Lieutenant in Catalonia remembered how Beatriz had invited him to watch the jousting from her window, and how he had decided to overlook the viola-

Keniston, *Francisco de los Cobos* 222-25). On the other hand, Francisco de Borja wrote (265) that the Dukes of Somma were not in Barcelona until four or five days before May 3, Lent of 1541; so Ferrando and Beatriz came back from the wedding celebrations as late as April 28/29.

<sup>51</sup> Bernardino de Mendoza (?-1557) had been appointed Governor of La Goleta in 1535 (Spivakovsky 54). As General of the Spanish Galleys, in 1540 Bernardino had fought against the Turks in Gibraltar, along with his brother Luis (González Palencia and Mele 1: 35). He was also the brother of poem and Venetian ambassador Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, who dedicated Bernardino a verse epistle «Ilustre capitán vitorioso.»

<sup>52</sup> Letter from Francisco de Borja to Francisco de los Cobos, September 18, 1541 (*Sanctus Franciscus Borgia* 303-08). Ferrando's participation has not been confirmed or denied.

<sup>53</sup> Neapolitan poet Luigi Tansillo (1510-68) participated in the unfortunate event. He joined the galley of Don García de Toledo, the son of the Neapolitan Viceroy Pedro de Toledo, whom Tansillo had served since 1536. Tansillo had also become friends with Garcilaso de la Vega, who borrowed from his Italian colleague's poems. Tansillo dedicated several compositions to Juan Boscán, and an entire manuscript book of poems to the Ferrando's brother-in-law, Gonzalo. Last, he dedicated a sonnet to Ferrando; see n. 56, and Keniston, *Garcilaso de la Vega* 119-20; Tansillo 1: LXXXI-CLXXVI; Nicolini «Su Gonzalo Fernández de Córdoba» 1: 279; 2: 72-73; Percopo «Giovanni Boscán e Luigi Tansillo»; and Toscano «Un libro de rima di Luigi Tansillo.»

tion. Beatriz had sent the invitation through Mossèn Durall, who was close to the duke's household and was a friend of de Borja —«es mucho de su casa y muy amigo mío.» Durall apologized to the Lieutenant for the marquee incident, but also deemed that «no era mucho que errasen por ser nuevamente venidos a esta tierra» («being newcomers, their mistake was not a big deal»), and «así pasó la cosa muy cortesanamente» («so the situation was handled with all courtly decorum»). However, new jousting marquees installed in the same place on May 3 of the following year sparked a confrontation between Luis Enríquez, Count of Modica and future Admiral of Castile, and Francisco de Borja. The Dukes of Somma, the Dukes of Cardona, and Jerónimo Agustín, sided with Enríquez, who eventually was arrested. By mid-June, however, Ferrando and the Duke of Cardona had settled their differences with the King's Lieutenant, while Enríquez and de Borja were still angry about the incidents.<sup>54</sup>

Besides organizing and participating in jousts, the dukes were fond of literature. Ferrando's open account with banker Bolet records his book supplies coming from Naples, Castile, and other places since 1538.<sup>55</sup> Most memorably, Ferrando and Beatriz joined and promoted a Barcelona literary academy that can be documented as early as 1534.<sup>56</sup> Its most notable member was Juan Boscán.<sup>57</sup> In the 1540s the group encompassed other acquaintances of the Dukes of Somma, including Galceran Durall and Jerónimo Agustín —both of whom

<sup>54</sup> More details on the incident between the lieutenant and the Count of Modica can be found in Borja's three letters to Francisco de los Cobos, and one to Emperor Charles dating from May 19 and 20, and from June 12 and 24, 1541 (243-52, 256-69). Ferrando temporarily traded his census over the village of Calonge to Luis Enríquez (cf. AHPB, 313/99, July 27, 1540; July 5, 1541; August 7, 1541; 313/75, September 13, 1541).

<sup>55</sup> AHPB, 313/99, June 26, 1540: «pagades comptas per tants ports de llibres y scriptures axi de naps y ytalía com de castella y altres parts del any 1538 fins lo dia present.» March 8, 1541, records the payment of wages to an undetermined provider since June 30, 1540, «en moltes partides per porto de llibres y scriptures de 30 de juny 1540 fins lo dia present.»

<sup>56</sup> It was probably after Ferrando's departure to Barcelona, that Luigi Tansillo addressed him a sonnet: «Signor, per cui la gloria di Cardona / spera ch'il suo splendor piú chiaro mostri, / degno ch'il mondo ammiri gli onor vostri, / non voi gli altrui, com'il bel nome suona, / veramente nel sen di Barzellona / Amor fonda i suoi regni a' tempi nostri, / e la sua sede in quei beati chiostri, / ove di lui si canta e si ragiona. / Ma mi minaccia troppo crudeltade / quel rosso che fiammeggia in campo nero / sovra petti di donne altere e vaghe. / Da croci, oimé, vermiglie e che han di spade / minacciose sembiance, or che ne spero? / Gravi pene, alte fiamme, eterne piaghe!» (Tansillo 2: 17-18).

<sup>57</sup> Boscán had been educated in the court of Ferdinand the Catholic, belonged to Charles V's household, and served the Dukes of Alba as *ayo* of the Great Duke Fernando Álvarez de Toledo y Pimentel. For the biography of Boscán see Menéndez Pelayo, *Juan Boscán*; Riquer, *Juan Boscán*; and Coll i Julià. Martínez Millán documents Boscán as a gentleman of the emperor's house between 1518 and 1533 (4: 93; 5: 80).

Garcilaso de la Vega and Diego Hurtado de Mendoza mentioned in their literary correspondence with Boscán.<sup>58</sup> Given the literary interests of some members of Ferrando's house in Barcelona, Vicenç Navarra, Luis Pedrol, and Joan Canyelles should be envisioned partaking this circle, even if only indirectly.<sup>59</sup>

Boscán dedicated to Beatriz two compositions that were printed in the *princeps* of *Las obras de Boscán y Garcilaso* (Barcelona, Carles Amorós, March 20, 1543). The first piece was the opening poem to the first book («¿A quién daré mis amorosos versos?»).<sup>60</sup> The other was his famous prose epistle presenting Beatriz with the *sonetos* and *cançiones* from the second book of his *Obras*. Boscán's letter vindicates the author's usage of Italianate metrics for composing Spanish poetry. The epistle is considered to be the manifesto of the Spanish poetical Renaissance.<sup>61</sup> While both the poem and the letter are prefatory pieces to the first and second books of Boscán's *Obras*, respectively, the author implies that the entire volume was addressed to Beatriz.<sup>62</sup> Boscán began preparing its

<sup>58</sup> On the Barcelona literary academy see Menéndez Pelayo, *Juan Boscán* 139-42; Rubió, «Literatura catalana» 3: 810 and 901; Duran, «Defensa de la pròpia tradició» 256-60, and «La valoración renacentista» 98-100; and Molas «Las redes del poder de Carlos I en Cataluña» 403-04. In his epistle to Juan Boscán –dating October 23, 1534– Garcilaso de la Vega had sent regards to Durall («Señor Boscán, quien tanto gusto tiene», vv. 81-82). Diego Hurtado's letter to Boscán («El no maravillarse hombre de nada,» dating from 1540) mentions Jerónimo Agustín (v. 382). Boscán's reply to Mendoza («Holgué, señor, con vuestra carta tanto») alludes to Durall (v. 203), Agustín (v. 196), a certain mossèn Monleón (v. 204), and perhaps Gutierre de Cetina (v. 209). Martínez Millán documents Durall as a gentleman of the emperor's house between 1538 and 1542 (4: 149; 5: 81).

<sup>59</sup> Among the records of notary Joan Jeroni Canyelles, there is a gathering of documents from a judicial process regarding Ferrando's confiscation of a ship named Santa Maria de Misericòrdia in his harbor of Palamós (313/103, October 28, 1544). The guard leaves of these documents feature a variety of *probae peninae*, including several incipits of poems by Ausiàs March (see Appendix 11). One of those incipits provides a reading found only in manuscripts and editions deriving from the ones commissioned or owned by Ferrando. Furthermore, one of the hands that collaborated in the making of MS D (Hand C) features an extremely well-executed, professional humanistic hand that surely belonged to a professional writer such as a notary.

<sup>60</sup> This poem is an introduction to the whole first book of traditional Castilian coplas, which echoes Catullus's prefatory poem, «Qui dono lepidum novum libellum» (Reichenberger, «Boscán and the Classics» 102; and Armisen, *Estudios* 341-44). On April 19, 1540, humanist Antonio Agustín, who served the Duke of Cardona and was the brother of Jerónimo Agustín, sent Diego Hurtado de Mendoza a *carmen nuptiale* he had written for the Dukes of Cardona imitating Catullus. Catullus («Catulli tui») was one of Diego Hurtado's favorite authors (González Palencia and Mele 1: 270-71).

<sup>61</sup> For thorough readings on Boscán's *Carta a la Duquesa de Soma* see Armisen, *Estudios* 359-71; Navarrete 58-72; López Suárez; Rivers, «Notas sobre Bernardo Tasso»; Bianchini; de Colombí-Monguió; and Lorenzo, «Poética e ideología.»

<sup>62</sup> The implication is made in the beginning of the prologue to the second book «He miedo de importunar a vuestra señoría con tantos libros» (Boscán 115).

publication in late March 1542, and only his death on September 21, 1542, precluded his finishing it.<sup>63</sup> The letter was most likely written around that time.

Considering that Beatriz may have received, in part at least, an Italian education, and had married a young man who was born and reared in Naples, Boscán could not have chosen a more appropriate addressee for his defense of Italianate metrics.<sup>64</sup> Beatriz's alleged familiarity—in Boscán's words—with Diego Hurtado de Mendoza should come as no surprise either, considering her youth in Granada.<sup>65</sup> Boscán also alludes to Beatriz's husband towards the end of the letter, when his argument traces the noble, classical lineage of the *endecasílabo*. This meter, Boscán says, is nowadays «bien tratado en Italia, la cual es una tierra muy floreciente de ingenios, de letras, de jüizios y de grandes escritores» (119) («[we see it] treated well in Italy, a land flourishing with intelligence, letters, good judgment, and great authors»; Cruz and Rivers 241). But Boscán traces the origins of the meter back to the Latin authors, who adopted it from the Greeks: «no han sido dellos tampoco inventores los latinos, sino que los tomaron de los griegos» (120) («the Latins were not the inventors, since they took the hendecasyllables from the Greeks»; Cruz and Rivers 242). Before finishing his genealogy of the meter—inspired by Bembo—Boscán digresses from his train of thought to highlight the appreciation Beatriz's husband held for the works of Ausiàs March:

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

<sup>63</sup> Boscán and Ana Girón de Rebolledo, his wife, signed two printing contracts with bookseller Joan Bages, and printers Joan and Carles Amorós, which date back to March 23 and 27, 1542 (Madurell and Rubió 810-17).

<sup>64</sup> Very little is known about Beatriz's education. In spite of having been raised in Spain, Beatriz might have been a frequent reader of Italian—particularly if, as with Ferrando's case, part of her mother's Neapolitan household accompanied Beatriz to Spain. As Bataillon notes, on February 20, 1543, the Great Inquisitor Tavera granted the Duchess of Soma a one-year «licencia de tener una biblia en vulgar toscano y leer en ella» (591).

<sup>65</sup> Boscán mentions Diego Hurtado de Mendoza regarding his fondness of Castilian traditional *coplas*: «Solía holgarse con ellas [coplas hechas a la castellana] un hombre muy avisado y a quien vuestra señora deve de conocer muy bien, que es don Diego de Mendoza» (115). At the time Boscán was writing those lines, Diego Hurtado was serving the emperor as ambassador to Venice. Diego Hurtado de Mendoza (1505-75) was born in Granada. He seems to have joined Charles V's court in 1532. In June 1535 he had participated in the conquest of La Goleta. He was friends with and the protégé of Francisco de los Cobos, Beatriz's father-in-law. Cobos had actually married a cousin of Diego Hurtado. See Spivakovsky 44-69. In addition to Spivakovsky, for further biographical information on Diego Hurtado de Mendoza see Vázquez and Selden Rose; González Palencia and Mele; and Losi.

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 escribir con mucha diligencia y tiene el llibro dellas por tan familiar como dizen que tenía Alexandre el de Homero. (119-20)

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. (Cruz and Rivers 242)

Boscán's bold comparison of Ferrando's knowledge of March's works with Alexander the Great's acquaintance with Homer is a classical commonplace that derives from the author's own translation of Castiglione's *Cortesano* (1534).<sup>66</sup> But that *topos* also points towards a fundamental portion of Ausiàs March's presently extant textual legacy.

Around the time Boscán wrote his letter to Beatriz, Ferrando had already commissioned two manuscript copies of March's poetry from presbyter Pere Vilasaló –manuscripts *B* and *K*, completed on May 9, 1541, and April 24, 1542.<sup>67</sup> As shown in Chapter 3, *B* is a clean copy that reflects prior editorial work in view of Romani's translation. Also, as it has been pointed out in the introduction, Navarro's edition once again encouraged Boscán to imitate March's poems in his own verses. Not only did Boscán gloss the first poem of Navarro's edition, but so did Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, who owned a copy of Romani's translation.<sup>68</sup>

Furthermore, Navarro's anthology and *editio princeps* surely played a key role in stimulating the compilation of the most inclusive extant manuscript (*D*), which ultimately led to Ferrando's sponsoring the publication of March's complete works (Barcelona, Carles Amorós, December 22, 1543, in quarto; and the octavo reprint dated as well in December 22, 1545).<sup>69</sup> This remarkable

<sup>66</sup> Terracini identified the source (Armisen, *Estudios* 372).

<sup>67</sup> «Per servey del II-lustre Senyor Almirant de Nàpols» (*B*, f. 179v) and «per manament de l'II-lustre Senyor Almirant de Nàpols» (*K*, f. 141r). Codicological descriptions in Pagès, *Introducció* 14-16 and 49-50.

<sup>68</sup> Navarro's edition is listed in Diego Hurtado's testamentary inventory, see González Palencia and Mele 3: 525, §191.

<sup>69</sup> Furthermore, the Dukes of Somma sponsored other publications. In 1549 Pedro Montpezat printed in Barcelona the *Libro de la vida y conversion de Sancta María Magdalena*, written by Pedro de Chaves, a monk from the monastery of Montserrat. Chaves's book was addressed to Beatriz, and included Ferrando's coat of arms (f. 1 verso).

interest in March's poetry in Barcelona was therefore partially but decisively kindled by Navarro's edition. Moreover, several members of Barcelona's high nobility, such as Galceran Durall and Francisco de Borja, were part of Charles V court in the 1530s, just as Boscán and Garcilaso, the now-recognized imitators of March's poetry. The editions Ferrando sponsored were born in a cultural milieu that appropriated March's works in a slightly different fashion from that of Romaní and Navarro. This will be the subject of the following two chapters. At present, I would like to sum up what has been implied regarding the significance of Ferrando's role in promoting March's works in sixteenth-century Spain. After that, an overview of Ferrando's and his family's biography during the following years will reveal the longer-lasting interest in and promotion of March's poetry in the court of Prince Philip.

Ferrando was born and reared as a member of the Neapolitan aristocracy. As the identity of his *maestro*, his immediate family and social circles show, Ferrando belonged to the same social circles in which Garcilaso de la Vega got involved after the arrival in Naples of Viceroy Pedro de Toledo in 1532. Ferrando probably moved out of Naples before January 1537, perhaps following Charles V's itinerant court, but, in any case, he and his family would remain in a close relationship with the emperor and his house (including his son Philip, as will be remarked below). Fernando settled in Barcelona, where he would become a well-respected member of the local aristocracy. In 1540 he and his wife Beatriz were still considered «newcomers» by Galceran Durall, for, in fact, the couple had been living together in the city as newly-weds for only a few months.

In Barcelona Ferrando and Beatriz participated in all the social activities that befitted a young noble couple, including its literary academies. Less than two years after their arrival, a local influential member of the emperor's household, Juan Boscán, sought distinction and protection for the edition of his works and those of Garcilaso by addressing a letter to one of these prominent newcomers, Beatriz. In that letter, Boscán mentions Ferrando's passion for the works of Ausiàs March. Manuscripts *B* and *K* were copied for him both the same year and the year before the *terminus ante quem* of Boscán's letter. Moreover, as it will be further elaborated in the next chapter, Ferrando owned manuscript *D*, and sponsored the printing of March's complete works (*b*), only a few months after Boscán's *Obras* were published by the same Barcelona printer that published March's.

Ferrando did not patronize a living author. He was sponsoring an authority that well before 1536 had been admired and imitated by at least two poetical eminences in Charles V's court. March's works had already begun to circulate in print, but only in an incomplete fashion. According to Boscán's words, March

was the most excellent Catalan author, and rightly so. March had been recognized in Barcelona since his works began to circulate during his own lifetime. His verses had been written in Boscán's mother tongue,<sup>70</sup> which was also that of many of the local members that joined Ferrando's household in Barcelona. In having his works copied and printed, the twenty-three-year-old newcomer from the «tierra de florecientes ingenios» evinced a keen interest for a favorite and locally worshipped authority. Ferrando's sponsorship of the copying of March's codices and the printing of his works demonstrated his embracing the aesthetic tastes and literary values current in his new social circles. In exchange for his sponsorship of March's works, Ferrando gained respect and prestige among the local nobility in Barcelona and among Charles V's courtiers.

Returning to Boscán's letter to Beatriz, the poet defends his adoption of *endecasílabo* for writing Spanish poetry on genealogical grounds, on the basis of the illustrious ascendancy of this meter. Boscán traces the meter's lineage back to Italian, Latin, and ultimately Greek roots. But Boscán finishes his defense of the *endecasílabo* by weighing that: «podrá ser que antes de mucho se duelan los italianos de ver lo bueno de su poesía transferido en España» (120) («the Italians may lament seeing the beauty of their poetry taken over by Spain» Cruz and Rivers 242). This sentence –as scholarship has traditionally agreed (Navarrete; Lorenzo, «Poética e ideología»)– displays a conscious formulation of the *translatio studii et imperii*. But the genealogy of the letter's addressee –like that of the *endecasílabo*– is as much noteworthy as it is linked to Italy. Born in Sessa, Beatriz was the daughter of one of Charles V ambassadors to Rome and the granddaughter of the first Spanish Viceroy of Naples after the reconquest of the *Reame*. She was married to another Italian, Ferrando, son of a former Neapolitan Viceroy. Ferrando held his father's title of Admiral of Naples and Duke of Somma. Beatriz and Ferrando embody the very politics of Boscán's formulation of the *translatio imperii*. The Dukes of Somma represent the imperial transference of Italian titles and estates onto Spanish soil and rulership. In the eyes of any agent of the Empire, Boscán could not have chosen any more receptive dedicatees for his letter, poems, and praises.

<sup>70</sup> In Fernando de Herrera's words, Boscán was to be excused from his poetic shortcomings for being «estrangero de la lengua en que publico sus intentos» (Herrera 80, qtd in Pagès, *Auzias March* 421).

## THE COURT OF PRINCE PHILIP

Ferrando's contact with Prince Philip and his court dates back at least to the prince's oath to the Catalan Constitutions. When Charles V held *Corts* for Catalonia, Valencia, and Aragon in Monzón between June 23 and October 6, 1542, Ferrando could not attend.<sup>71</sup> After the *Corts*, the emperor went to Barcelona, where he stayed over after October 16. Prince Philip joined his father in Barcelona on November 7, and stayed at the monastery of Valldonzella. That very night he secretly met with the emperor and together went to see the celebrations held in the city. The day after, Prince Philip swore fealty to the Catalan Constitutions in front of a distinguished crowd that included Ferrando and his brother-in-law, the Duke of Sessa.<sup>72</sup> On November 9, the Catalan fiefdoms paid homage to Prince Philip.

Three days later, in honor of the emperor and his son, «fut faict ung festin au logis du duc de Somme, admiral de Naples, où fut faict ung combat à pied et plusieurs beaulx et riches masques, où se treuvent plusieurs dames fort richement accoustrées» («a feast was celebrated at the home of the Duke of Somma, which included a combat on foot and several beautiful and rich masques; it was attended by several richly attired ladies»; Vandenesse 246). The feast took place on a Sunday. Exactly a week after, on November 19, Charles V and Prince Philip attended the christening of Ferrando's son.<sup>73</sup> When almost a year later on November 15, 1543, Prince Philip married María Manuela of Portugal, Ferrando was invited to their wedding, which was celebrated in Salamanca.<sup>74</sup>

In spite of Ferrando's proximity to Prince Philip's house, since 1543 Ferrando had most likely based in or around Barcelona, where his thirty-year-old wife died in 1553, and where he became a respected member of the city gov-

<sup>71</sup> Ferrando sent to the *Corts* Joan Lluís Lull with his power of attorney (AHPB, 313/95, June 20, 1542). Ferrando may have been ill («sumus ad presens impedimento detentus pro nobis vercundo summe et periculo sum seu dampno»). On July 13, 1542, while Ferrando might have been in Barcelona, his uncle the Prince of Salerno visited the city (*Rúbriques de Bruniquer* 2: 14).

<sup>72</sup> See Kamen 10, and Foronda y Aguilera, whose account translates that of French diplomat Jean de Vandenesse 244-51.

<sup>73</sup> On the feast in honor of the emperor and the prince, see also Santa Cruz 203. Yeguas identifies Ferrando's son as Ramon, who died prematurely three days after his birth («Sobre Beatriu Fernández de Córdoba» 71). The godmothers of Ramon were the Countess of Palamós, Estefania de Requesens, and the wife of Francisco de los Cobos (Vandenesse 247).

<sup>74</sup> Letter from Prince Philip to Emperor Charles, sent from Valladolid, on February 4, 1544 (*Corpus documental de Carlos V* 2: 187-88).

ernment.<sup>75</sup> On February 10, 1544, news provided by the Viceroy's ambassador in Genoa regarding an approaching Turkish fleet prompted Ferrando to call for a meeting of the city councilmen to organize the defense of Barcelona. On August 2, he was appointed Captain of the Barcelona army, a duty that he would take up again on September 2, 1551.<sup>76</sup> Three years later, Ferrando was elected to be the city's spokesman in conversations with the Viceroy,<sup>77</sup> and after 1562 he was a member of Barcelona's *Consell de Cent* representing the *braç* or 'party' of the noblemen.<sup>78</sup>

While Ferrando established himself in Barcelona between 1548 and 1551 the Duke of Sessa became a member of Prince Philip's court throughout his *felicitísimo viaje* across Italy, Germany, and Flanders. On July 12, 1551, upon Philip's return from his *grand tour*, the princely court lodged at Ferrando's house in Barcelona.<sup>79</sup> During that long formative journey, the prince was followed by a court that included close acquaintances of the Dukes of Somma in Barcelona, like Luis Enríquez (now Admiral of Castile), and the Duke of Alba, Boscán's pupil. Prince Philip was also escorted by one of his instructors, Honorato Juan.<sup>80</sup> According to historian Gaspar Escolano (1560-1619), Juan used to recite the works of Ausiàs March to his pupil. The private tutor would even

<sup>75</sup> On August 9, 1553, Beatriz died at the monastery of La Vall d'Hebron (Yeguas, «Sobre Beatriu Fernández de Córdoba» 69). On Ferrando's participation in Barcelona's official life see Molas, *L'alta noblesa catalana* 48. Nonetheless, Ferrando surely spent time in his Western estate of Bellpuig.

<sup>76</sup> *Rúbriques de Bruniquer* 2: 256, 257 (February 10, March 10, August 2, 1544); *Manual de novells ardit*s 4: 142-43 (March 10, 1544), and 4: 234 (September 2, 1551). On August 25, 1555, Ferrando joined or led a chivalry squad in a military parade commanded by the city councilmen (*Manual de novells ardit*s 4: 297, August 25, 1555). On February 17, 1566, Ferrando acted as judge in a local joust (*Dietaris de la Generalitat* 2: 177-78).

<sup>77</sup> For instance, on June 14, 1554, Ferrando, along with the bishop of Barcelona and the city's Chief Councilman (*conseller en cap*), complained to the King's Lieutenant in Catalonia regarding the current destruction of houses and castles around the *Principat* in order to catch bandits (*Rúbriques de Bruniquer* 2: 317).

<sup>78</sup> See *Dietaris de la Generalitat* 2: 116, 128-29, 137 (January 19, July 17-24, 1562; April 1, 1563; March 1, 1564). Ferrando's participation in the meeting of the city's councilmen is repeatedly recorded August 15, 1555; January 21, March 21, May 6, 1562; March 19, 1564 (*Manual de novells ardit*s 4: 294, 408, 413, 416).

<sup>79</sup> Ferrando also lodged Philip's half-brother, John of Austria in his house in 1565, and the new Catalan Viceroy Ferrando de Toledo in 1571 (*Manual de novells ardit*s 5: 48, 120). In 1559, Ferrando welcomed the newly elected viceroy García Álvarez de Toledo (*Dietaris de la Generalitat* 2: 79). Molas points out that Emperor Charles stayed at Ferrando's manor in Bellpuig («Las redes del poder de Carlos I,» 394).

<sup>80</sup> For Prince Philip's trip see Calvete de Estrella, and the second of Nicolini's «Su Don Gonzalo Fernández de Córdoba.» On the role of Honorato Juan in Prince Philip's education, the most up-to-date account is Sanchis Moreno.

clarify the obscure «Limousin» words by translating them into Spanish, and eventually compiling a glossary.<sup>81</sup> Escolano seems to be describing a later edition of Ausiàs March's poetry (Valladolid: Sebastián Martínez, February 20, 1555), and misattributing the glossary included in the edition, which was elaborated by another member of Prince Philip's house, the musician and chaplain Juan de Resa.<sup>82</sup> That edition, nonetheless, was addressed to and probably sponsored by Gonzalo, whose coat of arms appears in the frontispiece. By 1555, the promotion of March's works unmistakably became an asset of the Cardona-Fernández de Córdoba.<sup>83</sup>

### HERITAGE

The family partnership between the Cardonas and the Fernández de Córdoba grew stronger with the years, possibly facilitated by Gonzalo's lack of descendants. Ferrando's heir, Luis (1549-74), accompanied his uncle Gonzalo to Milan in 1563, where the Duke of Sessa served as Governor between 1558 and 1564.<sup>84</sup> Luis became Ferrando's *hereu* and held the title of II Duke of

<sup>81</sup> Escolano also mentioned the interest of Cardinal Granvela (1517-86) in Ausiàs March. Note how Escolano employs the same hyperbolic common-place as Juan Boscán had when referring to the Duke of Somma: «el tiempo que tuuo a su cargo la criança y dotrina del dicho Principe, a horas de entretenimiento lehia el libro de Ausias March por el mas sutil de los escritos en España; y se preciava de declararle en Castellano, a muchos curiosos cortesanos que acudian a oyrlle: y porque la aspereza de los vocablos Lemosines incognitos no les azedasse el gusto, hizo vn abecedario dellos, boluiendolos de Lemosin en Castellano. No le cayo en menos picadura al Cardenal de Granvela por el mesmo tiempo, pues con ser Flamenco de nacion, le trahia de ordinario en el seno, como Alexandro Magno las obras del Poeta Homero» (columns 1699-1700).

<sup>82</sup> Pagès believed Honorato Juan owned MS C (Introducció 20). Ramírez i Molas deemed Pagès's assumption lacked much basis («Un manuscrit inèdit» 219, n. 6). Escolano's words seem based on a rather freely interpretation or perhaps memory of the royal privilege included in Resa's edition: «el dicho libro que de suso se hace mención que por nuestro mandado fue visto y examinado, por Honorato Juan maestro, del serenísimo Infante Don Carlos, nuestro muy claro y muy amado nieto» (ff. A2r-A2v). Juan de Resa had prepared the music for welcoming Prince Philip's soon-to-be-wife in Salamanca, in October 1543 (*Recibimiento que se hizo en Salamanca*).

<sup>83</sup> Gonzalo would become a generous patron of poets and historians. Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, Gutierre de Cetina, Jorge de Montemayor, Martín García Cereceda, Juan Latino, Paolo Giovio, and Luigi Tansillo would dedicate to him from sonnets to whole songbooks and historical treatises; see Nicolini «Su Don Gonzalo Fernández de Córdoba» 1: 255-66, 279-80, and vol. 2; Agosti, Amirante, and Naldi; Valeri; Montemayor, *Segundo Cancionero Espiritual* 36-38; Tansillo 1: XVI-XVIII, CXL-CXLII; 2: 67-73; Cetina 300-01; Marín Ocete.

<sup>84</sup> On Ferrando's descendants see genealogical and patrimonial information in Yeguas, «Sobre Beatriu Fernández de Córdoba» 71-73; and Molas, *L'alta noblesa catalana* 48-49.

Somma for four years, after the death of his father in 1571 and until he himself died. Antonio (1550/2–1606) succeeded his brother Luis as the head of the household. Moreover, Gonzalo named his nephew Antonio heir to his patrimony, second to Gonzalo's sister Francisca, the Marchioness of Gibraleón. On December 2, 1578, the day before Gonzalo's death, the III Duke of Sessa changed his mind and declared his wife María Sarmiento the sole heir of his patrimony.<sup>85</sup> For reasons still undocumented, it was Gonzalo's sister who eventually became her brother's heir.

From at least 1569 Gonzalo owed large sums of money to his nephews. In 1579, not having yet inherited from his uncle, Antonio started a judicial process to have his household loans to the Sessa repaid.<sup>86</sup> Five years later, Antonio is documented holding the title of Duke of Sessa. As this happened years before the death of the Marchioness of Gibraleón, Antonio's acquisition of the Sessa's Dukedom can probably be related to his late uncle's soaring debts. Antonio de Cardona would even adopt his uncle's surname, and become Antonio II Fernández de Córdoba.

The Cardona-Fernández de Córdoba lineage would continue to Luis, Antonio's son. Born in Baena in 1582, Luis also maintained the tradition of literary patronage that his grandfather Ferrando and his great-uncle Gonzalo had practiced. While Ferrando and Beatriz made the Dukedom of Somma famous for their relationship with Juan Boscán, Ausiàs March, and the new Renaissance poetry, their grandson Luis would make the Dukedom of Sessa most renowned the years to come for patronizing the poet and playwright Lope the Vega, one of the most well-known authors of the Spanish literary Golden Age.<sup>87</sup>

To conclude these notes on the legacy of the Cardona-Fernández de Córdoba, it is clear that Ferrando and Beatriz's sons remained over the years attached to Beatriz's brother Gonzalo. Ferrando and Beatriz's descendants eventually inherited Gonzalo's patrimony and titles, which even took precedence over those of their parents. Gonzalo, the III Duke of Sessa, who was close to Philip II's household, was dedicated many works by contemporary authors, and was also the dedicatee –and possibly sponsor– of an edition of March's works printed in Valladolid in 1555. The editor of that edition was

<sup>85</sup> Gonzalo's heir switch can be found in AHNN, Baena, fold. 37, doc. 8, August 21, 1576, December 2-5, 1578. His testament was opened on December 4-5 of that year.

<sup>86</sup> The third quire of the «Procesos del Duque de Soma y otros acreedores del Duque [de Sessa]» can be found at AHNN, Luque, fold. 694.

<sup>87</sup> On Luis Fernández de Córdoba see Molas *L'alta noblesa catalana* 49-50; and focusing on his relationship with Lope de Vega, Wright.

one of Prince Philip II chaplain's, Juan de Resa. The last edition of March's works to be printed in the 1500s in Barcelona (Claudi Bornat 1560) included, nonetheless, a letter by the editor that was addressed to Ferrando. All of the editions of March's complete works were published under the sponsorship or protection of the Cardona-Fernández de Córdoba. Being linked to the royal households, the stature of these sponsors is a coherent symptom of March's resiliency in the center of courtly poetical writings during the second half of the sixteenth century.

This chapter has highlighted the role of a poetical academy in Barcelona with regards to the printing transformation that affected at the same time the works of Boscán, Garcilaso, and March. The popularity of March's verses was both poetically and socially intrinsic to the venues of the two first poets of the Spanish poetical Renaissance. A common social and intellectual background supported the outlasting editorial success related to March's works, and the printing of the foundational book of the so-called new Italianate and classicist poetry in Spanish. The common background includes major intellectual figures serving the emperor, such as Boscán, Garcilaso, or Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, but does not exclude other local, more obscure ones, as Luis Pedrol or Vicenç Navarra. For all of them, Petrarchism and classicism were dominant intellectual and poetical trends. Both trends were no less pervasive in the Neapolitan courtly culture in which Ferrando and Garcilaso participated than in Charles V's itinerant courts. Thanks to the first extant *canzoniere* written in Spanish, thanks to Boscán's Horatian epistles addressed to Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, and Garcilaso's eclogues, both Petrarchism and classicism in Spanish poetry reached a wider dissemination and visibility across the Peninsula after 1543. The following two chapters will argue that, coherently with that cultural milieu, Petrarchism and classicism were no less essential when it came to printing March's post-troubadour complete poems.

## 5. THE MAKING OF AUSIÀS MARCH'S «CANZONIERE»

Carles Amorós's printing shop published two editions of Ausiàs March's poetry in 1543 and 1545 (*b* and *c*). Three contemporary attributions conclusively point to Ferrando de Cardona's involvement in the sponsorship of both books (Pagès, Introducció 60-66). Neither edition, however, includes any reference to Ferrando. The first document of his sponsorship is linked to Luis Pedrol, one of Ferrando's *familiars* (see Chapter 4, n. 37). Pedrol wrote an undated application for a three-year privilege in the kingdoms and lands of his Majesty to have March's works printed. In it, Pedrol claims to have been gathering March's works for a long time, to have corrected and given them the proper form to be sent out to the printing press. The back of his application includes Ferrando's endorsement and a royal approval. Acting as Ferrando's secretary, Pedrol had also dealt with printer Carles Amorós and his son Joan regarding the publication of the Spanish translation of the *Commentarie delle cose dei Turchi* by Paolo Giovio (Barcelona, Carles Amorós, June 10, 1543).<sup>1</sup> Further evidence of Ferrando's involvement in March's edition comes from an epistle written by Lluís Carròs de Vilaragut, *batlle* of Valencia, to Dona Àngela Borja. This letter served as a prologue to her manuscript copy of March's poems, completed on May 1, 1546 (MS E). In it, Carròs refers to «the two editions carried out in Barcelona at the behest of the Illustrious Admiral of Naples.»<sup>2</sup> A third reference is found in a later edition of March's works, published in Barcelona in 1560 by Claudi Bornat.<sup>3</sup> That edition begins with a prefatory epistle by the publisher, whose dedicatee is no other than Ferrando. Bornat recalls the «*impressió que vostra Senyoria manà fer*» (f. 3r; «the edition your Highness commissioned») of Ausiàs March's works.<sup>4</sup>

As mentioned in the previous chapter, before the publication of Amorós's editions, Ferrando had commissioned two manuscript copies of March's

<sup>1</sup> See Rubió y Ors 94-95; Pagès, Introducció 25-26; Madurell and Rubió 828-29, 833-35.

<sup>2</sup> «...les dos impresions fetes en Barcelona per manament del Ill<sup>e</sup> Admirant de Nòpols don Ferrando de Cardona la una a xxij de Dehembre, Any M.D.XXXXIIJ, y l'altra en lo mateix dia y mes, Any M.D.XXXXV» (MS E, f. 6r).

<sup>3</sup> On printer Claudi Bornat, see Madurell.

<sup>4</sup> Finally, Lilio Gregorio Giraldi di Ferrara (1479-1552), an apostolic notary and humanist, published in 1551 Florence his *Dialogi duo de poetis nostrorum temporum*. Giraldi mentioned in passing that March's works «hoc tempore a viro illustri sunt edita» («have now been recently published by an illustrious man»). Giraldi had to be writing about the Duke of Somma and Admiral of Naples. On Giraldi's erudition see Celenza, *Piety and Pythagoras* 71-82.

poetry (*B* and *K*). The scribe of both manuscripts, presbyter Pere Vilasaló, indicated in each of their colophons that he had been laboring at Ferrando's behest. In addition to *B* and *K*, there is still a third manuscript connected to Ferrando. Containing 133 poems – 127 different poems by March, 4 duplicate pieces, and 2 poems not authored by March – Manuscript 2985 at the Biblioteca Nacional de España in Madrid (*D*) is the most comprehensive of all of the author's poetry.<sup>5</sup> Amadeu Pagès suggested that manuscript *D* contained markings proving that it had been used as the printer's copy of Amorós's 1543 edition (*Introducció* 23–28).<sup>6</sup> This thesis, nonetheless, was rejected in the major critical edition of March's works since Pagès, directed by Archer. Archer proposed a plausible alternative, namely, that manuscript *D* had recorded or reproduced a number of features from edition *b* (Archer, *Introducció* 14–15). Other recent scholarship reviewing the entire manuscript transmission of March's poetry has also been hesitant to accept Pagès's thesis (Beltran, *Poesia, escriptura* 156).<sup>7</sup>

This chapter will, first, offer a codicological description of MS *D* with three aims: understanding its material characteristics in relation to other codices containing the works of the Valencian poet, looking into the compilation process of the most extensive Marchian codex, and discovering what the book can tell us about its contemporary readership. This chapter will also reconsider Pagès's thesis. It will argue that *D* had indeed been the manuscript to which Amorós's compositors referred for preparing edition *b* and will underscore a few editorial strategies that modified the form and the meaning of March's fifteenth-century post-troubadour poetry for an early sixteenth-century readership. At the same time, the examination of both codicological and bibliographical evidence will also indicate that Ferrando owned *D*.

<sup>5</sup> The two poems not authored by March are a stanza in f. 19r with the rubric «De. S. P.» («Joue y sens brius posaus prop del foch») and Tecla Borja's *resposta* (f. 196v).

<sup>6</sup> Pagès named this codex MS *D* in his critical edition of March's works. The songbook is also known as *O*<sup>b</sup>, according to Massó i Torrents inventory of Catalan manuscripts («Bibliografia dels antics poetes catalans»).

<sup>7</sup> See former descriptions of the manuscript in Massó, *Manuscris catalans* 7–37; «Bibliografia dels antics poetes catalans» 161–65; Pagès, *Introducció* 21–28; Beltran 155–57; and BITECA manid. 2303.

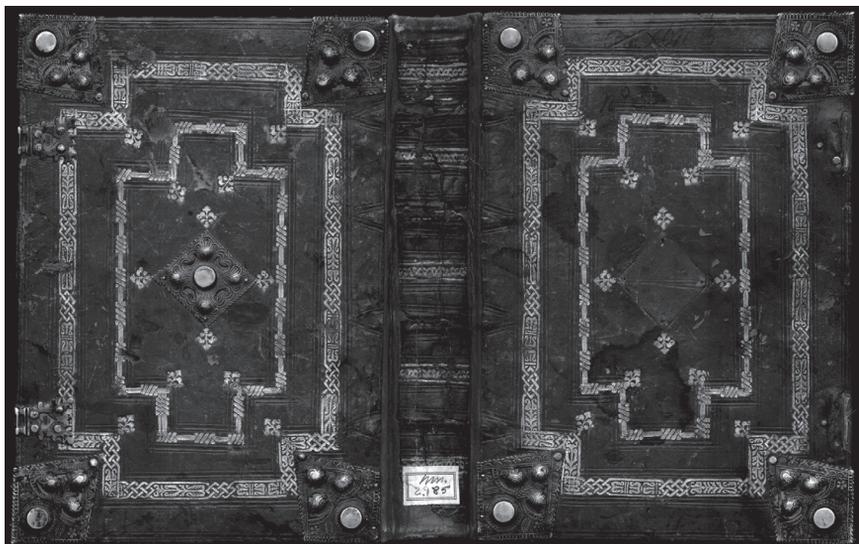


Figure 3. Covers of MS 2985, Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid, 4°.



Figure 4. Front cover (left) and back cover (right) of MS Esp. 479 at the Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, 8°.



Figure 5. Front cover (left) and back cover (right) of MS 2025 at the Biblioteca de Catalunya, Barcelona, 8°.

#### OWNERSHIP

MS *D* contains no colophon or any kind of paratext recording who commissioned, copied, or originally owned it. Other evidence, however—both intrinsic and extrinsic to the manuscript—brings some clarifications. If, as Pagès suggested, Amorós's shop printed the first edition of March's complete poetry on the basis of manuscript *D*, the above-mentioned contemporary documents consistently pointing to Ferrando as the sponsor of the edition would be a first evidence of potential ownership. In particular, Pedrol's application for a royal printing license addressed to Emperor Charles V would suggest that manuscript *D* was indeed linked to Ferrando's household in Barcelona. The implications of those archival documents involving Pedrol are twofold. On the one hand, considering Pedrol's belonging to Ferrando's household and the documents crediting Ferrando with sponsoring the publication of March's works, Pedrol's printing license must necessarily be that of the Amorós 1543 edition—something not immediately evident, since *b* contains no prefatory paratexts. On the other hand, assuming that manuscript *D* would become Amorós's printer's copy, it seems very plausible that the codex was the product of the compilatory efforts mentioned by Pedrol in the application, even when his actual material agency, as compiler of the poems and copyist of the manuscript, cannot be ascertained. At the same time, it is not evident from any of these documents whether *D* would have been produced at Ferrando's behest—like *B* and *K*—nor whether *D* was specifically produced to be a printer's copy. Answers to both these questions will be

provided below, but for the moment it seems safe to assume that Pedrol worked for the Admiral of Naples as some sort of «cultural agent,» as Rubió referred to him, and played a role in the production of the manuscript, as proposed by Pagès. The whereabouts of the manuscript are unknown between the time of its removal from Amorós's shop until it became part of the library and archive of the Duke of Medinaceli in the old Palace of the Dukes of Lerma, where documentation ascertains that the codex was consulted in 1865. Since 1879, the codex has been housed at the Biblioteca Nacional de España (BNE) in Madrid. The BNE had purchased it from bookseller Juan Rodríguez, under unclear circumstances.<sup>8</sup>

### COVERS, PAPER, COLLATION

*D* is a bulky quarto. The book was restored, but its original leather covers were kept, and the original leather patches on the spine were glued together onto the binding. Each of the original leather covers measures 295 x 212 mm and is partially protected and embellished by engraved metal pieces: eight cornerpieces, two clasps that are now broken, and one lozenge-shaped centerpiece on each cover, presently missing on the front cover (see Figure 3). The covers feature humanistic blind- and gold-tooling, in the form of fleuron ornaments and two different interlace patterns made with a roll.<sup>9</sup> In addition, the three edges of the book were goffered with blind geometrical patterns, but its fore-edge is quite rubbed off by use. Due to the book's restoration, the original goffered patterns appear irregular.<sup>10</sup> *D*'s covers show the same exact blind- and gold-tooling as those of *K*, whose covers are also original, and the same gold-tooling as one of *B*'s ornaments (see Figures 4

<sup>8</sup> The Palace of the Dukes of Lerma was sold in 1896 and demolished in order to build the Hotel Palace (1908) still in place today (Sánchez González 173). José Amador de los Ríos examined the manuscript in the Medinaceli collection by 1865 (6: 526). Between 1864 and 1886, Antonio María Godró was the curator of the Medinaceli archive and library. Godró became curator after Juan Manuel Gazapo, and was later replaced by José María Octavio de Toledo (Sánchez González 173-76). Paz y Melia documented that Octavio de Toledo, BNE Rare Books Librarian at the time when the MS was purchased, believed that the MS had been stolen from the Medinaceli archive (21, qtd. in López Casas, «El cancionero *D*» 1200). It is unclear how the manuscript ended up in the Medinaceli archive. The Dukes of Medinaceli eventually became related to the Dukes of Cardona through marriage, but, contrary to what López Casas seems to suggest, neither Ferrando nor his descendants ever held the Dukedom of Cardona. As seen in Chapter 3, Ferrando belonged to another branch of the Cardona lineage, the Barons of Bellpuig; see also Yeguas 71-75.

<sup>9</sup> See Hobson; Pearson; and Foot 12-16.

<sup>10</sup> «OSIAS MARCH» was written on the top edge, so as to identify the manuscript in the library where it was stored. There is an old shelf mark on the front cover written directly on the leather: «Caxon 6 / nº 50.»

and 5).<sup>11</sup> The similarities among the covers of these three manuscripts point to the same binding workshop, probably in Barcelona, and therefore, considering the documentation and the colophons mentioned above, to the Admiral of Naples. These three richly decorated covers bespeak of the songbooks as prized copies.

Because of its restoration, *D* includes three modern guard-leaves –two at the beginning and one at the end of the book.<sup>12</sup> In addition to the modern guard-leaves, the volume contains 209 folios: two original guard-leaves (the second one containing the table of contents), 204 folios with text, and 3 blank folios. The first 196 folios, which contain poems, were originally numbered in Roman numerals. All 204 folios with verses and the other three blanks include more recent pencil numbering in Arabic numerals.

The pages of *D* measure up to 279 x 205 mm. They were trimmed, but one can still see traces of the quire signatures in the bottom right corner of some leaves.<sup>13</sup> The collation of the manuscript can be easily determined thanks to the extant quire signatures and watermark correspondence within a quire. Also, the quire-sewing threads are visible in the middle of the gatherings:

$$2 + a^8 b^8 c^8 d^8 e^8 f^8 g^8 h^8 j^8 k^8 l^8 m^8 n^8 o^8 p^8 q^8 r^8 s^8 t^8 v^8 x^8 y^8 z^8 aa^8 bb^{8-1} cc^{10-2}$$

This formula indicates that the two first folios (guard-leaf and table of contents) do not belong to any other gathering. Quires a-bb are quaternions containing eight folios each.<sup>14</sup> The fifth folio in quire bb was cut off before any text was written down. The last gathering (cc) is a quinternion lacking its seventh and ninth folios. The missing folios do not affect the text.

Pagès described the watermark present on almost all the folios in the manuscript: a morning star mace, crossed by two spears. Briquet's repertory of watermarks provides some similar examples, for the most part dating from mid-sixteenth century: 6289 (Pistoia, 1511), 6291 (Rome, 1561-62), 6298 (Prague, 1543-48), 6299 (Augsburg, 1554), or 6300 (Brussels, 1554-56).<sup>15</sup> Pagès missed

<sup>11</sup> Pagès hinted that the similarities among these three covers could be a clue as to establishing the original ownership of *D* (Introducció 27).

<sup>12</sup> The two original guard-leaves and folios 1-3 from the first quire of the manuscript have been glued together at their inner edge.

<sup>13</sup> Unless otherwise noted, folio numbers will refer to the part of the manuscript that contains Ausiàs March's poetry. Remnants of quire signatures are found in folios 25 (*d*), 41 (*f*), 65 (*i*), 73 (*k*), 81 (*l*), 89 (*m*), 113 (*p*), 137 (*s*), 145 (*t*), 153 (*v*), 161 (*x*), 169 (*Y*) 177 (*z*), 185 (*AA*).

<sup>14</sup> MSS *K* and, even more so, *B* were also primarily made of quaternions. Unlike *D*, both codices are octavos.

<sup>15</sup> See Pagès, Introducció 21. Beltran found *D*'s watermark to be like 199 of Woodward's catalogue (Beltran 155). Woodward's 193, 194, 196, 198, and 200 are also watermarks akin to *D*'s,

a different watermark, a circle with a crescent inside and a Latin cross extending from the top of the circle. The three upper arms of the cross each end in smaller circles. The large circle contains letters *M* and *J*. This watermark can be found only in two folios, half in f. 163, and half in f. 166. It corresponds to Briquet 5264 (Genoa 1526). As with the gold-tooling on the covers, it is significant that, while not identical, the same watermark type is found in *B* and *K*.<sup>16</sup> This is another piece of evidence that hints at Ferrando's ownership of the codex.

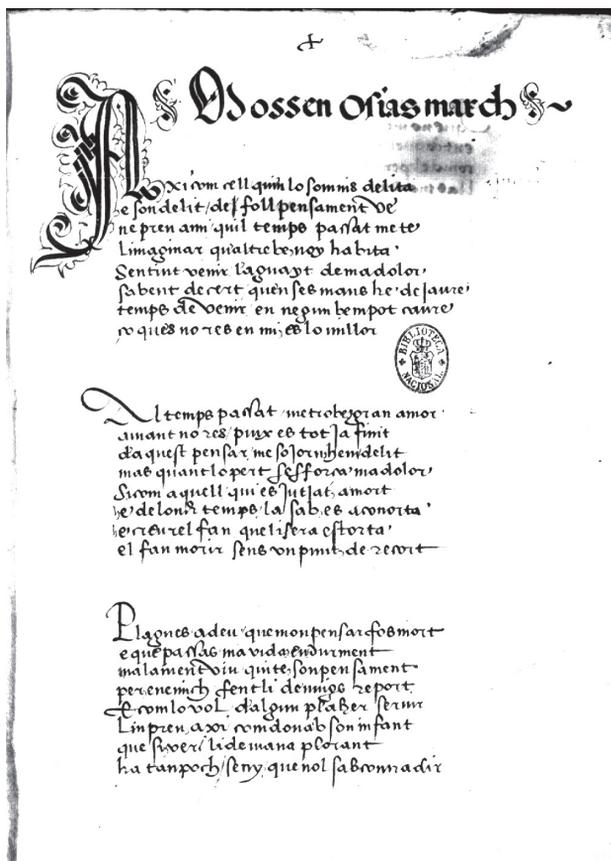


Figure 6. Hand A, MS D, f. 1r.

dating from 1548 to 1575, but belonging for the most part to the 1550s and 1560s, from Naples, Rome, Friuli, Portugal, Belgium, and Augsburg.

<sup>16</sup> See descriptions in Pagès, *Introducció* 14, 49.

Carco que alta toste al vil  
 you en eix comp piny noya cull  
 for fer de ch  
 hules e fers mie dimp f foch  
 e no vell dir que ben conech  
 en partigim  
 de p m e r o v m a g r e p d e r  
 co fa un v r t n o s e o r  
 mas you re p r e n c h  
 car mon pensamene no e st r e n c h  
 e g i m a n e a g u e l l n o e s t r e n c h  
 e n a g i m f  
 coes en deu p u i o v o l a m i  
 l e v o a n t l o m o n p o b r e y m e s q u i  
 p i n y e l n o m v i l  
 n o m f a y c e s q u e f e r n o s o l  
 v o l i p e d o p a s s a n e m o n d o l  
 a b e o r n o c l a z  
 car n o p u n c h a b m i a c a b a z  
 a b c o r f a n c e r d e p e r e l o n a z  
 e m a l n o f a  
 q u a n t r e a o n e c h a c o m m a  
 l a d o i o r q u e a m s m i e g r a  
 m e t o l p o r e z  
 que m o r s d e m o m p a t h f a d e z  
 c o m p a s s i o n n o y e s m e s t e r  
 d i r h i q u i s l a i c h  
 l a p a s s i o n o s f a e m b a i c h  
 que c o q u e s d o l e n o p a r a m a r c h  
 e p e l r e u s  
 n o s t r a i n f i p r e n m e n s h o m e e  
 s e g o n s l o v o l e r s e r a f e e s  
 e n d e o m a l  
 e n t a r a f a l o q u e m e n s m a l  
 que f a l a c o s a f e r n o t a l  
 c o m e s e n r e z  
 a q u a n t a q u e a b i s a b e z  
 c o n e o n e s a n s q u e l g r a n v o l e z  
 v o s c a r r e a s  
 p e c a q u e n o s p o r f e r h o m o b r a s  
 a b p a s s i o q u e n o s f u r d a s  
 n o s t r e i n f i  
 a r r a n e s f a r h m e s q m e s q u i  
 d a q u e l l q u i e s s e m b l a n e a m i  
 v a l h e s m o t e s .

## ALTRA OBRA

Amia corda vndictat  
 per nom contemptus nomenat  
 auigant for homens del mon  
 quen les coses que dell son  
 no es perem bona fi  
 car son via e carni  
 de r o b a r p e r d i c i o  
 e r e m e m b r a m d e l l a f a b o  
 q u a n t l e g i l d i c t a t a q u e s t  
 q u e m p u n c h l e g i t m a n i f e s t  
 m a s n o n t e n y m i l p i m p l i c a t  
 a p r e s q u a t p u h o m p e r e d a e  
 l e n t e n y m i l s e n s f a b o r e z  
 a r a m e s t a c e c o m e n e s e n o z  
 i o b e e m a l q u e y e s e n t e s  
 i o m a l e n l e s c o s e s n o e s  
 i n s t r u m e n t f o n a d q u e h o m p a  
 p e r c o e n e l l e s m a l n o j a  
 n a t u r a y h a m e s b e m o l e s t a  
 a l e g i t i m a z e s n o s t r e n g a n  
 p e r q u e n p r e n e m d e l l e s e s t r e  
 e l o m i g b e n o l c o n e x e n t  
 p e r q u e s a m a g n e n l o c h p e f e r  
 e v e i g a t o t h o m e s t e r d e f e r  
 p e r a p o d a r l o d i n i f a z  
 h o m p o r d e d e l m i g d i s p u t a z  
 e n t e n d r e s p o r m a l n o s e n t i z  
 n o s c o n e q u e m i l s s e p r d i z  
 a d i y e n l n o n t a n t f o l a m e t  
 e q u e l o b r a n t s i a v o l e n t  
 v i r t u t l o c o r m e s q u e l e x p o l  
 l o m i g d e l a c o s a b q u e f e l  
 o b r a z v i r t u t q u e s d i u m o r a l  
 e s p i n t t a n t e f o n i l q u e n o y o l  
 v i s t a d e h o m e p r a u i s t  
 e v o l q h o m n o s i a t i g t  
 v o l e n t p e l o m i g c a m p a z  
 o b a n t c o n s i g i s t a o s t e a z  
 c a r n o e s e n e l l c o p m i g f e z

Figure 7. Hand B, MS D, f. 199v.

Taula de totes les obres son en lo present llibre .		L	I
<b>A</b>			
Axi com cell qui lo somnis desitja acartes 4		Leixane a pare lestil dels trobadors aor 3	xxxij
Ale e amor don grand deli sençendra aor 2	ij	Lo som hiu por de' perche si color aor 3	xxxij
Axi com cell qui desitja vianda acartes 7	ij	Lamia por dalguna causa mon aor 3	xxxij
Amor sedol combreuement yo no myira aor 3	vij	Los ignorans amores es exemples aor 3	xxxij
Alguns passats donaren si amore acartes 3	xiix	Le xelafort lo seu variat torn acartes 3	lvij
Ab vos me pot amor benfemenar a cartes 3	xliij	Lo temps es tal que bot ani mal breu aor 3	xcij
Amalestrany es la pena estranya acartes 3	xlv	Lo blycari quis troba en Alemanyaaor 3	cxij
Ab tal dolor com les herit sarranca aor 3	xlvij	Lo me pet mon no muntangan vilor aor 3	cxvij
Aquelles mas que james perdonaren aor 3	lix	Lo tot es poch co pe que treballam aor 3	cxvij
Als fets coman tre quat sera de mi aor 3	lxxix	Lo aso ates don so volguen fugir acartes 3	clxij
Axi com cell quis ven prop de la mort aor 3	lxxxij	La vidua breu elati se mofia long 3	clxij
Algu no pot haure en si poder acartes 3	xcij	Lo cinguen pen del molt ab gracia 3	clxxxij
Aquest es perchurable dolor acartes 3	cxvi	<b>M</b>	
Aquest ateny tot qiane ateny vol aor 3	cxxy	Mole he tardae en descobrir ma pasta 3	v
Axi com cell qui parteix de si terra aor 3	clj	Mal venturo nos deu cercar venura 3	xxij
Ab mala rao me defenamore aor 3	cxviiij	Molt homens veig clamar se desonma 3	xxvij
Ades ja u vos mon delie acartes 3	cxviij	Ma voluntat amant vos se canencia aor 3	l j
Ami a corda vn dia at acartes 3	cxci	Malament viu qui desit pere de viure 3	l ij
<b>B</b>			
Bem marauell com la ye no salece acartes 3	xliij	Mes voluntats en gran pare discordats 3	lxxxvij
<b>C</b>			
Colanques gens ab alegria festes acartes 3	xij	Maley lo som quem sonch donada vida 3	clxxxij
Callen aquells qui clamor han parlat aor 3	xxj	Prele me parbo que pens de la tre mo 3	cxix
Cell qui dalezuu reb amuy eplax acartes 3	xxxvij	Mon bon seuyer pus que parla en pla 3	cxvij
Ceraty me u apendze e forte mole tate aor 3	xxxix	Meure' d'amor semu sapassio acartes 3	cxvij
Clamar nos deu qui mal cerca e' troba 3	xlvij	<b>N</b>	
Como ferit no desitja la font acartes 3	lvij	No sech lo temps mon pensame' simoble 3	xxij
Clar es e mole aores los amadors acartes 3	xcv	Nos marauell algn per quem anyor 3	l vij
Cobrix no puchi la dolor qui turmenta 3	clj	No pot mediar lo mo meus preat 3	lxxvij
Cert es de mi que nomen calfer com pe 3	clxxij	No guarit auant ne membre lo passat 3	lxxxvij
<b>D</b>			
Dona sius am nom gratescu amor aor 3	cxlix	No soga se en de manar mer ce aor 3	xcij
<b>E</b>			
En aquell temps semu d'amor delie aor 3	lvij	Non pre n'axi com al greie wylee 3	xcv
Entre' amor son posat e fortuna acartes 3	cxvij	No pens algn quem illanch en parals 3	cl
Entre' los vills y les ordes acartes 3	clxxxvij	Nom clari dalgun que mo mala facha 3	clxvj
<b>F</b>			
Fanta sia ne amor ami descobre acartes 3	xxvij	No cal cluptar q'ens vlls por no vrece 3	clxxx
<b>G H</b>			
Hon es lo sech hon ma pensa reposa aor 3	lxxxvij	<b>O</b>	
<b>I</b>			
Ia tots nos canes me plan metzen oblie 3	vij	Oynoyu tots los quibe amats acartes 3	cxvij
Ia no esper que sia amac acartes 3	x j	O more qui est de mols nals medicina 3	xxx
Imte es lo temps que mon goies amphi 3	xv	O vos mesquins qui sote terra saeu aor 3	lxxx
Ia de amor y rebien ames y ostra 3	3	O fore dolor yre prech e' m'perdonen 3	lxxx
		O quat es foll qui tem lo forcat cas 3	clx
<b>P</b>			
		Pren men axi com al pario qui plasta 3	clx

Figure 8. Hand C, MS D, Table of Contents.

## HANDS, RUBRICS, MARGINALIA

Several hands completed the copying of the manuscript. Its *terminus ante quem* is December 22, 1543, the date when Amorós finished printing his edition. Identifying the various hands that intervened in the making of the codex is crucial to grasp the manuscript's copying process.<sup>17</sup> First, I will present an account of the traceable textual operations performed on the pages of the manuscript. After that, I will set forth a relative chronology of the production of *D*'s text.

Most of the text, from ff. 1r through 196v, was professionally copied by a person whom I will call Hand A, who was also responsible for ruling the two vertical margins of the pages in drypoint (see Figure 6). This scribe routinely marked the beginning of his work with a holy cross on the top margin of f. 1r—this common sign to mark the beginning of a scribal task can be found, for instance, in contemporary legal documents. The same sign can be found later on, on the top margin of f. 196v. This second cross indicates that the scribe was starting a new job, namely, copying two additional poems: 125 and Tecla Borja's reply.<sup>18</sup> Hand A features a cursive humanistic script reminiscent of Gothic strokes.<sup>19</sup> The fine diagonals and thicker downstrokes, a nonsystematic use of upright *d*, or occasional joined and indistinguishable *u* and *n* appear to be Gothic. Nonetheless, ligatures in groups *ct* and *sp*, the bullet-shaped ending strokes in vowels *a* or *e*, and some renderings of capitals *P* and *D* are examples of the most striking humanistic traits of Hand A.<sup>20</sup> While this hand copied almost all of March's poems, he only completed a few rubrics.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>17</sup> Categories *Hand*, *Rubricator*, and *Reader*, and the letters that accompany them («Hand C,» «Rubricator B,» «Reader A,» etc.) are abstractions that aim to distinguish among different moments and operations in the production of the manuscript. They are not meant to correspond to different people working on the book. In fact, some of the hands, readers, and rubricators could be the same person carrying out a number of actions on the manuscript at different times, and employing slightly different scripts.

<sup>18</sup> This sign in f. 196v presumably means that some time had elapsed since the scribe had finished f. 196r. That would explain the slightly smaller-sized and tighter script. Pagès (Introducció 21–22) and Archer (Introducció 14) deemed f. 196v was written by a different hand, but Beltran correctly noticed it was all carried out by the same one (155).

<sup>19</sup> According to Beltran (155), this script dates to 1525–50.

<sup>20</sup> This blend of features may indicate that the scribe had a command of several scripts. On the other hand, perhaps the Gothic reminiscences of Hand A's script may be reproducing that of its antigraph.

<sup>21</sup> In folios 2r («Mossen Osiás March»); 40r («Estrams de mossen osiás march»); 59r («Esparça» and «March») 63v («Mossen osias march»), 65v («Estramps»), 72v («March»), 75r («March»), 76r («Esparsa,» «Esparça,» «Esparsa,» «Esparsa»), 84r («March»), 100r («Estrams»); 101v («March»); 102v («March»); 105r («Rims de mossen osias march»); 115v («March»); 147r («Altres»); 149v

Hand A's *mise-en-page* alternates a regular disposition of full stanzas with long sections featuring a continuous copy of full stanzas and sections thereof. As in other Marchian songbooks, regularly laid-out poems written in *octaves* are set on the page in groups of three stanzas, while *décimes* appear in groups of two stanzas. With the exception of a few pages, Hand A featured this regular layout in quires o through bb.<sup>22</sup> In all other quires but a, Hand A copied the poems continuously, with the exception of a few occasional folios.<sup>23</sup> The layout of quire a is regular for the most part (ff. 1r-5r, 6v-7r), continuous on five pages (ff. 5v-6r, 7v-8v), and the end of folio 8v coincides with the end of a poem. This is to say that the layout of the manuscript's first quire seems calculated to accommodate a cluster of complete poems (1-8). Hand A normally featured capital letters at the beginning of each stanza, and usually at the beginning of the fifth line, separating the two halves of the *octaves*. *Décimes* usually have the last couplet detached from the previous eight verses, and a capital letter at the beginning of line nine. On occasion, there is also a space separation between the first and the second half in the *octaves*.<sup>24</sup> Overall, Hand A seems to have been performing a mechanical copy of *D*'s antigraph. Not only does the regular *mise-en-page* in long sections of the codex support this, the quire collation is also very regular and the order of the poems in long sections of the codex replicates that of earlier Marchian codices, such as *F* and *N*.<sup>25</sup> Other evidence in support of Hand A's mechanical work will be noted below.

A second hand (Hand B) copied poem 124 in f. 196r, and poems 127 and 128 in ff. 197r-204r (see Figure 7). Poems 127 and 128 were copied in dual columns. Hand B features a cursive humanistic script that is very similar to a third hand (Hand C; see Figure 8). Unlike Hand B, Hand C displays sharp strokes and does not tend to link letters. Hand C played a crucial role in finishing the manuscript by adding missing stanzas and rubrics to poems 92 (f. 59r) and 107 (f. 145r).<sup>26</sup>

(«Altres»); 194r «Tornada,» «Seguida»); 196r («Tornada»); 196v («Demanda feta per mossen March / a la señora na Tecla Borja neboda del pare sant,» «Resposta de la dita señora»).

<sup>22</sup> The exceptions are in quire o (107v, 108r), p (115v-117r), and bb (196).

<sup>23</sup> The exceptions are in quire b (9r), c (24v), h (60v-62v, but the *décimes* are set in groups of three per page), k (73v, 78r, 79v-80v), quires l-m (84r-91r), quire n (97v-98r, 103v-04v). Ff. 84r-91v – which contain full poems 57-63 – make 16 pages or 8 folios, which happens to be the regular folio content of *D*'s quires. This patch of regularly laid-out poems through quires l-m perhaps suggests that *D*'s antigraph for this stretch of poems was precisely an eight-folio quire. The order of poems 57-63 remains stable in a few other codices: *BFKN*.

<sup>24</sup> For the space separation between the first and the second half of the *octaves* see among others ff. 2r-5r, 6r-7r, 9r-10r, and 11v-12r.

<sup>25</sup> See a summary of the orders in Archer, *Introducció* 36-37.

<sup>26</sup> These rubrics appear in songbooks *HK* and *D* (Torró, «El *cançoner de Saragossa*» 396, n. 34). The rubric to Poem 92 is «De mosen Ausias March per la mort / de sa muller» (f. 59r), and the rubric to Poem 107 is «Altres dressades a Mossen / Borra» (f. 145r).

This hand also included a table of contents, and canceled a poem that Hand A had duplicated.<sup>27</sup> The table of contents lists poems alphabetically, according to the first letter of their incipit. Within each letter heading, Hand C listed poems in the order in which they appear in the manuscript.<sup>28</sup> Since the table of contents includes the incipits of the poems inserted by Hand B (124, 127, and 128), Hand C must have worked on the manuscript only after Hand B did so. In fact, considering the paleographical similarities between Hand B and Hand C, it would not be unlikely that both hands corresponded to a single scribe.

Hand C's cancelation of the duplicated poem requires a longer explanation. *D* contains a total of 127 poems by March, more than any other Marchian manuscript from the fifteenth or sixteenth centuries. In addition to those 127, *D* includes 4 duplicates: 3*obis*, 27*bis*, 32*bis*, and 4*obis*. Hand A copied them consecutively between ff. 114v and 118r. Afterwards, a reader (Reader A) detected that 3*obis* was a duplicate. Reader A canceled the poem and wrote a marginal note in Spanish and Catalan on the outer margin of f. 114v. He employed a distinctive rounded humanistic script: «estas siete coplas siguie<n> / tes estas [sic] duplicadas / por descuydo delescri / tor y por estar a si en el / libro dedonde sea tra / duzido este estan a/tras en vna obra que come<n>ça [sic] si com la taur / acart<tes> XXVIIJ» («The following seven stanzas are duplicates, due to a mistake of the scribe, and since they appeared this way in the book of which this one is a copy, in a piece beginning «Sí com lo taur» [Poem 29] in folio 37»). That is in all likelihood the reason why Poem 30 was duplicated. The first stanza of Poem 30 appears in *D* as if merged with Poem 29, a single-stanzaic *esparsa*. Thus, Poem 29 looks like the first stanza of a longer composition that visually encompasses both Poems 29 and 30, as the incipit of Poem 30 becomes the first verse of a second stanza in *D*.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>27</sup> Hand C introduced the *tornades* of Poem 14 (f. 14r), Poem 19 (f. 19r), Poem 30 (f. 28r), and Poem 93 (f. 65v). It also appended missing stanzas to Poem 105 (vv. 217-24, f. 134v), and Poem 112 (vv. 151-60, f. 156r). In view of these interventions, Hand C may have also canceled a few *tornades*, *seguides* and *endreces* (ff. 147r, 173v, 177v, 185r, 187v), and the entire Poem 124. But since these cancelations do not allow any paleographical analysis, there is the possibility that the workers in Amorós's shop may have been responsible for them.

<sup>28</sup> Poems 96 and 21 did not initially appear in the table of contents, and were added later. Poem 19 was originally placed under letter *O*, but later corrected and placed under letter *H*, in accordance with the spelling of the manuscript («Hoyu hoyu tots los qui be amats»). Dots, bars, and other small signs were added at some point, probably in the printing shop, cryptically marking almost every incipit.

<sup>29</sup> The merging of poems 29 and 30 occurred at an earlier stage in the textual transmission of March's poetry. Poem 30 is already appended to Poem 29 in MS 2281, at the Hispanic Society of America in New York (*N*). *N* has been dated ca. 1480 (Pagès, *Introducció* 52-53; Faulhaber, *Medieval Manuscripts* 1: 551). *B* and *K* also include the merging of both poems.

The incipit of *3obis* does not appear in the table of contents. This means that Reader A canceled *3obis* prior to the intervention of Hand C. Moreover, the reader's assertion that the duplication had already appeared «in a book from which the present one is copied» shows awareness of Hand A's work, who copied most of the text. This important marginalia further supports the idea that Hand A would have performed a mechanical copy of its antigraph.

When Hand C was working on the manuscript, he realized that poem 40 had been copied twice, first in ff. 36v-37r, and then in ff. 117r-118r.<sup>30</sup> Hand C canceled every stanza of poem 40*bis* and wrote in Catalan in the left margin of f. 117r: «Tota aquesta obra que son / cinch cobles y la tornada / esta duplicada y trobar / sea a cartes xxxvj alla / hont comence. Cell qui dal / truy reb anuig e plaer» («This entire piece, consisting of five stanzas and the *tornada*, has been duplicated, and can be found in folio 36 beginning 'Cell qui d'altruy reb anuig e plaer'»). Since 40*bis* is not included in the table, Hand C noticed the duplication either before or while composing the table of contents.

Finally, a different reader (Reader B) canceled poem 32*bis*, after Hand C had completed the table of contents. Reader B canceled poem 32*bis* from ff. 116r-117r, and wrote another marginal note locating the first copy of the poem. The manuscript of Reader B is a rounded humanistic script similar to that of Reader A, but its descenders are shorter, and vowel *e* occasionally displays bullet-shaped ending strokes. Reader B wrote his note in Spanish, but some Catalan words slipped in: «esta obra <que> se sigue es dup<lica>da / yes enaquella <que> comen<n>çe. Pujar / no pot algu en molt valer à / cartes xxviiiij» («This following piece is a duplicate of that one beginning 'Pujar no pot algú en molt valer' in folio 29'»).<sup>31</sup> It can be assumed that Reader B canceled 32*bis* after Hand C worked on the manuscript, because the incipit of poem 32*bis* is included in the table of contents, from which, in any case, it was eventually crossed out.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>30</sup> The first version of Poem 40 starts with a different incipit (40: «Cell qui d'altruy reb anuig e plaher»; 40*bis*: «Lo qui dalgu reb enuig e plaher»). That is most likely the reason why Hand A did not realize that 40*bis* and 40 are the same poem. 40*bis* in *D* and poem 40 in *B* share the same incipit. Actually, *D*'s duplicate and *B*'s version of Poem 40 share a number of idiosyncratic readings against the text transmitted by rest of the manuscripts (March, *Les obres* 1: 140-41; and *Obra completa* 2: 163-64).

<sup>31</sup> Once again, it is very likely that Hand A did not realize that 32 and 32*bis* were the same poem because of the different incipit: «Lome pel mon no muntan gran valor» (Poem 32*bis*) vs. «Pujar no pot algu en molt valer» (Poem 32). Also, it is remarkable that incipit of 32*bis* and several other readings coincide with *B*'s version of Poem 32, and not with the readings provided by any other manuscript (Pagès, Introducció 140-41; March, *Obra completa* 2: 139-40).

<sup>32</sup> 27*bis* was not detected as a duplicate. Its incipit is actually v. 25 in Poem 27. Poem 27*bis* thus begins at what actually is the fourth stanza of complete Poem 27.

Setting aside the few rubrics Hand A copied himself, it is clear that one or several other rubricators intervened in the manuscript. Rubricator A employed a thick and large Gothic script.<sup>33</sup> He used a darker ink than Hand A's, left wide margins between the poems and the rubrics, and his rubrics are always laid down within the text-block. The ink employed in these rubrics appears like that of the ornate capital letters at the beginning of each poem between ff. 11r-32v.<sup>34</sup>

Rubricator B employed a much thinner Gothic script between quires a through y, and included most of the rubrics in the manuscript. He worked after Hand A and Rubricator A completed their jobs, since many rubrics are clearly outside the text-block, by the upper margin of the page.<sup>35</sup> Some of these rubrics are a simple *c* (for «capítulo»), and just marked the beginning of a new poem.<sup>36</sup>

Let's now summarize the copying process of the songbook. Hand A copied most of the manuscript, from ff. 11r through 196v. He must have been performing a mechanical copy of his antigraph. After –or as– Hand A was copying the text, Rubricator A introduced rubrics and some capitals. After Hand A and Rubricator A completed their jobs, but not necessarily before the remaining hands and readers performed their respective work, Rubricator B included most of the rubrics in the manuscript. After Hand A and Rubricator A worked on the codex, Hand B copied three poems in f. 196r, and in ff. 197r-204r. Then Hand C completed some missing stanzas and *tornades*, included a rubric, canceled poem 4*obis*, and composed a table of contents. Before Hand C completed the table of contents, Reader A had already canceled poem 3*obis*; and after Hand C had finished the table of contents, Reader B canceled poem 32*bis*.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>33</sup> See ff. 11r («Mossen Osiàs March»), 17r («Estrams de mossen Osiàs march»), 19v («March»), and 152v («De la mort»).

<sup>34</sup> Hand A did not leave any sign for the rubricator to know which letter he should elaborate in each blank space. This means that either the rubricator could access the antigraph of *D* as he was working on the manuscript or, perhaps more convincingly, Rubricator A may have been the same individual as Hand A.

<sup>35</sup> See ff. 32r («Marc»), 36v («Marc»), 39r («Mosen Marc»), 43v («Marc»), 74r («Marc»), 78r («Marc»), 85r («Marc»), 87r («Marc»), 108v («Marc»), 123r («Marc»), 135r («Marc»), 150v («Marc»), 151v («Marc»), 171r («March»), and 174r («Marc»).

<sup>36</sup> See ff. 9v, 10v, 14r, 16r, 21r, 22r, 27r, 28r, 33v, 35v, 37r, 38r, 39v, 42r, 48v, 49v, 50v, 51r, 52r, 53v, 54v, 56r, 57v, 68r, 73r, 86r, 88r, 89r, 90r, 91v, 92r, 93r, 94r, 95v, 97r, 98v, and 106v.

<sup>37</sup> I must note that, for all the similarities among songbooks *B*, *K* and *D*, none of *D*'s scripts is Vilasaló's.

## «COMPILATIO»

The scribal work performed by Hands A and B illustrates a process of *compilatio*, which had actually started well before Hand A wrote the first lines of poem 1. The first three stages in the compilation process had, in fact, coalesced in the antigraph or mastercopy Hand A had employed. The first one hundred and one poems copied on manuscript *D* are a recognizable codicological unit, in part sedimentary of previous compilations of March's works, some of which had enjoyed some success.<sup>38</sup> Four poems were added to this first compilation. Folios 114v-18r include four poems that were duplicates of the first hundred. As I have explained before, these duplicates were added to the compilation inadvertently due to either misleading incipits, or due to the merging of a shorter composition with a longer one. These four duplicates were copied one after the other and were thus grouped in a section after the first one hundred and one. Finally, the third compilatory stage that completed Hand A's antigraph consisted of the addition of the poems appearing in *D*'s ff. 118r-96r. So, in total, the compiler of Hand A's antigraph gathered 127 poems – although four of them were duplicates – and was obviously attempting to put together as many of March's poems as he could possibly obtain.

The fourth stage in the compilation of songbook *D* can be appreciated in Hand A's addition of poem 125 and Tecla Borja's reply in f. 196v. As explained earlier, those two poems had been copied in a tighter and slightly smaller script. Hand A marked the beginning of this second task with a holy cross at the top margin of the page, which possibly denotes that some time had elapsed since he had finished f. 196r. Last, the fifth stage in the compilation took place when Hand B copied three additional poems. Hand B used the remaining space in the bottom half of f. 196r to write poem 124, and ff. 197r-204r to write poems 127 and 128. It is remarkable that poems 127 and 128 are the only ones attributed to March in nonstanzaic metrical schemes.<sup>39</sup> To summarize, these are compilatory stages reflected on manuscript *D*:

<sup>38</sup> Such are the cases of songbooks *H* (the oldest compilation), *F*, and *N*, see Torr6; Rodríguez Risquete, *Vida y obra de Pere Torroella* 197-203; and Beltran, *Poesia, escriptura* 54-57. *D*'s order of the poems is not exactly *F*'s nor *N*'s, but features long sections of poems with the same order in all three MSS. Note, however, that poem 100 is not included in *N*, and only follows 99 in MSS *B* and *D*. Poem 101 was copied between ff. 113r-14r, right before the duplicates. Poem 101 is not included in any earlier Marchian MS and, in fact, its Marchian attribution has been contested (see a critical summary in Cabré, «Un lugar de Petrarca» 124-25, n. 17). The location of the poem, so close to the four peripheral duplications, seems to highlight 101's liminality in Hand A's antigraph too, which might give another argument to those who doubt its authenticity.

<sup>39</sup> Poem 127 («A Déu siau vós mon delit») is a *lai*, a narrative and non-stanzaic metrical pattern. It consists of couplets, in series of two octosyllables and one tetrasyllable. Poem 128 («A mi

Stage 1 (*D*'s antigraph): 1-56, 88-91, 85-86, 92-95, 74-84, 87, 57-73, 97, 96, 98-101

Stage 2 (*D*'s antigraph): Stage 1 + 32*bis*, 27*bis*, 32*bis*, 40*bis*

Stage 3 (*D*'s antigraph): Stage 2 + 102-21, 122b, 123

Stage 4 (*D*, Hand A): Stage 3 + 125

Stage 5 (*D*, Hand B): Stage 4 + 124, 127, 128

The compilation begun with the antigraph used by Hand A, ended with the addition of the two eccentric non-stanzaic poems included by Hand B, and resulted in the most complete textual witness to March's poetry in existence. The compiler or compilers were indeed putting together «las obras de Ausiàs March, en muchas partes derramadas» 'March's works, scattered in many places,' as Pedrol's application for a printing license stated. Be it Pedrol himself who copied the songbook, or be it several people working on his behalf, at the behest of Ferrando de Cardona, there is little doubt that the printing application license is truthful in this respect.<sup>40</sup>

So far I have described songbook *D* and examined its compilation process and material characteristics while underscoring its manifold similarities with other manuscripts that belonged to Ferrando de Cardona's household, just as *D* must have as well. Let's now focus on proving what has been assumed in parts of the former codicological description, namely, that *D* served as Amorós's printer's copy in 1543. Thanks to advances in textual bibliography it is now possible to vindicate Pagès's thesis.<sup>41</sup> As pointed out by Pagès, *D*'s pages contain extensive fingerprints that certainly betray the hands-on engagement of the typesetters with the manuscript. Nonetheless, the variety of traces left by the printing workers on the codex will provide further substantial information regarding the editorial operations underwent by the printer's copy of a book of poetry while the book was being handled in a hand-press printing shop.

acorda un dictat») was composed in *noves rimades*, which are series of non-stanzaic octosyllabic couplets. *D* and *B* are actually the only two textual witnesses to these two eccentric poems.

<sup>40</sup> Pedrol also claimed that March's complete works had never been printed before; and that is also correct, as Romaní only edited a selection of March's poems.

<sup>41</sup> For the study of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century printer's copies see Escapa, *et al.*; Dadson, «La corrección de pruebas y un libro de poesía» and «La imprenta manual y los textos poéticos»; Garza, «La cuenta del original,» «El original de imprenta de la Primera parte del Flos sanctorum,» and «El Tratado de las matemáticas de Juan Pérez de Moya»; Rico, *El texto del Quijote*; and Grafton.

## «ORDINATIO»

The 127 poems contained in *D* had been copied in the following order:

1-28, (29+30), 31-56, 88-91, 85-86, 92-95, 74-84, 87, 57-73, 97, 96, 98-101, 3**obis**, 27**bis**, 32**bis**, 4**obis**, 102-21, 122b, 123-25, 127-28.

Edition *b* contains 122 of *D*'s 127 poems. Two textual particularities of *D* also individuate *b*: the merging of poems 29 and 30 (ff. 99v-100v), and the fact that *b* also contains 27**bis** (ff. 41v-42r). 27**bis** is the only duplicate not identified as such in the production of *D*. *b* would have discarded 5 poems included in *D*, and the 3 duplicates. In addition to this selection process, the 122 poems chosen to be published were totally rearranged in a completely different order from that of the manuscript. They were divided into three different sections as well:

[Obres de amor] 39, 4, 66, 101, 3, 21, 69, 67, 10, 68, 23, 37, 109, 33, 5, 34, 73, 44, 86, 50, 18, 51, 24, 89, 13, 2, 19, 7, 54, 80, 1, 81, 82, 62, 11, 14, 40, 32, 17, 31, 20, 26, 36, 55, 41, 100, 58, 27, 45, 22, 46, 9, 85, 38, 114, 28, 90, 63, 91, 77, 6, 110, 49, 84, 76, 83, 78, 71, 42, 8, 47, 48, 25, 15, 64, 75, 53, 43, 16, 56, 118, 79, 57, 102, 27**bis**, 65, 120, 72, 70, 52, 117, 88, 61, 115, 60, 74, (29+30), 98, 35, 59, 99, 111, 116, 119, 121, 122b, 87 [Obres de mort] 123, 92, 93, 94, 95, 97, 96 [Obres morals] 103, 104, 106, 113, 107, 112, 108, 105.

Not unlike very few other editions of vernacular poetry in sixteenth-century Spain, such rearrangement appears to have reset the poems according to their main theme (Núñez Rivera). In this case, March's works were divided into «works on love,» «works on death,» and «works on morality.»<sup>42</sup> Edition *b*'s distinction between «works on love» and «works on death,» and *b*'s last poem being 105, an oration to God, editorially shaped March's poetry according to a Petrarchist fashion –but we will return to this in depth at the end of this chapter and through the next.<sup>43</sup> At the same time, since the older configuration was totally overhauled, it is obvious that the rearrangement was not only

<sup>42</sup> The edition displays running titles on the recto side of the folios. After setting all the running titles for the «Obres de amor,» the printing workers marked the page in *D* (f. 122r) that would provide the text for the first page in the edition of the «Obres de mort» (f. 195v). They simply wrote «Obres de mort» after the last stanza to be set on f. 195v.

<sup>43</sup> From the turn of the fifteenth century, posthumous macrostructural and editorial fashioning inspired by the *Canzoniere* was not uncommon in the manuscript or printed editions of some Italian Petrarchist authors; see Santagata, *La lirica aragonesa*; Cannata, *Il canzoniere a stampa*.

carried out in order to categorize March's poetry into its three main themes. If that had been the editor's goal, the order of the poems needn't have changed that much:

[Obres de amor] 1-11, 13-28, (29+30), 31-56, 88-91, 85-86, 74-84, 87, 57-73, 98-101, 27*bis*, 109-11, [Obres de mort] 92-95, 97, 96, 121, 122*b*, 123, 125, [Obres morals] 102-08, 112-13.<sup>44</sup>

As *D* shows, the order of the poems within every section was not at all random, but carefully planned. In preparation for the manuscript to be printed, someone wrote down one or several letters of the alphabet on the margin at the beginning of each poem. The letters set a new order from «a» through «z,» then from «aa» through «zz,» «aaa»-«zzz,» and so on, indicating the new position the poems would occupy in the edition (see Appendix 7). After comparing the order assigned by the letters of the manuscript to the order in the edition, it turns out that their coincidence is almost perfect.

Poems 3*obis*, 32*bis*, 4*obis*, and 124 had been cancelled, were not considered, were not assigned a letter, and do not appear in the edition. Poems 125, 127, and 128 do not bear any letter, nor were they included in the edition. It can be argued that these three poems may have been excluded for their eccentricity with respect to March's corpus: on the one hand, 125 is a *demanda*, just as 124, which had been cancelled. On the other, Poems 127 and 128 are the only non-stanzaic ones. Poem 12 does not bear any letter nor was included in the edition, and it is the only stanzaic poem written in *octosil·labs*.<sup>45</sup>

Poems 107 and 108 bear the same letters (eeee), but Poem 108 follows Poem 107, both in the manuscript and in the edition. One of Amorós's compositors realized 107 and 108 bore the same letters, and wrote down a marginal note on f. 192v: «es duplicada y no / importa puix ve arrere» («[the order letter] is a duplicate, but it doesn't matter because [this poem] comes afterwards»). Finally, Poem 70 (oooo) was composed right before poem 52 (qqqq). Poem 74 (pppp) was not included in the edition until later on, while it should have been set between 70 and 52. This mistake on the part of the composi-

<sup>44</sup> [Left-out]: 12, 3*obis*, 32*bis*, 4*obis*, 124, 127-28.

<sup>45</sup> Not all the letters are clearly readable nowadays, and even after using a black-light, no letter could be deciphered in Poems 3, 13, 55, 93, although these poems were included in the edition. These missing letters prompt the question: How were the compositors guided? Was someone working in the printing-shop, such as Luis Pedrol, involved in the arrangement of the poems? On another note, as pointed out by Martos, a sixteenth-century reader of MS *F* wrote on the margin of the codex (f. 11v) that this was not March's composition (qtd. in López Casas, «El cancionero *D*» 1186-87).

tors is the first important reason to eliminate the possibility that someone had written down the letters on the manuscript following the order of the edition. If someone had been recording the order of the edition in the manuscript, how and why could he possibly have committed the mistake of advancing Poem 74, and only this poem, six positions?

#### SETTING BY FORMS, MARKING, COUNTING, AND CASTING OFF

Well until the eighteenth century, books were normally printed «by forms.»<sup>46</sup> This technique consisted in setting to print, at the same time, all the pages that could fit on each side of an entire sheet of paper. Each set of pages was called a «form.» Once both sides of the paper were printed, the paper was folded as many times as necessary in order to correspond to the format that had been chosen for the edition. Amorós's 1543 edition of March was printed in quarto; for which every sheet of paper had to be folded twice, and produced eight pages of the edition. Therefore, the compositor had to set four pages of the edition in each form. Furthermore, each quire of edition *b* includes sixteen pages (it is a quarto in eights). This means that two sheets of paper were necessary to print each gathering, and also that setting by forms each quire of this quarto in eights entailed a particular distribution of sixteen pages in the four forms of every quire.<sup>47</sup>

Because of this particular distribution, in order for the compositor to set the pages of every form, he had to alternate his setting of types with his «casting off» the printer's copy so as to calculate the content of the pages that he would set subsequently. For instance, in order to print the outer form of the outer sheet in quire «a» (pages 1, 4, 13, and 16), Amorós's compositor may have started setting page 1, but then he would have had to calculate how much text would fit in pages 2 and 3 before setting page 4. Then he would cast off the content of pages 5-12 before setting page 13, and finally, he would estimate the text to be contained in pages 14 and 15 before setting page 16. At the same time, once the text of an entire quire had been cast off, nothing prevented two or more compositors from setting forms of the same quire.

As compositors were setting and casting off the text, they would scribble distinctive markings on the manuscript in order to signal where they had fin-

<sup>46</sup> Paredes f. 35v; Bond; Hinman; Gaskell 40-43; and Rico, *El texto del Quijote*.

<sup>47</sup> For updated and detailed accounts of the hand-press printing technique, see Richardson, *Printers, Writers and Readers* 3-24; and Moll, «La imprenta manual» 13-27. See Rico, *El Texto del Quijote*, for a thorough account of the consequences of hand-press printing to the transmission of the *Quijote*, which was printed in the same format as *b*.

ished or would finish setting each of the pages.<sup>48</sup> There is such extensive marking throughout *D*, although a great deal of it was erased, and a black-light is required to read it today (see Appendix 8). Most of the markings consist of a horizontal line placed between two text lines, establishing the end of a given page.<sup>49</sup> By the line marking the page limit, there is a number and a letter. The number marks the page number (1-16), and the letter refers to one of the quires of the edition (a-y). Some of these lines and some of their page and quire signatures do not correspond to the pages of the edition.<sup>50</sup> These erroneous markings show that the compositors had to correct inaccurate page calculations. Pages containing wrong markings also tend to include corrections.<sup>51</sup>

At least two different compositors worked on *D*, although their markings are not always easy to differentiate. One of them employed thinner and shorter limit lines that entered the space between text-lines. His page and quire signatures tend to be smaller, regardless of whether he is using Arabic or Roman numerals. The other printing worker drew thicker and longer lines that occupy most of the margin. His page and quire signatures tend to be in Arabic numerals and capitalized, although he occasionally uses Roman numerals as well.

Setting and casting off *D* was not a simple job. The order of the poems in the manuscript would not correspond to the order of the edition. Therefore, before setting or calculating the content of every page, the compositor had to look for the right poems back and forth in the manuscript. The first poem, bearing letter *a*, is Poem 39, which is placed between ff. 35v-36r of the manuscript. The next poem in the edition is Poem 4, bearing letter *b*, which is located between *D*'s ff. 3v-4v. The third poem in the edition was number 66 (*c*, ff. 93r-94r). The fourth poem in the edition was 101 (*d*, ff. 113r-14r), and so on and so forth. This complex process of locating the poems before setting and casting off has left some remnants on the margins of *D*. The most remarkable is on f. 58v and can be presently read only under a black-light. The compositor wrote by the border line marking the beginning of page 15 in quire *f* (f. 48r of *b*): «aquesta es la xv f, la qual acaba en cartes xxxiiij, alla hon junta ab la xvj» («this is 15 f, which finishes in folio 34, where it meets with 16 [f]»).

This note indicates that the compositor was to set the first portion of «15 f» with the end of poem 85 from f. 58 of the manuscript, after which he was to finish composing «15 f» with the following poem in the new order (poem

<sup>48</sup> Richardson, *Printers, Writers and Readers* 10; Garza, «La cuenta del original» 65-95.

<sup>49</sup> In stanzas of ten verses, it was also marked the blank line which separates in the edition the eighth line of every stanza from its last couplet.

<sup>50</sup> E.g., 47v, 48r, 60r, 60v, 61r, 62r, 62v, 63r, 64v, 65r, 65v, 66r, 67r, etc.

<sup>51</sup> E.g., 60r, 60v, 61r, 62r, 62v, 63r, 64v, 65r, 65v, 66r, 67r, etc.

38), which starts in *D*'s folio 34v. That is why the note reads «which finishes in 34,» namely, the setting of «15 f» finishes with the content in folio 34v of the manuscript. Only half a stanza of poem 38 is included in the end of «15 f.» The rest of poem 38 continues in «16 f» –hence, «where it meets with 16 [f].» The note is quite pertinent, if we consider that «15 f» and «16 f,» in spite of being consecutive in the edition, are part of two different forms and were set at two different times, perhaps by two different compositors.

There are two other notes left in the codex that directed the compositor in the process of locating before setting. The first one is in f. 15r, right by the limit line where Poem 15 ends: «va en cartes 9 i, on serà aquesta» («goes to folio «9 i» where this one will be»). In fact, the poem after number 15 in the new order is Poem 64, which is printed part in «8 i» and part in «9 i.» Pages 8 and 9 of quire i are in the outer form of the inner sheet. This kind of marking makes sense only to a compositor, who must know the location of all the texts that he needs to set in the same form. The second note is in f. 58r: «aquesta es la xiiij, y ací comença» («this is 14 [f] and it starts here»). This note is right by a limit line that marks the beginning of page 14 in quire f.

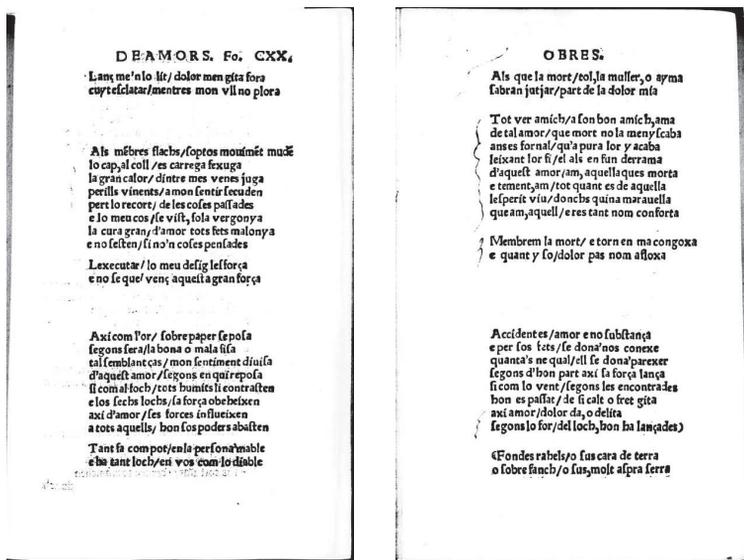
*D* also includes occasional crosses by the margins, marking stanzas omitted from the edition (175v, 176v, 185v, 186r). These missing stanzas reveal how one of the quires in the edition was printed, and show us the effects that the hand-press had on the transmission of texts (Rico, *En torno al error*). Folios 175v, 176v, 185v, and 186r contain stanzas belonging to Poems 116 and 119. Except for the first stanza of Poem 116, both poems were printed in the inner sheet of quire o. As explained above, the compositors had to cast off the content of the entire quire (four forms, sixteen pages), before composing the pages of a single form. Since Poems 116 and 119 are in the inner sheet, and four of their stanzas were omitted from the edition, it can be deduced that the inner sheet was imposed last. As the typesetters were composing the two forms of the inner sheet, they realized that there was not enough space in those two forms so as to accommodate all the text. They decided to exclude four stanzas. If they omitted part of the text, a drastic but not uncommon measure (Garza, «La cuenta del original» 78-79), it was because they did not have the choice to cast off the content of quire o again. The only way this choice would have been unavailable to them would be if they had already printed the outer sheet.<sup>52</sup>

Another mark related to the casting off is *Fi* («end»). This sign marks in the codex the end of a page in the edition, but only in cases when the last verse

<sup>52</sup> In addition, three of the four suppressed stanzas would have fallen in the inner form of the inner sheet, and only one in the outer form. This could suggest that the inner form of the inner sheet was set last.

in the edition page coincides with the end of a poem.<sup>53</sup> As with the casting-off marks, this sign does not appear systematically, nor does every poem ending at the very end of a page in the edition have it.<sup>54</sup> The *fi* sign was later erased in two cases only (f. 2v, 59r) and, on occasion, the sign misses the actual end of the page for only a few verses.<sup>55</sup>

The resequencing of *D*'s poems surely made the typesetters' task tough and challenging. Understandably, their results with regards to the edition's *mise-en-page* were quite poor. The number of text lines set per page throughout the edition, including rubrics, is strikingly irregular. The line count goes anywhere from 22 to 32 lines per page –excluding the also irregular spacing lines or blocks on the form. Consequently, some pages are widely spaced (120r, 126v), whereas others are crammed with text (20r, 37r; see Figure 9).<sup>56</sup>



<sup>53</sup> See *D*, ff. 2v (cf. *b f.* 21v); 20r (cf. *b f.* 33r); 28r (cf. *b f.* 100v); 39v (cf. *b f.* 72r); 44r (cf. *b f.* 65v); 56r (cf. *b f.* 52r); 59r (cf. *b f.* 15v); 63v (cf. *b f.* 127v); 76r, two different signs for Poems 80 and 81 (cf. *b f.* 24v and 25v); 76v (cf. *b f.* 60r); 77r (cf. *b f.* 59r); 100v (cf. *b f.* 63r –in edition, though, 62r); 116r (cf. *b f.* 82r); 151r (cf. *b f.* 57r); 185r (cf. *b f.* 75v). A cross or what appears to be an H-shaped mark, denotes the end of most poems; but it's not clear at what point those crosses were added.

<sup>54</sup> But one may find it in most quires of the edition (b-l, n, q, r, v), as much in inner sheets as in outer sheets, and both in inner and outer forms.

<sup>55</sup> See *D*, ff. 25v (cf. *b f.* 42r); 33v (cf. *b f.* 35r); 65v (cf. *b f.* 129v); 147v (cf. *b f.* 157v).

<sup>56</sup> Amorós's 1545 re-edition, materially based on the 1543 text, greatly improved its *mise-en-page*. Working with a printed text that was already in order, the line count per page became much

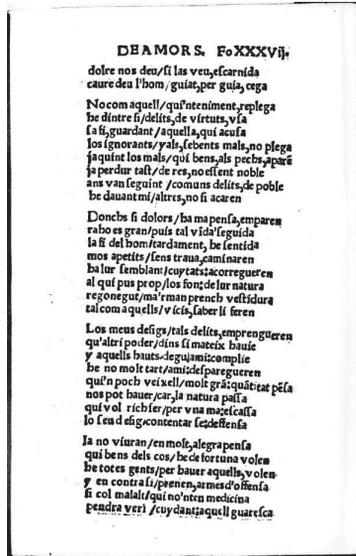
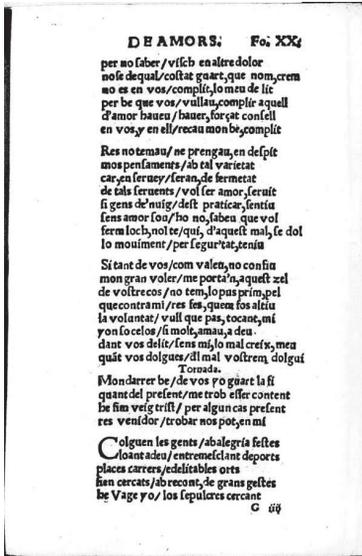


Figure 9. Edition *b*, ff. 120r (upper-left), 126v (upper-right), 20r (bottom-left), 37r (bottom-right)

### EDITING AND GLOSSING

Before the text was set, it underwent extensive editing that consisted of three different main operations: adding punctuation (commas, semicolons, colons, periods, hemistich bars), separating with an apostrophe elisions and aphereses, and appending the letter *b* to monosyllables starting with a vowel.<sup>57</sup> The former two interventions had already been featured together in *Le cose volgari de Messer Francesco Petrarca*, edited by Pietro Bembo and published in Venice 1501 by Aldo Manuzio. Bembo was the first one to use the apostrophe in the edition of a vernacular text. Curiously enough, he also preferred to retain the initial *b* in Italian words; such as *huomo* instead of *uomo*.<sup>58</sup>

The editing on *D* is not exhaustive or systematic; some corrections did not made it to the edition, and, most of the times, punctuation and apostro-

more consistent –24–28 text-lines per page, with single-line spacing between lines, and a character saturation much more regular than in 1543's edition.

<sup>57</sup> Such as *a* (preposition or verb), *e* (conjunction or verb), *o* (conjunction), *un* (article), and *on* (adverb).

<sup>58</sup> See Richardson, *Print Culture* 50–51; and Belloni 96–117.

phes were set by the compositors regardless of not having been marked by the editor. This indeed reflects the work dynamics in a printing-shop. The corrector in charge of the editing would play the role of an authentic factotum, to the extent that perhaps his job would be better termed as that of a «print professional» (Grafton 13). Just as in the case of the casting off marks, the editing was introduced as a guide for the compositors. So the final edition does not correspond in every point with the «instructions» they had been given initially. Take for instance, line 7 of poem 3 (*D*, f. 3r; *b*, f. 4v). The corrector changed the original line, but the compositor set something else:

<i>D</i>	socorreume / dins los termens <b>dun ora</b>
<i>D (cor)</i>	socorreume / dins los termens <b>d'hun, ora</b>
<i>b</i>	socorreume / dins los termens <b>d'un ora</b>

If the length of line 7 is compared to lines 1, 4, 5, and 8, it will become apparent that those two extra characters in line 7 (the *b* and the comma) are missing, but only because there was not enough space in the line that should have accommodated them (see Figure 10).

Al he amor / d'ongran de sig sengendra  
 y esperiment / per tots aquests grahons  
 me son delits / mas donam passions  
 La por del mal / quim fa magrir carn tedra  
 E port al cor / s'ens sum continu foch  
 e la calor / nom surt a part de fora  
 socorreume / dins los termens d'hun ora  
 car mos senyals / demostrèn viure poch

Al he, amor / d'on grà de sig sengendra  
 y esperimét / per tots aquests grahons  
 me son delits / mas donam passions  
 la por d'l mal / quim fa magrir carn tedra  
 he, port' al cor / s'ens sum continu foch  
 he, la calor / nom surt, a part de fora  
 socorreume / dins los termens d'un ora  
 car mos senyals / demostrèn viure poch

Figure 10. Poem 3, vv. 1-8, MS *D* and Ed. *b*

Moreover, some signs suggest that, in spite of its seeming randomness, some of the editing was carried out once the manuscript had been cast off (Rico, *El texto del Quijote* 73-81). In the manuscript, Poem 8 is copied between ff. 8r-8v; and in the edition, it is set between ff. 54r-55v –that is, on the last pages (15 and 16) of quire h and on the first page of quire i. In the manuscript, the second half of Poem 8's last stanza and its *tornada* were the only parts of the poem that had been edited. That is precisely the portion of the text that, once set in the edition, fell in the beginning of quire i. A similar case appears in the end of quire c and the beginning of quire d: whereas the manuscript pages that were set at the end of quire c do not show any editing (ff. 49v-50v), those that were set at the beginning of quire d do (ff. 1r-1v). Another proof can be found in the manuscript sections of poem 87 (ff. 82v and 83r), which were set in pages 14 and 15 of quire p. Those two pages, belonging to the inner side of the outer sheet of the quire, are the only parts of long Poem 87 that had not been edited on the manuscript. Last, the first half *octava* of Poem 34 in f. 33r does not include hemistich bars. These four verses fall on f. 13r of the edition. The second half of the *octava* includes hemistich bars and falls on f. 13v of the edition.<sup>59</sup> All in all, these examples of portions of the manuscript unedited or edited in accordance with material parts of the edition seem to indicate that the correction took place after the text had been cast off.<sup>60</sup>

Amorós 1543 also contains marginal explanations of some obscure words (see Appendix 9). In the 1530s such editorial feature started to be common in Italian editions of vernacular texts. In 1532 Giovan Battista da Castiglione wrote a guide to Petrarch's *Luoghi difficili*. Aldo Manuzio had promised a short «espositione» of Petrarch's more obscure words as early as 1514, but it was not until his heirs' 1533 reprint that some explanatory notes were added. Also in 1533, Andrea Gesualdo from Naples edited a new commentary, including linguistic notes that paid attention to the needs of non-Tuscan readers. And 1535 edition of Ariosto's *Orlando furioso*, printed by Bindoni and Pasini, displayed brief explanations of some difficulties, by Ludovico Dolce (Richardson, *Print Culture* 92-96).

As with the editing, the corrector's marginal explanations of obscure words in the manuscript are not consistent with the edition. Some glosses were writ-

<sup>59</sup> Another example of hemistich editing in manuscript parts that correspond to material units of the edition in f. 183r. Hemistich lines stop being added with the line marking at the end of folio 74r of the edition, that is, by v. 16 of Poem 118.

<sup>60</sup> But not necessarily at the same time. The corrector may well have worked on the manuscript in different moments. See the second stanza of folio 93r, in which editing appears in a darker ink, whereas hemistich lines are light brown, alike the main text.

ten on the manuscript, but were not transferred to the edition.<sup>61</sup> And vice versa: some definitions provided in the edition had not been written on the manuscript.<sup>62</sup> However, a number of glosses of some words missing from certain pages of the manuscript or the edition were eventually included in other passages.<sup>63</sup> This shows one more time, as with the numbering of the poems, the casting off, and the glossing, that a printer's copy is not a mere reflection of its edition, but rather a precious record of different stages within a work-in-progress.<sup>64</sup> It is worth noting that the first quire of the edition (*a*) is an exception. All words containing margin glosses in *b*, were marked in *D* (see Appendix 9, section 9.3). Moreover, the last page of the quire coincides with the end of poem 10. The first quire of the edition was therefore corrected and set with somewhat more care than the rest.<sup>65</sup>

### MATERIALITY AND MEANING

Material and documentary evidence has shown that manuscript *D* indeed belonged to Ferrando's household. The codex's extensive marking has illustrated that the manuscript was indeed used as the printer's copy of the Amorós edition. But was it or was it not produced to serve as such? During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, a manuscript printer's copy would normally be a modest clean copy of an original, specifically produced with the purpose of being as manageable and easy to read for the compositors as pos-

<sup>61</sup> Ff. 4v, 6r, 11r, 16r, 22r, 62v, 93v, 107v, 107v, 108r, 108r, 108v, 109r, 113v, and 131v.

<sup>62</sup> Ff. 2r, 12v, 13v, 15r, 15v, 17r, 28r, 28r, 28v, 29v, 32v, 33r, 34v, 35v, 37r, 37r, 38v, 46r, 46v (two different words), 49r, 51r, 54r, 57r, 58r, 74v, 87r, and 97r.

<sup>63</sup> For instance in f. 11r: «benahuirat per benaventurat» was not set in Amorós 1543, but the same gloss appears later on in the manuscript (f. 20r) and in the edition. At the same time, «renar per rabosa» is missing from f. 28r of the manuscript, while it appears in its printed counterpart. However, the same gloss had appeared earlier on in the manuscript (f. 4r) and in the edition.

<sup>64</sup> It was suggested that a few *tornades*, *seguides*, and *endreces*, and all of Poem 124 had been cancelled by the third hand that participated in the production of the manuscript. It is remarkable that the *endreça* of f. 173v made it to the edition in spite of having been cancelled. At the same time, an *endreça* in f. 147r had not been cancelled on the manuscript, but was eventually omitted from the edition. This kind of inconsistencies, like those just pointed out regarding the editing of *D*, could imply that those cancellations were carried out by the printing workers.

<sup>65</sup> López Casas holds the corrector responsible for a few other minute interventions in the manuscript, such as adding some rubrics (for the *tornades*), or changing words, on occasion to fix hypometric verses (see «El manuscrito *D*» 1192-95). López's assumptions are perfectly possible, but it might not be always feasible to determine whether these changes necessarily occurred at the printing shop.

sible. These clean copies would usually be written with a clear, often cursive script. The paper would be of low-grade quality. The manuscript would be bound, or just wrapped, in flimsy and low-quality leather covers. *D*'s features obviously do not correspond to those. Luxuriously bound, written on paper of excellent quality, with wide margins, most of it in a round script with capitals and at times ornaments, this codex was not a mere clean copy commissioned in order to have a text ready for the press. Other details are noteworthy. The poems had not been copied in the order they were eventually printed –causing a major inconvenience to Amorós's compositors: they had to find each poem to be printed before setting it on the forms. The table of contents was certainly used by the compositors, but the pages in the edition were not overwritten on the original pages in the manuscript. The owner of this codex appreciated it to the extent that he had many of the printer's marks erased after the edition was complete.

*D* was edited and corrected so as to meet editorial standards introduced by Pietro Bembo in the Aldine edition of Petrarch's *Canzoniere* and *Trionfi*. As in other Italian editions of vernacular works from the 1530s, March's edition also included marginal notes on obscure vocabulary. *D*'s rearrangement of the order of the poems bears witness to a philological care on the vernacular text that humanists had largely been bestowing on classical works. Since the early 1500s, a number of Italian editors and printers addressed the issue of the order of Petrarch's poems in their editions.<sup>66</sup> The 1501 fundamental edition of *Le cose volgari de Messer Francesco Petrarca* printed by Aldo Manuzio claimed to offer a text that had come directly from the pen of the poet. As early as 1503 Girolamo Soncino responded to Aldo's text with his edition of Petrarch printed in Fano. In his letter addressed to the readers, Soncino accused Aldo of not ordering the *Canzoniere* or the *Trionfi* correctly and of having employed a text that was not Petrarch's autograph or a last version.

In 1514 Manuzio tackled the issue of order in printing his new Petrarch. He moved back the division of the two parts of the *Canzoniere* from Poem 264 to Poem 267 and addressed the composition and the order of the *Triumphus Fame* in his letter to the readers. In 1516 Francesco Griffo printed in Bologna another Petrarch that introduced a change in the order of the second and third *capitoli* of the *Triumphus Fame*. And in 1521 Nicolò Zoppino printed his *Trionfi*, featuring an order that was not Aldo's or Soncino's.<sup>67</sup>

<sup>66</sup> On order and content variation previous to Manuzio's print, see Cannata, *Il canzoniere a stampa* 56-57. For the evolution of the material Petrarch, see Storey, «Canzoniere e Petrar-chismo» esp. 300-10.

<sup>67</sup> See Brian Richardson, *Print Culture* 48-63; and Belloni 62-64.

In 1525 the order controversy reached its zenith with Alessandro Vellutello's tremendously successful edition and commentary of Petrarch. In his Venetian edition, Vellutello rendered the poems of the *Canzoniere* in a totally different order from the Aldine. His rearrangement was justified throughout the commentary, but also in a prefatory section of the edition entitled «Trattato de l'ordine de' sonetti et canzoni del Petrarca mutato.» Vellutello had researched the life of Petrarch and had paid attention to the internal chronology (the calendrical structure) of the *Canzoniere*, grounded on the anniversary sonnets in memory of Petrarch's falling for Laura. Vellutello's new organization was to correspond coherently to a narrative structure that would reflect a chronological consistency with Petrarch's own life. Such was the success of Vellutello's edition that «rese necessaria ai successivi editori una nota esplicita sull'ordine del *Canzoniere*, fino al Daniello» («made it necessary for subsequent editors to explicitly address the issue of the order of the *Canzoniere*, up to Daniello»).<sup>68</sup>

*D*'s extensive marking overhauling the original order of the poems proves that Amorós's editor of Ausiàs March considered not only what poems to include, but also the exact order they should follow.<sup>69</sup> Naturally, this operation must have derived from the editorial controversies regarding the greatest vernacular author of the Renaissance. The question that still remains to be answered and will be addressed in the next chapter is to what extent the editor had been concerned with reproducing a macrostructure akin to Petrarch's.

<sup>68</sup> See Belloni 78, n. 48; and also 58-95.

<sup>69</sup> As mentioned before, only a few months before Amorós dealt with March's text, on March 20, 1543, the printer had published the first Spanish *canzoniere* inspired by Petrarch: Juan Boscán's second book of *Las obras de Boscán y Garcilaso*. Jordi Rubió believed that Boscán was responsible for March's pervasiveness in Garcilaso's poetry and in the cultural entourage of the Dukes of Somma, originating both 1543 editions («Literatura catalana» 810, 901). For the seminal suggestion, developed here and in the next chapter, that this reordering had to be understood in connection to the Petrarchan controversies regarding the order of the *Canzoniere*, see Duran, «Defensa de la pròpia tradició» 250; and, fundamentally, Cabré and Torrò, «Perché alcun ordine»; also developed in Cabré, «Un lugar de Petrarca.» Morros has further refined the hypothesis of Boscán's involvement with Amorós's edition of March («El *canzoniere* de Boscán» and «Fuentes, fechas, orden y sentido»).

## 6. ORDER AND MEANING: READING AUSIÀS MARCH THROUGH CARLES AMORÓS'S EDITION

### POETICAL AND EDITORIAL MODELS

In his application for a royal printing license, Luis Pedrol claimed that the purpose of his compilatory labor was to have March's works published «correctas, juntas y reduzidas á su devida forma» (Madurell and Rubió 830-31; «corrected, all together, and brought to their due form»). These three qualities of edition *b*, as materially reflected in manuscript *D*, have been described and discussed in the previous chapter. Now the focus will turn from the material to the hermeneutical. This chapter will argue for an interpretation of what Pedrol called the «devida forma» of March's poetry.<sup>1</sup> As seen in Chapter 5, the due form of March's works entailed a thematic tripartition (works on love, on death, and on morality) and a minute redistribution of the poems in each section. The extent of those changes in the order of the poems, as it has also been pointed out, recalls the controversies regarding the order of the poems of Petrarch's *RVF*, the single book of vernacular poetry that enjoyed the highest authority and dissemination during the Renaissance throughout Europe.

From the outset, this rearrangement of March's poems in *b* adheres, for the most part, to Guglielmo Gorni's essential definition of the *canzoniere* form: «libri di poesia (solitamente in più metri, con netta prevalenza del sonetto) in cui sia evidenziabile, à uno o più livelli del testo, qualche intento di organizzazione interna della materia» («Le forme primarie» 118; «books of poetry (normally in several metrical forms, with a clear prevalence of the sonnet) in which one –or more than one– level of the text shows evidence of an attempt to internally organize their matter»). Gorni's comprehensive definition leaves open to further specification and inquiry the variety of principles that organize the «internal matter» of a macrotext, especially those inspired by Petrarch's

<sup>1</sup> *Devida forma* seems to have had legal connotations involving due procedure since the fifteenth century (see «devida forma» and «devida forma» in *CORDE*). Humanistic jargon would use *forma* to refer to the actual metal forms employed in the hand printing press (Rizzo 55). However, «l'espressione *in librum (volumen) redigo (edo)* è usata per indicare il passaggio dalle carte sciolte al codice....Con *in codicem (librum, volumen) digero (redigo, reduco)* e simili si indica anche l'opera di raccolta e ordinamento di opuscoli o lettere in forma di libro....Simile l'espressione *in libros redigo* con cui il Traversari indica l'ordinamento in libri del suo epistolario in vista della pubblicazione» (Rizzo 307).

*RVF*.<sup>2</sup> But March was by no means a Petrarchist author as, say, Boscán in the second book of his *Obras*. Unlike March's works, Petrarchist *canzonieri* feature a variety of metrical forms—at least the sonnet, but often also *canzoni*, sestina, *ballate*, and madrigals—that do not have much in common with March's *octaves* and *décimes*.<sup>3</sup> What is more, in a corpus of over 10,000 verses, March's direct intertextual relationships with the *RVF* are a rarity.<sup>4</sup> And yet, besides the formal and intertextual distance between both authors, this chapter will argue that March's post-troubadour poetry adopted an «internal organization of the poetical matter» akin to a Petrarchist *canzoniere*, in ways much more nuanced and respectful with March's textual tradition than those previously examined in Navarro's edition.

Considering the diversity of *canzoniere* forms that stemmed from the *RVF*, recognizing this structure in the Amorós edition requires both a flexible and encompassing approach to Petrarchist macrostructural paradigm—such as, for example, Albonico's. For this reason, the following pages will attempt to apprehend or decode March's macrotext not only *vis-à-vis* Petrarch's, but also through the lenses of a few other Petrarchist *canzonieri*.<sup>5</sup> The first of the Petrarchist *macrotesti* that will be taken as a touchstone is, for all things said until now, straightforward: Juan Boscán's second book of his *Obras*, the first Spanish *can-*

<sup>2</sup> In addition to Gorni's panoramic essay, for the vernacular book of poetry in contemporary Italy see also Albonico's principles of recognition (29-46), and Cannata's bibliographical analysis of printed editions between 1470-1530 (*Il canzoniere a stampa*). See also Santagata and Quondam for earlier forms of vernacular poetical books in Italy; Núñez Rivera; and García Aguilar for references to the Hispanic tradition.

<sup>3</sup> Considering March's corpus, there is even less variety of metrical forms in *b*, since the few poems that were not in decasyllabic *octaves* or ten-verse stanzas were excluded from the edition. For March's meters, see Bohigas, ed. 512-15; and Parramon.

<sup>4</sup> However, the very few unmistakably Petrarchan borrowings in March's poetry were identified by *b*'s editor and, as it will be argued further on, conditioned *b*'s macrostructure.

<sup>5</sup> Petrarch's last version of the *RVF* is reflected on MS Vaticano Latino 3195, including a change in the order of the last 31 poems as they appear copied in that manuscript. That MS is the one Pietro Bembo edited and Aldo Manuzio printed in 1501. As explained in the previous chapter, among other editions, Alessandro Vellutello's (1525) attempted a change in the Aldine order that enjoyed wide dissemination. However, before Petrarch's poetry reached those printed states, or forms, Petrarch himself carried out different compilations of his poems that have survived or have been reconstructed. Wilkins set the foundations for the study of Petrarch's making of his own *canzonieri*. His seminal studies have been thoroughly developed for over half a century and are nowadays being reassessed; see Barolini, «Petrarch at the Crossroads»; and Storey, «*Canzoniere* e Petrarchismo.» My references to the *RVF* mostly revolve around MS Vat. Lat. 319 the Aldine text, and Vellutello's reordering, and are mainly informed by Santagata's scholarship; in particular his global interpretation of the Vat. Lat. 3195 form in *I frammenti dell'anima*, and his compendious commentary of Petrarch's *RVF*. Regarding Vellutello, my views are indebted to Belloni and Kennedy.

*zoniere*, which came out of Carles Amorós's printing shop only months before March's works (in March, 1543). Three additional Italian *macrotesti* are surveyed: the *canzonieri* by Giovan Francesco Caracciolo (1506), Benet Garret «il Cariteo» (1509), and Pietro Bembo (1548). Caracciolo's and Cariteo's books, like March's, were not edited by the authors themselves, and represent two different models of early Petrarchist songbooks from Naples under Aragonese rulership. Bembo's authority, responsible for the canonization of Petrarch's vernacular poetry in the sixteenth century, exemplifies still another case of macrostructure that, like Boscán's, was edited by the author himself.<sup>6</sup>

Other editorial models related to Petrarch's songbook are also brought into the discussion. On the one hand, the elegiac book of poetry could also have been among the referents of *b's* editor. The first book of Boscán's *Obras* begins with a piece that echoes Catullus's «Qui dono lepidum novum libellum» («¿A quién daré mis amorosos versos?»),<sup>7</sup> which plays a macrostructural role as a preface.<sup>8</sup> The elegiac book of poetry had been among Petrarch's own exemplary references

<sup>6</sup> My own observations regarding Boscán's second book of his *Obras* are informed by and contrasted with readings by Armisen, *Estudios* 379-411; Cruz, «La imitación del modelo óptimo»; Navarrete 73-89; Cabré and Torró; Lefèvre 113-38; Morros, «El canzoniere de Boscán»; and Lorenzo, *Nuevos casos* 93-128. My own reading of Caracciolo's unattended *canzoniere* will also rely on Santagata's macrostructural interpretation in *La lírica aragonesa* 202-41. Unless otherwise specified, I will refer to Caracciolo's *Amori* section –of his 1506 printed works. On Cariteo, much better studied, see Santagata, *Lírica aragonesa* 206-341; Parenti, *Benet Garret*; Barbiellini; Fenzi; Morossi; and Kennedy, «Citing Petrarch in Naples.» I will mostly refer to Cariteo's 1509 edition of his *Endimione*. Albonico has reassessed the macrostructure of Bembo's posthumous Roman edition of his *Rime* (1548), defending its authorial sanction. For more details on the history of the text, see Donni's xi-xxxi, who claims his recent edition of the Viennese MS *W2* as the last curated by Bembo ca. 1541.

<sup>7</sup> In his *Octava* rima (vv. 593-600), Boscán mentions the loves and beloveds of Catullus, Ovid, Propertius, and Tibullus. This stanza, though, is a borrowing from Bembo's «Stanze per festa carnavalesca in lode di Amore» (vv. 161-68, see Boscán 409-10). But Boscán himself mentions Propertius and Cynthia, Catullus and Lesbia in his epistle to Diego Hurtado de Mendoza «Holgué señor, con vuestra carta tanto» (vv. 271-76). Catullus, Propertius and Tibullus normally circulated together in a joint edition, stemming from their 1472 *princeps*, or the 1502 Aldine (Gaisser; Brutrica). While Propertius was well known and employed by Garcilaso de la Vega (Schwartz; Morros «Garcilaso y Propertius»), Catullus was one of Diego Hurtado de Mendoza's favorite authors, and there are certainly clear intertextual relationships between their poetry; also between Mendoza's and Ovid's *Amores* (see Chapter 5, n. 60, and the series of articles by Arcaz; Alonso Moreno and Martín Puente; and Cristóbal). Even an author as polemically far from the new poetry as Cristóbal de Castillejo borrowed from Catullus's poems for his own traditional Castilian *coplas* (Arcaz, «*Basia mille*» and «*Pervivencia de Catulo*»). Additionally, it is worth recalling that the programmatically classicistic production by Boscán and Garcilaso –which included Horatian epistles, odes, and eclogues– and the presence in the Barcelona circle of other remarkable readers of the classical letters, like Jerónimo Agustín or Vicenç Navarra.

<sup>8</sup> Morros disagrees with Armisen regarding the function of Boscán's first poem of the book. Since Boscán's poem is written in blank *endecasílabos* Morros considers that it could not be the

in the making of his *macrotesto*. A Petrarchist poet like Cariteo followed up on Petrarch's compositional patterns by incurring numerous debts with Propertius, among other classical authors.<sup>9</sup> In fact, the only manuscript containing a contemporary edition of Cariteo's poetry (MS *M*, ca. 1485-94) was inspired by Propertius's book of elegies –rather than by Petrarch's *RVF* (Morossi 185-91). It seems justifiable, then, that Ovid's *Amores* and the elegiac books by Catullus, Propertius, and Tibullus be considered potential models for edition *b*.

Finally, the blending of classical and vernacular lyric traditions had also occurred among fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Neo-Latin authors, for their elegies incorporated Petrarchist images and motives.<sup>10</sup> Between 1533 and 1535 in Charles V's court, a young Neo-Latin poet had been writing some of the compositions that would become part of his celebrated book of elegies. That poet was Janus Secundus (1511-36), who corresponded with several Spanish courtiers, including Diego Hurtado de Mendoza.<sup>11</sup> Hence his *Elegiarum libri tres* will also be taken into consideration.

These books of lyric poetry –vernacular, classical, and Neo-Latin– did not feature mere thematic or metrical classifications of their content. Their poems were rather articulated organically. Their meaning not only generated from each individual composition, but from their sequence. Moreover, it can be argued that all those books belong to the same genre, and constitute a genuine tradition in which later authors admired and imitated their forebears. Not only did vernacular poets look up to classical models: even Petrarch's editors turned to classical authorities when disputing in favor or against the Aldine's order.<sup>12</sup> When March's complete works were to adopt its «due form,» it is

prologue to the first book of Castilian *coplas* («Fuentes, fechas, orden y sentido» 91). However, Boscán's poem only introduces his own verses («*mis* amorosos versos»), not Garcilaso's in book 4. In any case, the prefatory function of Boscán's poem, whether to the first book, to his three books, or to the entire volume, is indisputable.

<sup>9</sup> Petrarch devised the first three sonnets of his *RVF* relying on the prefatory compositions of Horace's *Epistulae*; Propertius's *monobiblos*, and Ovid's *Amores* (Rico, «*Rime sparse*» and «Prólogos al *canzoniere*»). Arguably, as Tonelli has demonstrated, Propertius had an even more pervasive influence in Petrarch's overall structuring of his *Canzoniere*. On Cariteo's debts with Propertius, see Pèrcopo's notes to his edition, and Fanti.

<sup>10</sup> On the interplay between Neo-Latin and vernacular authors in the Spanish Renaissance and baroque, see the works by Alcina Rovira, «Entre latín y romance;» on Petrarchism among Neo-Latin authors, «Humanismo y petrarquismo;» and on the Neo-Latin elegy, «La elegía neolatina.» See also Ludwig's seminal article on the study of Neo-Latin elegy «*Petrus Lothicius*.»

<sup>11</sup> On the relationship between Secundus and several Spanish courtiers, see Lida; on Secundus, see the edition by Murgatroyd.

<sup>12</sup> Vellutello, in his «Tratto su l'ordine...» (1525), regards Petrarch's works more akin to Ovid's elegies and Martial's epigrams, and less so to narrative verse works like the *Aeneid* and

only natural that *b*'s form had to be based on the most popular organic book of poetry embodied by Petrarch's *Canzoniere*. However, it should come as no surprise that, in the Italianate and classicist Barcelona academies, some of *b*'s features might have also been conceived in view of classical and Neo-Latin examples.<sup>13</sup>

This chapter will, first, discuss a number of features that define a Petrarchist poetic sequence, aiming to recognize those in *b*. Second, it will propose a linear reading of the entire edition in order to set the limits of resemblance between a Petrarchist sequence and March's own. The vernacular and Latinized models that have been selected to recognize March's macrotext are not intended to be regarded as direct sources from which *b* derived or descended directly. Although occasional genetic relationships might be discussed, the former examples are to serve the purpose of establishing an interpretive dialogue between *b* and the tradition to which those books belong. Those models were selected for being epistemologically representative of literary traditions and editorial projects that could be relevant for the Barcelonian cultural circles sketched in Chapter 4. The final goal of this chapter is the recognition of *b* as belonging to the same multimorphic species as the other organic books of lyric poetry.<sup>14</sup> As is common in macrostructural analyses of songbooks (e.g. Santagata, Albonico, Morros), for

Dante's *Comedy*: «Et quantunque l'opera non sia continuata come la *Eneide* di Virgilio o la *Commedia* di Dante perché alcuno ordine gli habbia ad esser necessario, ma ogni sonetto & canzone havere il suo proprio soggetto in sé, come de gli epigrammi di Martiale & delle elegie d'Ovidio veggiamo, nondimeno son pur alcuni sonetti che hanno dependentia l'uno da l'altro» (Belloni 89-93). Gesualdo also addressed the order model issue in his own edition dedicated to Maria de Cardona (1533). Gesualdo agreed with Vellutello regarding the *RVP*'s resemblance to certain classical models. However, he used that position to justify his return to the Aldine (Belloni 78, 205-06): «si come in latino, & in Greco l'Elegie, gli Epigrammi, Li hynni, l'ode e simili scritture non richieggono quello ordine, che ne l'Eneida, e ne l'Iliada si uede, cosi apo noi le Canzoni, & Sonetti non debbono esser tutti in quella maniera continuoati, che nei Triomphi, e nei Canti seruiamo» (f. cii verso).

<sup>13</sup> While Petrarch's impact in March's poetry is scarce, the intellectual profile of the Valencian poet has been reassessed during the last years regarding his knowledge of classical Latin literature, especially Ovid. Had the Ovidian impact on March's poems been recognized by the editor, it may also have played a role in the construction of his macrotext. Badia opened this research line (195-297), which has been most prominently developed by Torró («Ausiàs March no va néixer en temps d'Ovidi» and «Pròlegs al cançoner d'Ausiàs March: Ovidi exiliat»), and Cabré («Ovid's *Odi et amo*» and «Una altra veu d'Ausiàs March»). The recent anthology and commentary by Pujol and Gómez also attempts to provide further intertextual support for March's knowledge of classical authors.

<sup>14</sup> For the «architecture» of the *Canzoniere* not being addressed until the mid 1500s, whenever authors referred to Petrarch's *RVP*, see Cannata, «La percezione.» Naturally, all editorial products imitating Petrarch's architecture inventoried in Gorni's article and those studied by Cannata

the sake of concision and readability this chapter will briefly summarize the content of a poem and examine verses and stanzas that weave the intertextual connections through *b*'s poems.<sup>15</sup> The objective here, however, is not to deploy in full the lexical, syntactical, and conceptual networks throughout March's compositions.<sup>16</sup> Forthcoming linear readings of these three sections will not attempt an in-depth approach to each of the poems analyzed, nor will this interpretation discuss the proposed reading against a philological one that might hark back to the author's agency. Instead, emphasis will be on the continuity of a constructed and coherent poetic discourse across the book.

#### THE PARTS AND THE WHOLE: ON DEATH AND MORALITY

The division of March's works according to the main theme of individual poems is the most noticeable feature of *b*'s macrotext. Through running titles, poems were divided into three sections: works on love, works on death, and works on morality. At first glance, tripartition defies the major twofold articulation of the Aldine, which separates Petrarch's poems during Laura's life (Poems 1-263/ 2nd ed. 267) from his works after Laura's death (Poems 264/268-366).<sup>17</sup> However, tripartition was, for example, the framework of Alessandro Vellutello's new arrangement (see Kennedy, *Authorizing Petrarch* 285-88). Vellutello claimed to have recast all the poems that had actually been written during Laura's life in the first part of his *RVF*. Those composed after Laura's death were set in the second section, and, finally (f. \*4v, my emphasis): «Ne la terza & ultima parte *fuori de l'opera* seranno posti tutti quelli [testi] che'n diuersi tempi & altri soggetti & a piu terze persone da lui fuorono scritti» («In the third and last part *outside the work*, all those texts which were written in different times, on other subjects, and addressed to many other people will be set»).

herself (*Canzoniere a stampa*, «Per l'edizione critica,» «Per una storia delle *Rime*»), Santagata (*La lirica aragonese*), or Albonico –to name just a few– counterbalance Cannata's picture in «La percezione.»

<sup>15</sup> The term «intertextual» is not used here in the sense Genette's *Palimpsestes* gave to the word and popularized, i.e., as relationships of co-dependence in the wording and the meaning of literary texts. «Intertextual connections» –in Marco Santagata's more specific use of this expression for his studies on the making of Petrarch's *RVF*– refers to the formal and semantic links existing among the individual poems that constitute a *canzoniere* (*Dal sonetto al canzoniere* 33-76).

<sup>16</sup> This has been attempted before for different editorial forms of March's work that are not Amorós's, see Martos, *Cant, queixa i patiment*; and Dilla.

<sup>17</sup> Although the division between works during Laura's life and works after Laura's death only became critical in the Vat. Lat. 3195 form (Santagata, *I frammenti* 144-55 and 316-20).

The 1509 edition of Cariteo's *Edimione*, prepared by Pietro Summonte, also distributed the poems into three parts, although each section was not formally marked in the edition. The first section includes poems *in praesentia* of beloved Luna (Poems 1-136; from sonnet 1 through *canzone* 10), and the second section contains poems *in absentia* of Cariteo's beloved, who left Naples to get married in Spain. The second section includes many pieces dedicated to the Aragonese rulers, and some composed during his exile in Rome (137-209, sonnets 116-77). The third and final section begins after the last sonnet that mentions Luna, and includes poems addressed to a variety of contemporary personalities (209-48, sonnet 117 through *canzone* 20). Since the last section of *Endimione* does not refer to Cariteo's love for Luna, those poems have been left «outside the work» as well.

There is a break between the second and the third books of Vellutello's edition of Petrarch, and between the second and third sections of Summonte's edition of Cariteo's poetry. What were then the contents of the first two books in these editions? In the broadest possible terms, the organicity of the *RVF* is based on the poems' articulation of a palinodial or regretful discourse over the lover's lifelong feelings for one lady. Laura's death is thus a turning point in Petrarch's love story and discourse. The boundaries between the poems during Laura's life and the poems after her death—just like those during Luna's life in Naples and after her departure—equally represent a narrative crossroads. Similarly, Boscán's *canzoniere* features a bipartition that entails a narrative turning point: in Poem 113 (the 85th of the sequence) the poetic voice renounces the passionate love that has made him suffer. In the following composition (114; «Otro tiempo lloré y agora canto» 'In the past I had cried; now I will sing'), Boscán's poetic voice sings about his new, quiet, spiritual, and virtuous love—allegedly for the woman who had become his wife.<sup>18</sup> In sum, the two parts of the Aldine and the first two sections of Vellutello's *RVF*, as much as Summonte's edition of the *Endimione* and Boscán's book 2, underscore a critical moment in a coherent narrative.<sup>19</sup> As for the Latin models, tripartition is also common in the corpus of elegiac poets

<sup>18</sup> On Poem 114's turning point see Armisen, *Estudios* 401-04; Navarrete 85-86; and Cabré and Torró «Perché alcun ordine» 133. For the marital nature of Boscán's new love see Morros, «El *canzoniere* de Boscán» 252-57; and Lorenzo, *Nuevos casos* 113-15. Although Lefèvre accepts the organical unity of Boscán's book 2, his suggestion that poems 114-27 constitute a «microcanzoniere matrimoniale» (133) or a «corona matrimoniale» (135) are perfectly right only if broadly understood. In poems on the «new love,» references to the «past love» are pervasive and imply a narrative and discursive unity throughout book 2.

<sup>19</sup> In his *Amori*, Caracciolo also divided his poems into two sections «in vita» and «in morte» of his beloved. But in a previous manuscript form of his poetry, the narrative turning point is Caracciolo's beloved departure to Sicily. For the changes in the macrostructuration of Caracciolo's

considered here, such as Tibullus and Ovid. It also appears in the works of their Renaissance imitators –like Janus Secundus– and in Cariteo’s MS *M*. All sections of these elegiac corpuses –each section is traditionally called a *book* and circulated independently– are unified by their poetic voice. The sections do not imply a life-long narrative; rather, they follow a series of situations and episodes in the lives of their respective lovers.<sup>20</sup> Most sections in elegiac corpuses start with rhetorically codified prefatory pieces: all of Ovid’s books, Catullus’s *carmina*, Propertius’s first through third books, Tibullus’s third book, and Secundus’s first and third books. These rhetorically informed prologues may include metapoetical references –whether to the poet’s task or to the book of poems; the *recusatio* topos– the poet’s renouncing to write tragic or epic works in favor of singing about his loves; an invocation to the Muses or Apollo; an apostrophe to the listeners of readers, etc. All these prefatory poems at the beginning of each elegiac section represent a fresh start and set a clear-cut boundary. For, all in all, the primary organicity in elegiac corpuses exists within every single section.

Hence, as for the Amorós edition, the issues at stake are whether *b* features autonomous organic unities within each of its sections; whether there is a basic

poems from the Barberinian manuscript to the 1506 edition, see Santagata, *La lirica aragonesa* 203-42. Bembo’s case is a little different. His Roman 1548 edition features an organic book about his loves through the first 134 poems. Poem 135 is a political piece that sets a breaking point: poems 136-55 are all encomiastic and epistolary compositions, and finally Poems 156-79 are thematically grouped as «Rime di messer Pietro Bembo in morte di messer Carlo suo fratello e di molte altre persone» (Albonico 1-3).

<sup>20</sup> Setting aside Garcilaso’s poems in book 4, Boscán’s poetry is distributed through the first three books of their *Obras*. Boscán’s books 1 and 2 also start with distinctively prefatory pieces. An undeniable organicity exists for book 2, but perhaps also for book 1. Although Morros discarded the Catullian first poem as part of book 1, he proposed a discursive line throughout the book which would correspond *grosso modo* with the historical chronology of Boscán’s courtly life before becoming engaged and leaving Charles V’s court («Fechas, orden y sentido»). Morros reading remains convincing when proposing evidence of a possible macrostructural design for book 1 –especially when dealing with the opening poems (2-4) on the beginning of a love; and the final ones (27 and 28), on the poetic voice’s leaving behind his old loves. Additional support for Morros’s theory may come from noticing that several poems in book 1 are bound together in thematic clusters that sketch short episodes. Such would be the case of Poems 6 and 7; and 24 and 25. Their epigraphs are very revealing: 6 «Otras desaviniéndose»; 7 «Otras arrepintiéndose porque se desavino»; 24 «Otras del mismo a una partida»; 25 «Otras a una señora a quien servía porque le dixeron que en su ausencia se avía servido de otro.» Boscán’s works are mostly distributed according to the poetical tradition to which his poems belong: Castilian *coplas* (book 1), Italianate sonnets and *cançiones* (forming a *canzoniere*, book 2), and classicist-themed white *endecasílabos* (on the myth of Hero and Leander), Horatianist *capituli*, and his *octava rima* (book 3) –see Ruiz Pérez. But if two of his three books hold an organic structure, one might be entitled to conclude that Boscán was also relying on the elegiac model to have his works published.

narrative frame encompassing both sections on love and death –and a turning point between them; and whether the last section on morality is detached from the previous two. Overall, the main question here is to decide how the second and third sections relate to the first and to each other. Do the «works on death» and the «works on morality» function separately, or is the entire edition articulated throughout?

Regarding *b*'s «works on love,» it suffices by now to remark that they narrate the story of March's love until the poetic voice manages to liberate himself from love's passion. At that point, in the last poems of the section, March claims to be able to reflect and theorize about love. A more detailed commentary on the section «on love» will follow at the end of the chapter. For the purposes of looking into the second and third sections of the edition, it suffices to remark on the first stanza of the last poem «on love» and to recognize the ending of that section:

Mentre d'amor senti, sa passio  
dell no hagui algun coneximent  
quant he perdut d'aquell lo sentiment  
yo bast'assats donar dell gran raho.

(Poem 123, vv. 1-4)

While I felt love's passion, / I ignored everything about it; / but now that I have lost that feeling / I am capable enough of explaining its causes.

The first poems of edition *b*'s «works on death» further extend the lover's discourse, now centered on his feelings after his beloved's passing.<sup>21</sup> The first series of six poems (92, 93, 94, 95, 97, 96; 109th-114th) begin with the poet's mourning: «tot quant yo veig e sent, dolor me torna / dant me recort de vos qui tant amaua» (Poem 92, vv. 4-5; «All I see and hear, brings my pain back / for everything reminds me of you, whom I loved so much»). In spite of the lover's claims about the end of his passion, he admits his abiding feelings. For his love is spiritual. It does not involve his or her flesh –only their soul– and so death cannot take it away from him: «Amor honest los sancts amants fa colre / d'aquest, vos am, e mort nol me pot tolre» (vv. 19-20; «Virtuous love is celebrated by the saints: / such is my love, and Death cannot take it away from me»). He mourns his loss and cannot wait to reunite with her:

<sup>21</sup> Cardinal numerals refer to March's poem number according to their canonical figure (39, 4, 66, 101, etc.). Ordinal numbers are used to indicate the position of March's poems in edition *b* (39-1st, 4-2nd, etc.). Cardinal and ordinal numerals have the same function when applied to other authors, namely, identifying the poem in the quoted edition and its order in a macrotext.

Odeu merce mas no se de quet pregue  
 sino que mi en lo seu loch aculles  
 nom tardes molt que della, mi no vulles  
 puyx lesperit hon es lo seu, aplegue.

(Poem vv. 241-44)

Have mercy of me, oh God! But I do not know why I am begging you this, / I should beg you to welcome me where she is. / Do not be long to bring me there, / for my spirit is where hers is.

In the next poem (93), March continues to grieve his beloved's death. His memories from past times bring him some comfort and pleasure: «Algun delit en ma pensas nodreix / quant algun fet sens la mort d'ella pens» (vv. 81-82; «Some pleasure grows in my mind / when I think of her before her death»). But he anxiously wonders about her fate –whether she was condemned to Hell– and that is why March concludes asking God's mother about his beloved's destiny in the other world.

A tu qui est marey filla de Deu,  
 suplique molt puis ell nom vol oyr,  
 que'n aquest mon sa'rma pusca venir  
 per quem auis hon es lestatje seu.

(Poem 93, vv. 97-100)

Of you, who are God's mother and daughter, / of you I beg, since He does not want to listen to me, / that her soul is allowed to come back to this world / so that she may let me know where she has her home now.

In the next poem (94), March claims that his love is different from other people's. Death has not been able to take his feelings away from him:

Puix me trob sol en amor, ami sembla  
 que'n mi tot sol sia costuma stranya  
 amor se pert entre gents per absença,  
 e per la mort la mia'mor no fina.

(1-4)

Since I find myself loving, all alone, it seems to me / that this must be a strange custom of mine: / people lose their loves because of absence, / but my love for her does not end because of death.

He grieves and misses her, but her passing away has purified his love from undesirable bodily attributes. The poem ends again with the lover's praying to the

Virgin for her intercession in favor of his beloved, provided that her spirit has landed in purgatory. In the next poem (95), March remains concerned about his beloved's destiny in the other world. Her absence condemns him not to feel any sort of pleasure. His only small delight comes from thinking of her, for whom he is suffering:

Vn poch delit es en ma dolor pres  
ja sent plaher com mon cor mal soste  
pensant per qui ne d'hon ma dolor ve  
ami no plau de dolor ser deffes.

(Poem 95, vv. 25-28)

My pain involves just a little bit of pleasure; / I feel pleasure because my heart grieves, / but when I think for whom and why I feel that pain, / I do not want to avoid it.

In the penultimate piece of this section (97), the lover mourns his loss and regrets his still being alive. And in the last poem of the series (96), the lover raises more doubts about the salvation or damnation of his beloved in the other world. March ends the piece by begging the spirit of his beloved to come back to the world and let him know where she is:

Tu esperit si res no ten deffen  
romp lo costum que dels morts es comu  
torna'n lo mon e mostra que's de tu  
lo teu sguart nom donara spauen.

(Poem 96, vv. 41-44)

Spirit, if nothing holds you back, / break the custom of the dead, / come back to the world, and tell me what your fate has been; / I won't be afraid of seeing you.

A *canzoniere*-like narrative that had begun with the «works on love» continues through the «works on death.» The death of the poetic voice's beloved indeed entails a narrative crossroads. While at the end of the section «on love» March claimed his love was over, from the very first poem «on death» the lover again recognizes and problematizes an enduring feeling for his beloved after her passing away. March's main concern in this section is soteriological. The poetic voice shows a sustained anxiety about his beloved's final destiny in the other world. In conclusion, it can be argued that edition *b*'s first two parts (on love and death) hinge on a decisive event –the death of the beloved–, the same way Petrarch's *RVT* and the work of other Petrarchist poets do.

What is then the function of the book's third constituent «on morality»? Is it like Vellutello's or Summonte's detached third sections? Does it merge in a

grand narrative along with the previous two? As the reader moves on to March's «works on morality» (103, 104, 106, 113, 107, 112, 108, 105; 115th-122th), the first poem of this section might not show clear signs of continuity with regards to the previous basic narrative setting. After repeatedly raising concerns for his beloved's salvation, what the poetic voice undertakes is a soteriological reflection on his own path to redemption. Poem 103 begins with the statement that in order to reach all one wants, there needs to be a balance between one's will and one's power; only the ignorant believe that money can buy anything. Not only does not money buy the highest delights, but it rather brings in more evil. Poem 103 is a Stoic call for moderation of one's appetites. March insists that Nature establishes the limits for men's contentment: «Natura 'n l'hom ha terments stablit / a sos desigs per aquells contentar / ebastament quels pusca sadorllar» (vv. 9-11; «Nature has set limits on men's wishes / so that they can be satisfied, / and sufficiently fulfilled»). If there exists a linkage between this section and the previous, it obviously does not involve the story of an anguished lover and his beloved. The connection, which indeed exists, is apparent on a higher, discursive level, and concerns the poetic voice only.

The next poem (104) denounces the state of corruption in which the world is immersed: «hon mal fahents de lur mal fet nopenen / los ben fahents de ben fer no meriten» (vv. 4-5; «Where evildoers are not punished, / those who do good are not rewarded»). Mankind does not value virtues. All of men's prayers to God are intended for their own selfish benefit. People should not think exclusively about God when they are doing good. Their good deeds should be intended for their own self-gratification and benefit: «per si mateix hom deu fer bones obres / car, en ben fer lo bon hom se delita / el home reb de sa bon'obra paga» (vv. 42-44; «one must do good deeds for the sake of oneself, / for one will then be pleased / and rewarded for one's good-doing»). What is worse, some people are not even afraid of God, because punishment has no bearing in this world: «Segurs de Deu son de lurs crims los homens / en aquest mon puix castich no sen mostra» (vv. 49-50; «When men commit a crime, they are not afraid of God / because there is no punishment for it in this world»). Men follow their appetites, not virtue, and they always want more—as if fame and money were real virtues. Such behavior is just like worshipping false gods. The moral state of the earthly world is thus disgraceful and reprehensible. March begs God for his divine justice to manifest on earth.

Having bemoaned the corruption and lack of virtue in which the world finds itself, the next poem in this section focuses on the nature of the good. Poem 106 is a long verse treatise (488 vv.) attempting to define and establish a typology of the good. It also emphasizes, as the previous poem had, that mankind is currently worshipping false earthly values:

Los homens son axi foraiats  
 qu'honor, diners crehen ser be del nom  
 ço es per que lull nostre no veu com  
 ala virtud sien premis donats  
 e veu aquell honrats, havens diners  
 lo loch noy es e lo senyal roman  
 e tant al mon a durat est engan  
 que no sab hom altres Deus verdaders.

(vv. 25-32)

Men are so misguided / that they believe honors and money are mankind's goods. / This is so because our eyes cannot see how / virtue is rewarded, / they just can see that he who is honored also has money. / The place is not there, its sign remains. / And this delusion has been in the world for so long / that no man knows of other true gods.

The ensuing composition (113) expounds that human reason and men's appetites are responsible for limiting mankind's eagerness to follow the right path towards God and Heaven. Men seem condemned to wish for what is not good for them:

lo mal volem cuydant que be gran sia  
 e pledejam aquell ab grans despeses  
 volent honors matrimonis, riqueses  
 e lo reuerç s'ateny del qu'hom volria  
 Lo mal es be e lo be, mal retorna  
 algu no sab sa Nau per quin vent borna.

(vv. 175-80)

We pursue what is evil, believing it is a great good, / and we dispute over it at great costs. / We wish for honors, marriages, wealth / and we attain the opposite of what we would want. / Evil is good, and good becomes the evil: / some ignore which wind is turning around their ship.

Accordingly, only the wicked man will be afraid of dying, for he will lose his bodily life –all he has– and will be condemned thereafter: «la mort tem molt qui viu en mal delit / car pert dos mons jusa y superior» (107, vv. 21-22; «He who lives enjoying evil pleasures is much afraid of dying / for then he will lose two worlds, both the lower and the upper one»). This same point is what March reasserts in the following poem (107), originally addressed to Antoni Tallander, Alfonso the Magnanimous's court jester.<sup>22</sup> Only the good man will face his last

<sup>22</sup> Ms *D* contained poem 107's final *endreça* to «Toni, amich» («Toni, my friend»), which was eventually dropped from *b* during the editing process.

moments peacefully. In order for men to be brave when facing death, they need to have conducted themselves virtuously during their earthly lives:

Per esser l'hom contra mort, animos  
 les obs virtut theolagal e moral  
 si que lo cors sia racional  
 per l'apetit portat al virtuos.

(vv. 65-68)

For men to be brave against death, / they need both theological and moral virtues, / so that through their body becomes rational / and so virtuous through its appetite.

In the *tornada* March begs the Virgin for as much faith as he may need; for living by it, he will eventually manage to reach salvation. Having touched again on the topics of death and redemption, the next poem (112) is yet another long treatise (420 vv.) on Death. March realizes he is approaching his last days, and confesses to being afraid of dying.

Cobrir no puch la dolor quin turmenta  
 vehent que mort son aguayt me descobre;  
 lo cami pla de perdre vidam, obre  
 e traurem vol del mon sens dar empenta  
 car tot primer virtut del cos ma toлта  
 ja mos cinch senys no senten lo que solen  
 los apart dins de gran por ja tremolen  
 lentiniment de follia tem volta.  
 La velledat en valencians mal proua  
 e no se com yo faça obra noua.

(1-10)

I cannot hide the pain that torments me / when I see that Death is showing me the place where she was hiding. / She is opening up a straight way for me to lose my life; / and she has no rush to take me out of this world, / for, first of all, she has taken away all powers from my body. / My five senses cannot feel as they used to. / My inner senses tremble with fear / and my mind is afraid of going crazy. / Aging does not feel good to Valencian people / and I do not know how I can possibly start any new work.

March's greatest worry in the «works on death» was not the fact that he had lost any chance to be with his beloved. His love was purified after her departure. Memories of her comforted him. The lover was rather upset by his doubts about her salvation. Coherent with that position, March's works

devoted to his deceased lady are followed by a growing awareness of his own proximity to death and an increasing anxiety over his own redemption. That is what the first poems «on morality» discuss: the conditions for men's salvation in this world, including that of the lover. March's moral poems tackle the soteriological implications on what is good and what is evil in an earthly existence. His call for refraining from indulging one's appetites, seeking virtue, and reaching for the good in the path towards God all appear in stark contrast to the general matter of the first section on March's (earthly/human) love, as will be explained below. March's anxious final search for a God-bound living constitutes, in Petrarchist (and, in fact, Augustinian terms), a palinode of his earlier years.

Towards the conclusion of Poem 112 (vv. 331-40), March asserts that men act with three possible finalities: «dins si» («within themselves»), «tota fora» («completely outside»), and a combination of the former two. The first two goals of men's actions help them reach for earthly values (honor, glory, riches, fame). The last purpose «...[e]s en Deu qui asi nos conuida / fora nos es mas nos del tot partida» (vv. 338-40; «...is in God, who invites us to go with him; / this purpose is outside us, but has not left our side yet»). To overcome one's fear of dying, one must live according to both the moral and the theological virtues and leave behind what men tend to seek in the world: «Deu es tot be e lo mon son contrari» (v. 373; «God is all the good, and the world His opposite»). With such demeanor, men may attain what is eternal; salvation in the other world:

donchs entengam guanyar lo perdurable  
 aquest es Deu qui apres mort nos prenga  
 qui linfinit acreure ferm sestenga  
 de Paradis nos lunya ser amable  
 Com son semblant leperit lo cobeja,  
 e lo finit per si, te cosa leja.

(vv. 355-60)

So let us pursue what is long-lasting: / namely God, so that he welcomes us after dying.  
 / He who firmly believes in the infinite / is not far from loving paradise, / for his spirit  
 longs for what is akin to infinity, / and deems the finite repulsive.

The next poem (108) displays an even more openly palinodial and penitential discourse. While most of the composition resorts to the third person, the poem's incipit once more reveals that the focus of the piece is a situation that affects the poetic voice: «Nom clam d'algu qu'en mon mal haja colpa» («I do not hold anyone responsible for my ills»). March does not blame anyone

but himself –neither Fortune, nor Love, nor least of all God– for his «mal.» Men's senses and understanding are fallible. Men love and then, shortly after, begin to hate. Only by the middle of Poem 107 does the reader clearly discover March's fault:

no pens algu la colpa d'amor sia  
 ne del amat, mas del amant que ferma  
 sa voluntat en loch tremolant, ferma  
 foll es aquell quil vent fermar volia.  
 (vv. 61-64)

No one should think that Love is to blame, / nor the beloved; rather, it is all the fault of the lover who sets down / his strong will on tremulous places. / He who wants to seize the wind is just a fool.

In this penultimate poem of the section and the book, right after confessing his fear of dying, March assumes sole responsibility for his sins: «Pus facilment yo crech quel hom atenga / tolres desig que'n aquel metre terme» (vv. 81-82; «I think it is easier for a man to / set aside his desire than to finish it»). He is not among the virtuous men he described in earlier poems. That is the reason for his anxiety about his beloved's destiny in the other world, and his own coming to terms with salvation at a time when he feels he is approaching death. He is the only one to blame for his sins, in this world and in the next, and recognizes the vanity of this world:

A tots aquells que'n lo mon han manera  
 de abraçar totes coses mundanes  
 com pus ne hauran veuran ells y elles vanes.  
 qui fuig del mon va per dreta carrera.  
 (vv. 97-100)

To all those in the world who can / embrace all things mundane: / the more goods they will gather, the vainer those and they themselves will be. / He who flees from this world is to taking the right path.

More than any other poem from this last section, 108 reveals that March's soteriological worries for his beloved and himself are likewise due to their past, worldly, sinful love. It is now clear that the section of «works on morality» is connected to, and fully articulated with, the former two. The division between works on love and works on death is conventionally Petrarchist. The palinodial dimension of *b's* editorial construction is no less grounded on Petrarch's example.<sup>23</sup>

Inspired by Augustine of Hippo, in his *RVF* Petrarch composed an exemplary discourse –a parable– of his life through the story of his love for Laura (Santagata, *I frammenti* 39-56). The last pieces of the story run parallel to the last years of Petrarch's life and narrative, and imply a *mutatio animi* «propia de quien se aproxima a la vejez» (Rico, «Prólogos al canzoniere» 114 and n. 9; «typical of someone approaching senescence»). Like Boscán or Bembo, but unlike the Neapolitan *canzonieri*, *b*'s poetical *imitatio* of Petrarch implies a thorough palinodial *imitatio vitae* (Cruz; Santagata, *Poesia aragonesa* 231-32, 240-41).

In the same way that Petrarch finishes his story on his *giovenile errore* and his ensuing stoic and penitential discourse with two penitential poems addressed to God (364-65) and a closing prayer to the Virgin (366), the last poem of *b*'s editorial arrangement (105) is a long penitential prayer to God (224 vv.), in which March admits his sins and asks God for help in order to achieve salvation.<sup>24</sup> Poem 105 reasserts many of the points March had made in preceding poems:

Leuar mi vull he prou no m'i esforçe  
 ço fa lo pes de mes terribles colpes  
 ans que la mor lo proces a mi cloga,  
 placiat, Deu, puix teu vull ser quem vullés;  
 (vv. 9-12)

I want to stand up, but I cannot make enough of an effort; / it is all because of the weight of my terrible sins. / Before death closes my case, / I hope, God, that you want me, for I want to be yours.

Perdona mi si follament te parle  
 de passio partexen mes paraules  
 yo sent pahor dinfern, al qual faç via  
 girar la vull e noy disponch mos passos.  
 (vv. 25-28)

<sup>23</sup> Compare March's Poem 108 with some of the verses from the penultimate poem in Petrarch's *RVF* according to S. Vat. Lat. 3195: «Omai son stanco, et mia vita reprendo / di tanto error che di vertute il seme / à quasi spento; et le mie parti extreme, / alto Dio, a te devotamente rendo: / pentito et tristo de' miei sí sperí anni, / che spender si deveano in miglior uso / in cercar pace et in fuggir affanni» (364.5-10).

<sup>24</sup> As the homology between both Petrarch's and March's penitential and palinodial stories suggests, there are numerous discursive points in common between March's 105 and Petrarch's 364-65. In order to show to what extent that is so, March's first two verses from 105 and Petrarch's last three from 365 are sufficient. March's v. 1 reads: «Puix que sens tu algu a tu, no basta / donam la ma ho pels cabells me lleua», while Petrarch's last two verses in 365 read: «et al morir, degni esser Tua man presta: / Tu sai ben che'n altrui non ò speranza.»

Excuse me if I talk to you foolishly. / My words come from passion. / I am afraid of Hell, where I am headed. / I want to turn my steps around, but I do not manage to do so.

Lo meu voler al teu es molt contrari,  
hem so'nemich pensant me, amich esser.  
ajuda-m Deu puix me veus en tal pressa  
(vv. 97-99)

My will is much contrary to yours / I am an enemy of myself, although I think of myself as a friend. / Help me, God, for you can see I am in such hurry.

Alguna fi en aquest mon se troba  
ne's vera fi puix que no fa lom felix  
(vv. 113-14)

There is a purpose in this world, / but it is not the real one, for it does not make men happy.

O quant sera que regare les galtes  
daygua de plor ab les lagrimes dolces  
constrictio es la font d'hon emanen  
aquesta's clau quel cel tancat nos obre  
d'atrickio parteixen les amargues  
per que'n temor mes que'n amor se funden;  
mas tals quals son d'aquestes me abunda  
puix son cami es via per, les altres.  
(vv. 217-24)

Oh, when will I wet my cheeks / with water from my sweet tears? / They will flow from the fountain of contrition. / This is the key that opens Heaven's closed doors. / Sour tears come from attrition, / those are caused by fear rather than love. / However they may be, I am rich of the latter, / for these are the way and the path to the former.

Up to this point, I have argued that both of *b*'s sections on death and morality share a narrative and discursive unity that relies on the general matter of *b*'s first section «on love.» March's poems on death articulate the lover's sorrow for the loss of his beloved and reflect on the possibility of her salvation. Edition *b*'s poems on morality elaborate the lover's soteriological concerns about his own redemption. Poem 108 clarifies the reason for March's concerns, since it deploys a palinodial and penitential discourse in which the poetic voice assumes all his responsibility over his past mundane and thus sinful loves. The last poem of the book (105) concludes the story with a prayer to God where March begs for help to reach salvation.

Hence, not only does *b*'s division between works on love and works on death correlate to the *RVF* and its offspring, but *b*'s works on morality are also closely linked to the previous two sections. Modeled on the ending poems of Petrarch's *RVF*, the editorial arrangement of the last part of the book is instrumental in fabricating a palinodial and penitential end to the lover's life as developed in the first two sections.

#### TIMELINE AND CALENDRIAL REFERENCES

Having clarified how the two later sections of the Amorós edition hinge on each other, our focus now returns to the first constituent of the book. How did March's love story develop through the first and longest section on love? Was it also designed in the steps of Petrarchist models as closely as the overall macrostructural design? This section and the next discuss two features of Petrarch's *Canzoniere* that also prove to be relevant to grasp March's *macro-testo*: the poems' chronological references and the construction of March's beloved.

Chronological references were one of the pivotal points of contemporary controversies about the order of the *RVF*. Petrarch's life-long parable was chronologically sustained on periodical references to the anniversary of his falling for Laura and –after Laura's death– to the anniversary of her passing away. However, as reflected in the Aldine, Petrarch's fifteen calendrical references were incongruous in two instances.<sup>25</sup> Alessandro Vellutello remarked on such incoherencies and «corrected» them in his edition by changing the order of the poems –which actually are embedded in their place according to other formal criteria.<sup>26</sup> Petrarchist authors like Caracciolo, Cariteo, and Bembo imitated Petrarch in this respect and included calendrical references in their *canzonieri*. Others, like Boscán, did not.<sup>27</sup> Except for Propertius, classical elegiac texts did

<sup>25</sup> Petrarch's inconsistencies occur in Poems 145 (15 years) –since 122 celebrated the 17th anniversary– and 266 (18 years) –221 celebrated the 20th anniversary. Such incongruences might have been due to mechanical errors that highlight the long-lasting construction of the *RVF* as finally being fixed in the Vat. Lat. 3195 and so in the Aldine (Santagata, *I frammenti* 146-50, 256-58). For a phenomenical standpoint that does not question but embraces this and other contradictions as consubstantial to the fragmentation of Petrarch's lyric self in the *RFV*, see Barolini, «The Self in the Labyrinth of Time.»

<sup>26</sup> For Vellutello's text see Belloni 90-91. For the formal embedment of Poems 145 and 266 in their canonical position according to the Vat. Lat. 3195 see Petrarca, *Canzoniere* 705, 1073.

<sup>27</sup> Curiously, though, Boscán had composed at least two sonnets containing calendrical references that were eventually excluded from the *editio princeps* of his works: «No sé ni puedo ya,

not usually include any reference to the anniversary of the lover's fall for their beloved.<sup>28</sup> That changed in the hybrid poetics of Neo-Latin authors, and so Janus Secundus devoted the entire second book of his elegies, to celebrate the first, second, and third anniversaries of his love for Julia (Secundus 11-12).

As it was not uncommon in the troubadour tradition, March wrote two or perhaps three poems that include calendrical references to the date on which he fell in love.<sup>29</sup> In Poem 55, March denounces love's life-threatening dangers and the terrible effects it had on him, among the latter: «yo gran parlar dos anys, so mut, estat» (v. 35; «despite being so talkative, I have been speechless for two years»). If love has caused him to be speechless, out of shyness, those two years point to the date of his *enamorament*. In Poem 14, March unambiguously claims that «...son cinch anys, ja passats / quem fuig delit...» (vv. 18-19; «...it has been five years since / pleasure escapes me...»). Finally, in Poem 80 March reminds his beloved that «he son setz'anys que lo guardo, sper» (v. 8; «I have been waiting for my reward for sixteen years»).

The location of 55, 14, and 80 within *b*'s sequence completely disregards their calendrical references: 55 (2 years) is in the 44th position; 14 (5 years) is in the 36th; and poem 80 (16 years) is located in the 30th. Vellutello's editorial operation precisely relied in part on a careful observation of the Aldine's chronological incoherencies. Although the Vellutellian controversy could have been a motivator of *b*'s editorial rearrangement, it is obvious that the Amorós's editor ignored the order of the anniversary compositions in his macrotextual design, and favored other significant parts of those poems to dictate their position in the narrative. The sequencing relies instead on a linear concatenation of more or less distinct events and situations, as is discussed below. The life-long span of the story is not completely evident until the final poems «on love,» in which the poetic voice's comments show his age and closeness to death, his fear of God and of his own destiny (see above the first stanza in Poem 112).

señora mía» (vv. 5-6; «Y así se acabará en un día / lo quen diez anyos no se anduvo un paso») and «Provado é muchas veces, en diez años» (vv. 1-2; «Provado é muchas veces, en diez años, / que voy siguiendo aquesta mi porfía»). Those two sonnets are included in Boscán's autograph MS 359 of the Biblioteca de Catalunya, studied by Riquer (*Juan Boscán*).

<sup>28</sup> In the first poem of his first book (1.1), Propertius asserts that he is writing about love one year after his foolishness started. In the last poem in book three (3.24), he regrets having loved Cintia during five years. Tonelli (257-61) remarks on these calendrical references and implies that Propertius could have had some bearing in the shaping of Petrarch's moral discourse.

<sup>29</sup> This is not necessarily a Petrarchan feature of March's poems. March's anniversary references may have well derived from troubador practices (Scarano 333, qtd. in Pagès, *Commentaire* 28, n. 18).

## THE MAKING OF MARCH'S BELOVED

Petrarch and many of his vernacular followers devoted their *canzonieri* to one lady. This was, of course, a construct. In the courtly setting that surrounded poetry-writing authors composed most of their pieces in response to occasional social situations, and addressed to a variety of characters, including different ladies.<sup>30</sup> In this respect, Boscán's book is visibly more indebted to a courtly setting than other *canzonieri*. Two different love experiences are the subject of his second book. Boscán never mentioned any names, but his two loves implicitly point towards two different addressees. Likewise, elegiac poets wrote of their love for different female and male lovers. Each of the authors considered in this study were, nonetheless, mainly known for their relationship with one particular *puella*.<sup>31</sup> Propertius's first book of elegiac couplets, his *monobiblos*, was most likely first put in circulation under the name of his beloved Cynthia (Butrica 28). Centuries later, Neo-Latin poets would name their own books of elegies after the name of their *puella*. For example, Janus Secundus's first book was entitled *Julia*.

The materials for March's editorial construction could have potentially presented a complex situation for the editor. Most of March's poems «on love» end by indicating an addressee in the last stanza, the *tornada*, whose casuistry is quite complex. Poem 42 was written for Na Montbohí, a widow March had considered marrying by 1424 (Chiner 331). The poem is a *maldit*, a diatribe in which the lady is presented under a despicable light and denigrated to the point of being called a bawd. Poems 72 and 122b were written for Alfonso the Magnanimous, and Poem 122b was also written for Alfonso's lover Lucrezia d'Alagno, although neither Alfonso nor Lucrezia are mentioned (Torró, «Ausiàs March, Falconer d'Alfons el Magnànim»). March ended some poems by addressing the Virgin or God. Other compositions constitute real poetic cycles addressed to Love, in two different facets: «Amor, amor» or «Foll amor» (Cabré, «Ausiàs March»).

<sup>30</sup> For the «de-socialized» context and operations entailed in the making of *canzoniere* forms à la Petrarch, see Santagata, *Del sonetto al canzoniere* 9-26, 155-76, and *Lirica aragonesa* 174-246. Caracciolo's *Amori* eliminated all poems containing *senhals* that revealed that he had addressed his poetry to two different ladies, Pietra and Luna; see Santagata, *La lirica aragonesa* 208-31. The courtly social milieu of lyric poetry resurfaces in Vellutello's third section for the «occasional» poems; also in Cariteo's second and third sections; and Bembo's second section.

<sup>31</sup> In Boscán's quotation from Bembo's *Stanze*, Boscán mentions the main love of each elegiac poet. He also refers to Catullus and Lesbia, and to Propertius and Cynthia. The *accessi ad auctores* in contemporary editions of Catullus, Tibullus, and Propertius noted the names and sobriquets of the authors' *puellas primarias*; see, for instance, de Spire's Venetian edition from 1472.

Finally, many of March's 57 poems «on love» contain a *senyal*. In the troubadour tradition the *senbal* is a sobriquet that generally refers to the lady to whom the poet is addressing his piece. In medieval Catalan poetry, contrary to the Occitan, the *senyal* is regularly found in the *tornada*.<sup>32</sup> The *senbals* in March's poems are «Bella ab bon seny» («Judicious Beauty»; 1 poem), «Mon derrer be» («My Last Good»; 2 poems), «Plena de seny» («Full of Wisdom»; 19 poems), and «Llir entre cards» («Lily Among Thorns»; 35 poems). Although each of those four *senyals* might refer to a different lady, little is known at this point about the persons behind those names. At the very least, the cycles devoted to «Llir entre cards» and «Plena de seny» conceptualize the lover's feelings and the lady's qualities in clear-cut, distinct ways (Cabré and Torrò, «L'origen del senyal» and «Dona Teresa d'Híxar»). Only one of March's addressees has been identified. «Llir entre cards» corresponds to the Valencian noble lady Dona Teresa d'Híxar, and her poetic cycle has accordingly been dated between 1425 and 1442 (Cabré and Torrò, «Dona Teresa d'Híxar»). The archival and philological work that led to this recognition stemmed from March's mention of this lady's real name in Poem 23:

Sol per ha vos basta, la bona pasta  
 quedeu retench per fer singulars dones  
 fetes n'hassats molt sauies he bones  
 mas compliment dona Teresal tasta  
 (vv. 25-28)

There was only so much good material available –and it was all spent on you– / for God to make unique women; / God has created many wise and good women, / but Teresa reached perfection.

This isolated reference to the lady's name behind the *senyal* significantly oriented the task of *b*'s editor, with the effect of rendering all *senyals* irrelevant.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>32</sup> This position for the *tornada* is particular to the Catalan tradition (Riquer, «El 'senhal'» 247; and Scarpati 55-56).

<sup>33</sup> MS *N* contains extensive markings and underlining by several readers. One of those readers underlined most proper names contained in the manuscript, including Dona Teresa. Additionally, on the outer margin of f. 23v, next to Poem 23 v. 28, a sixteenth-century Catalan reader wrote «[d]ona Teresa.» MS *I* also contains a reader marking next to the verse containing dona Teresa's reference (f. 67r): «// dona Teresa bou / [blur], que Ausias March / prengue per assumpto de / son amor Platonich, com / acostuvan [sic] los Poetas, imi- / tant a Petrarca en lo / amor de Laura. Ausias / era casat ab Eleonor / Scorna.» The information revealed in these notes seems to depend on later editorial paratexts that will be examined in the next few pages. The script dates at the very least from late sixteenth century.

March's poems were arranged as if all had been written for Teresa, the author's one and only love –like most Petrarchist *canzonieri*, and not much unlike what was thought of elegiac Latin poets. The most self-explanatory proof for this fabrication of March's beloved is provided by the paratexts included in later manuscript and printed editions of March's complete works (1546, 1555, 1562). Some of these editions included prologues that introduced March's life and works.<sup>34</sup> Considering that those prefaces introduce a text that directly derives from Amorós's, their points regarding March's works are based on essentially the macrotext *b* constructed.

The prologues include references to the author's Catalan lineage, his estates, and his approximate lifespan. They also note March's marriage to Joana Escorna. More importantly, these prologues claim that March's works were dedicated to a certain Valencian lady named Teresa Bou. By May 1, 1546, Lluís Carròs de Vilaragut –*batlle* in Valencia– completed a prologue to his manuscript edition of March's works dedicated to Dona Àngela Borja. Carròs knew of –and possibly consulted– Amorós's 1543 edition and the 1545 reprint (although his manuscript did not derive directly from the Amorós texts). Carròs must be credited with being the best-informed of all contemporary editors of March's poems. His prologue even features marginal notes providing legal documentation on the ownership of the estates that had belonged to March. Never again was more historical information included in the prologues of later early modern editions –namely, Juan de Resa's 1555 edition dedicated to the III Duke of Sessa and March's life by Diego de Fuentes from the 1562 edition of Jorge de Montemayor's translation– than what is provided by Carròs in his preface.<sup>35</sup> As to Dona Teresa, what Carròs wrote was:

[March fou] molt affectat Seruidor de dona Teresa Bou dama valentiana tan gentil virtuosa honesta é Sauia com les obres fetes en son Seruey é lahor mostren *en seruiti dela qual en vida é apres mort de aquella escrigue la maior part del present libre perles* [f. 7r] obres del qual veuran les mes acabades e perfetes amors honestes que may ningun enamorat Caualler ha Sentit ni escrit. (my emphasis)

[March was] the most affectionate servant of Dona Teresa Bou, a Valencian lady who was as gentle, virtuous, honorable, and wise as the poetical works made in her service

<sup>34</sup> A paleographical transcription of those prefaces has been included in Appendix 12. The typology of those prologues derives less from the scholastic *accessus ad auctores* than from later lives of the authors. On the *accessus ad auctores* see Quaid; and Minnis.

<sup>35</sup> It has not been possible to consult any complete copy of the 1560 edition of Montemayor's translation, and so it was not possible to check whether that edition already included Diego de Fuentes's life of the poet.

show. In her service, *during her life and after her death*, March wrote the most part of this book; whose works feature the most fulfilled and perfect, honest loves ever felt or written by any gentleman.

Resa's and de Fuentes's prefaces only indicate that March's poems were read as a single corpus on the author's love for one lady named Teresa Bou.<sup>36</sup> Carròs adds that March wrote his poetry during her life and after her death –so his reading agrees with the interpretation of *b*'s second and third sections provided earlier on.

March's sequence «on death» (92-95, 97, 96) had been circulating since one of the oldest compilations of his works –if not the oldest– was put together.<sup>37</sup> March's manuscript tradition was already underscoring a six-poem sequence as if it had been dedicated to the death of March's wife –and beloved. Above Poem 92, the first of the series, MS *H* features the following rubric: «Mossen ausias march per la mort de sa muller e de sa-namorada» («Mossèn Ausiàs March for the death of his wife and beloved»; see Torró, «Cançoner de Saragossa» n. 34). One of the manuscripts copied for Ferrando de Cardona, *K*, also includes a similar rubric (f. 95r): «De mosen Ausias March per la mort / de sa muller» («By Mossèn Ausiàs March, on the death of his wife»). This exact rubric was added to manuscript *D* (f. 59r) by Hand 3. Finally, even manuscript *N*, at the beginning of poem 92 (f. 117v, outer margin), contains a note by a sixteenth-century Catalan reader who had already paid attention to Dona Teresa's name: «[a]pres de mort de sa D/ama feu les segue<n>ts» («after his lady's death he composed the following ones»). These rubrics may have referred to poem 92 or to the entire sequence. The sequence may have been originally dedicated to one of his wives or not, but the conditions for interpreting in *canzoniere*-like terms March's section «on death» were pre-set by the manuscript tradition –which, in turn, had inspired the Romani-Navarro editorial creation– and were not directly constructed by the editor anew, as was done with the other two sections of March's works.

After addressing the narrative timeline and the fabrication of March's beloved, the following sections will propose a narrative interpretation of *b*'s «works on love.» The first two parts of this analysis will focus on the first four

<sup>36</sup> See Appendix 12. Regarding Teresa Bou, Juan de Resa wrote: «Su dama por quien el tantas y tan excelentes cosas escribió, se llamó Doña Teresa Bou: natural de Valencia,» whereas Diego de Fuentes: «se enamoró de una dama, no menos discreta que hermosa, llamada Teresa Bou, nacida en la misma ciudad de Valencia.»

<sup>37</sup> Such is the case of MSS *H*, *F* and *N*. MS *D* grouped together 92-95 and later on 97 and 96. *B* and *K*, which had been copied for Ferrando de Cardona, grouped all poems together in the same order as they appear in *b*.

poems of the edition (39, 4, 66, and 101) and argue that these four pieces constitute a prologue to the section –and to the whole book– and the beginning of the story the book narrates throughout. The third part will look into the development of March's love narrative and discourse through the remaining poems of the section.

### PROLOGUE

The first five sonnets of the Aldine encompass an *exordium* or prologue to the whole book (Poem 1) and a sequence of sonnets that narrate the beginning of Petrarch's love (the *initium narrationis*, 2-5). Poem 1 is a general preface. It begins with a classical apostrophe to the reader («Voi ch'ascoltate in rime sparse il suono» 'You who hear in scattered rhymes the sound'), and introduces Petrarch's love poems. Composed after the end of the story that follows, in Poem 1 Petrarch regrets his love as a «giovenile errore» and seeks mercy and forgiveness. Shame and remorse are the only results of his earthly vanities, for he discovered that the world is pleased by a short-lived dream.<sup>38</sup>

Several characteristics of Petrarch's prefatory poem can be found again in his followers' work. Imitators did not simply replicate Petrarch's preface. Each poet composed his own prologue, which included thorough variations over a range of different motives. For instance, Bembo's own preface («Piansi e cantai lo strazio e l'aspra guerra») features an apostrophe to the lovers who will be reading –instead of listening to– his rhymes. Bembo's preface also incorporates Petrarch's palinodial gaze over his story: readers should learn from his difficult example and then choose to drive their souls along the good path that leads to praising God in this world.<sup>39</sup> Furthermore, Bembo's first poem employs the classical *topos* of the *militia amoris* as a way of formally introducing the matter of his poems (cf. for instance Ovid, *Amores* 1.3). Bembo's Poem 1 also includes another exordial classical motive –the invocation to the Muses– which became widespread in fifteenth-century prefatory poems (Gorni, «Il libro di poesia» 37-38).

<sup>38</sup> Here is the text of *RVF* 1: «Voi ch'ascoltate in rime sparse il suono / di quei sospiri ond'io nudriva 'l core / in sul mio primo giovenile errore / quand'era in parte altr'uom da quel ch'ì sono, / del vario stile in ch'io piango et ragiono fra le vane speranze e 'l van dolore, / ove sia chi per prova intenda amore, / spero trovar pietà, nonché perdono. / Ma ben veggio or sí come al popol tutto / favola fui gran tempo, onde sovente / di me medesimo meco mi vergogno; / et del mio vaneggiar vergogna è 'l frutto, / e 'l pentersi, e 'l conoscer chiaramente / che quanto piace al mondo è breve sogno.»

<sup>39</sup> «Ché potranno talor gli amanti accorti, / queste rime leggendo, al van desio / ritogliere l'alme col mio duro exempio, / e quella strada, ch'a buon fine porti, / scorger da l'altre, e quanto adorar Dio / solo si dee nel mondo, ch'è suo tempio» (Bembo 1.11-14).

Boscán's first poem (Poem 29) also follows the Petrarchist –and classical– convention of including an apostrophe to the reader.<sup>40</sup> Curiously, Boscán places the word «Amor» in the first verse of the first poem, a commonplace in many Italian *canzonieri* of the sixteenth century –though not Bembo's (Gorni, «Il libro di poesia» 37). Boscán also declares that he never praised Love or deluded anyone into believing that Love can bring happiness and fulfillment. He accepted the burden of being a living lesson for others, and hence the story that he will narrate through his verses is meant to be taken as a counter-example and not to be followed.<sup>41</sup> His verses even bring God's blessing to those who have been freed from Love's influence.<sup>42</sup> But Boscán does not begin his story in the following poem of the series (30). His prologue extends across the first four compositions of his *canzoniere* (29-32). In the three subsequent poems, Boscán keeps presenting his story as exemplary and redemptive and begins the construction of a Christological discourse and a Christomorphic poetic voice that pervades all of the second book of his *Obras* (Lorenzo, *Nuevos casos* 103-07). Motives of classical ascent –albeit common in courtly vernacular literature for centuries– can also be pointed out in the following prefatory pieces, such as the *militia amoris* that we have just found in Bembo's first poem,<sup>43</sup> or in the lover's elegiac epitaph –at the very first poem of his book 2 (vv. 71-78).<sup>44</sup>

*Variatio* is consubstantial to Petrarchism. Unlike Boscán or Bembo, Caracciolo and Cariteo did not construct their stories from a palinodial point of view. Their moralistic gaze is thus independent from the precise turning point of the story, which, while for Caracciolo is linked to the death of his beloved, it is not for Cariteo (Santagata, *La lirica aragonesa* 231-32). But neither is Bembo's, and yet his palinodial gaze in Poem 1 is clear. Caracciolo, on the one hand, starts his sequence by emphasizing his long-endured pain. Love

<sup>40</sup> Like Bembo, Boscán speaks of «readers» of his poetry, not listeners: «¡O vosotros que andáis tras mis escritos / gustando de leer tormentos tristes, / según que por amar son infinitos!» (9-11). For other macrostructural readings of Boscán's first poem, see Navarrete 75-76; Cabré and Torró, «Perché alcun ordine» 133; Morros, «El *Canzoniere* de Boscán» 249-51; and Lorenzo, *Nuevos casos* 100-05.

<sup>41</sup> «Nunca d'Amor estuve tan contento / que'n su loor mis versos ocupase; / ni a nadie consejé que s'engañasen / buscando en el amor contentamiento. / Esto siempre juzgó mi entendimiento: / que d'este mal tod'hombre se guardase, / y así, porque'sta ley se conservase, / holgué de ser a todos escarmiento» (Boscán 29.1-8).

<sup>42</sup> «mis versos son deziros '¡O benditos / los que de Dios tan gran merced huvistes / que del poder d'Amor fuédeses quitos!» (Boscán 29.12-14).

<sup>43</sup> «Yo solo en tantas guerras fui herido, / y son de mis heridas las señales / tan feas, que é vergüença de mostrallas» (Boscán 30.12-14).

<sup>44</sup> «Por el ancho camino por do fueren / todos verán mi triste monumento / y verán de mi muerte'l gran letrero» (Boscán 31.9-11).

has made him yearn and write, and he thereby seeks to clear his heart from troubles. His intention is not to attain fame and glory. All his tears are shed to persuade his cold and hard-hearted beloved.<sup>45</sup> The lack of an apostrophe in Caracciolo's first poem is noteworthy. Its only prefatory motive may be the metapoetic references to his writing.

Cariteo's first poem subverts Petrarch's theme of the «giovenile errore» and palinodial point of view. Cariteo is straightforward about not considering his love to be sinful. Perhaps toying with the classical elegiac and prefatory *topos* of the *recusatio*, Cariteo refuses to deem his high and chaste love a foolish mistake. His love was indeed virtuous and respectful toward God. Virtue inspired it, and his aspirations were truly honorable. His beloved was, moreover, a genuine angelical figure. In an openly Neo-Platonic fashion, Cariteo adored her as pure substance –since it is no mistake to worship God through his creation.<sup>46</sup> The prefatory character of Cariteo's opening poem is implied, first and foremost, by means of the past tense employed to refer to the poetic voice's love. Secondly, if this first poem is to be read in connection with the elegiac *recusatio*, the poet's use of this classical *topos* also denotes its prefatory nature. Last, Cariteo's first poem establishes a subversive intertextual dialogue with Petrarch's own preface in *RVF* 1. The prologue to the *Endimione* continues beyond Cariteo's first poem through the following sonnet. As will be discussed later, Cariteo intertwined prefatory motives with topics belonging to the beginning of his narrative.

Most of these examples of prefatory pieces in Petrarchist macrostructures also show traces of classical motives and *topoi*, literary referents to which Petrarch recurred himself. Petrarch minutely borrowed from classical prefaces belonging to poetical books –Horace's *Espistulae*, Ovid's *Amores*, and Propertius's *monobiblos*– in order to construct the first three poems of the prologue to his *romanzo*. Similarly, this chapter will now show that *b*'s prologue was devised on the basis of both classical and Petrarchist *topoi*, which can at times be distinguished.

<sup>45</sup> «Sole lo infermo di falcare la doglia / Lardente febre lamentando in parte / Cossi il mio cor che damorosa uoglia / Per suo fatal distin mai no se parte / Quando de uaghi fiori in noua foglia / La terra se reueste in ognie parte / Quando la inbianca uerno autunno spoglia / Sciema scriuendo & lacrimando in charte / Quanto ho gia scripto e per sgombrar il core / Di tanti affanni e sospirato sempre / No gia per fama de tranquilla palma / Quanto ho gia sparso destillante humore / E per dolcire quella rigida alma / Che sopra ognaltra tien gelate tempre» (f. A iii recto).

<sup>46</sup> «Se'l foco del mio casto, alto desio / Non havesse aspirato a vero honore, / Sarebbe stato insano & folle errore, / Havere aperto al mondo il voler mio. / Poi che vertù lo mosse, ardir pres'io / Di far chiaro ad ciascun, senza timore, / Il tanto honesto & si pudico ardore, / Che contra il Re del ciel mai non fallio. / Per la mia diva io vidi exempio in terra / Degli angeli, & in opre & in figura, / Che contra il vil pensier fe' sempre guerra. / Io l'adorai come sustantia pura, / Da presso & da lontan: ché l'huom non erra, / Il fattor adorando in sua factura» (Garret 1: 7).

The first poem in *b* is March's number 39, which –as Cabré and Torró underscored– can foster readings directly akin to the Petrarchist tradition («Perche alcun ordine» 129-30). March's 39 starts with an apostrophe to the reader:

Qvi no es trist de mos dictats no cur  
 ho'n algun temps que sia trist, estat  
 e lo qui es de mals passionat  
 per fer se trist no cerque loch seur  
 lija mos dits mostrants penssa torbada...

(vv. 1-5)

Those who do not feel sad will not understand my writings; / they at least must have felt sadness at some point. / But whoever suffers pains, / may not look for dark places to become sad; / they may just read my sayings, which show a disturbed mind...

As Torró pointed out, March's first stanza in Poem 39 features clear borrowings from Ovid's *Tristia*.<sup>47</sup> For the purposes of this chapter, what is relevant regarding March's source is that Ovid's poem is precisely the prefatory piece of *Tristia*'s books 3 and 5. It is doubtful –albeit possible– that *b*'s editor identified the exact source and its macrostructural function, and placed 39 accordingly in *b*'s sequence. In any case, what *b*'s editor would have surely recognized is that the poetic voice determines who may read his verses –for whom they are intended– and who may not. The poetic voice does not address the readers directly, as he does not use the second-person plural as Petrarch, Boscán, or even Propertius (1.1) did. More alike Bembo's apostrophe, March's address is oblique –in third person– and is directed towards a potential reader.<sup>48</sup> So was Ovid's apostrophe, for instance, in his *Ars amatoria*: «Si quis in hoc artem populo non novit amandi, / hoc legat et lecto carmine doctus amet» (1.1-2; «If there is anyone who does not know the art of love, / read this poem, and, once read, he will love well-informed»). A selection of the readership even more similar to March's can be found in the prefatory piece of the second book of Ovid's *Amores*:

Hoc quoque composui Paelignis natus aquosis,  
 ille ego nequitiae Naso poeta meae.  
 Hoc quoque iussit Amor; procul hinc, procul este severi!

<sup>47</sup> «Inspice quid portem: nihil hic nisi triste uidebis, / carmine temporibus conueniente suis» (3.1. 9-10); «Delicias siquis lascivaque carmina quaerit, / praemoneo, non est scripta quod ista legat» (5.1.15-16). See Torró, «Pròlegs al cançoner» 409-11.

<sup>48</sup> Furthermore, notice how March's communicative context is written («dictats,» «lija») –like Bembo's, Boscán's or Caracciolo's, and unlike Petrarch's own.

Non estis teneris apta theatra modis.  
 Me legat in sponsi facie non frigida virgo  
 et rudis ignoto tactus amore puer;  
 atque aliquis iuvenum, quo nunc ego, saucius arcu  
 agnoscat flammae conscia signa suae  
 miratusque diu «quo –dicat– ab indice doctus  
 composuit casus iste poeta meos?»  
 (3.1.1-10)

This, too, is the work of my pen –mine, Naso's, born among the humid Paeligni, the well-known singer of my own worthless ways. This, too, have I wrought at the bidding of Love– away from me, far away, ye austere fair! Ye are no fit audience for my tender strains. For my readers I want the maid not cold at the sight of her promised lover's face, and the untaught boy touched by passion till now unknown; and let some youth who is wounded by the same bow as I am now know in my lines the record of his own heart's flame, and, long wondering, say: «From what tatter has this poet learned, that he has put in verse my own mishaps?» (trans. Showerman)

Not only does Ovid select his readership, he also posits an audience who shares his own condition. That is what March's 39 *exordium* was calling for: a sympathetic audience, consisting of old and new sad lovers like the poetic voice himself. These two topics can also be found together in a fifteenth-century Neo-Latin poet, Christofor Landino (1424-98), whose second prefatory poem of his elegiac (and tripartite) *Xandra* features both motives:

Si te Pierides, vatum si tutor Apollo,  
 vivere, parve liber, saecula longa velint,  
 hos fuge, quos nullo quondam violaverit arcu  
 neve suis facibus usserit asper Amor;  
 namque negant veniam tristes qui fronte severa  
 censuraque graves mollia verba notant.  
 Si quis at hamatis transfixus corda sagittis  
 pertulerit nostri vulnera cruda dei,  
 hic veniamque dabit simul et miserebitur ultro  
 nec feret in nostris lumina sicca malis;  
 nam semel indignas furias expertus amantum  
 asseret in terris durius esse nihil.

If the Muses and Apollo, teacher of the poets, / wish you to live long ages, little book,  
 / flee from those whom the harsh god Love has never / wounded with his bow or  
 burned with his torches; / for they who, gloomy and severe in their appraisal, / criticize  
 tender words, will refuse any pardon. / But if a man, his heart pierced by sharp barbed  
 arrows, / has suffered the bleeding wounds of our god, / he will at once grant pardon

and will pity besides / and not look without moist eyes on my misfortunes; / for a man once tried by the ignoble passions of a lover / will declare that on earth there is nothing harder. (trans. Chatfield)

In conclusion, the opening apostrophe in March's 39-first elicits prefatory echoes. Although Petrarch's first addresses the reader, March's apostrophe crucially hinges on classical references and –more fundamentally– a formulation not much like Petrarch's or most of his imitators considered here.<sup>49</sup> Furthermore, 39 does not contain the palinodial perspective appearing in several of the Petrarchist prefatory pieces considered above –also in March's works on morality. Petrarch's «che quanto piace al mondo è breve sogno» (Poem 1, v. 14, «that every wordly pleasure is a short-lived dream») is at odds with 39's fifth stanza, in which the lover embraces the pleasures of his sad life:

mas yo qui he sa gloria'al vll vista  
 desig los mals puix delit l'es permes.  
 nos pot saber menys dela speriença  
 lo gran delit que's en lo sols voler  
 d'aquell qui es amador verdader  
 he ama si vehent s'en tal volença.

(vv. 35-40)

But I have seen [Love's] glory, / and so I long for its sorrows, which allow pleasure. / Unless someone has experienced it, one cannot know / the great pleasure that finds in just loving / he who is a true lover, / and loves, while seeing himself with that will.

There is an overall consolatory function implied in 39. Poem 39's missing palinodial perspective arises in another place within *b*'s preface. A palinody is conveyed in March's 4, the second poem in the edition.

Poem 4 is a debate between *Enteniment* («Understanding») and Body, in which the Mind defeats the Body. The debate introduces one of the key issues in the subsequent poems. In 4's two introductory stanzas, March writes that

<sup>49</sup> A 1506 inventory listing the possessions of the Barcelona notary Vicenç Granell includes a manuscript of March's poems opening with 39 (Madurell and Rubió 445; Cabré and Torró, «Perché alcun ordine» 129). The choice of 39 as the opening piece of March's works appears in another of Cardona's Marchian manuscripts: MS *B*. Hence 39's prefatory position in *b* might have descended from an *ordo receptus* that would have stemmed from a former manuscript or from a local interpretive tradition. However, it could be argued that the reasons explaining 39's prefatory position in *b* are intrinsic to the poem's content and rhetoric. Thus, 39 could have been understood as prefatory regardless of a former tradition or Petrarchist reading. At this moment, there is little basis to decide against any of these possibilities.

his love is twofold. He needs to make a decision about which desire he should pursue.<sup>50</sup> By the end of the second stanza, March makes up his mind and tells his beloved how he is going to conduct himself: «amar dretament vos» (v. 16; «loving you as it is due»). A virtuous and chaste love is what the poetic voice is aiming at in the beginning of his story (Cabré, «Un lugar de Petrarca» 526). The next verses stage the Mind-Body debate. Each side is understood to correspond to one of the two desires that had been haunting the poetic voice in the previous verses. The lover's voice expresses the Body's stance, whereas Mind speaks in the form of an allegorical character. The lover concedes that the Body has the advantage delighting him, but the Mind retorts that the Body's role in human love is limited to its animal dimension. Then the Mind reprimands the Body for the role it plays in love. Its words introduce the Petrarchist moral and palinodial dimension that was missing from 39: «vanament vols he *vans* son tos desigs / car dins vn punt tos delits son, fastigs / romans ne llas tots jorns ne prens enseny.» (my emphasis, 42-44; «You wish in vain, and vain are your desires; / your delights quickly become annoyances, / then you become unhappy; you learn this every day»). The Mind's ascetic answer recalls Petrarch's poem 1: those «vane speranze e'l van dolore» (1.6; «vain hopes and vain pains»), and «et del mio vaneggiar vergogna è'l frutto» (1.12; «shame is the fruit of my vanities»).

The prologue of edition *b* was therefore designed to encompass poems 39 and 4 (first and second poems in *b*) just as Boscán extended his preface through the first four poems of his *Obras*. It is remarkable that 39 managed to replace the first poem in much of March's textual tradition (precisely March's first), and managed to do so regardless of the fact that March's first allowed for an openly palinodial reading.<sup>51</sup> This seems to be a sign of the editor's background in *bonae litterae*. March's works were not simply assimilated to Petrarch's; they were also «reduzidos á su devida forma» («reduced to their proper form»).

<sup>50</sup> Interestingly, Cariteo's second in his 1509 edition introduces a similar problematic: «Son gemini gli Amori: un, casto & pio; / L'altro furente in desiderio insano: / Questo si mostrò in terra in volto humano, / Quel vola per li cieli a lato idio. / Qual di duo raccendesse il petto mio, / Lo sa colei, che'l cor mi tiene in mano: / Arsi da presso, & arsi di lontano, / Con la speranza equal al gran desio. / Con violenta voglia & importuna, / Anhelando al sidereo, almo paese, / Servii senza cercar mercede alcuna. / Celeste fu la fiamma che m'accese: / Ché di quelle, che in ciel movon la luna, / Una angelica forma il cor mi prese.»

<sup>51</sup> A prefatory reading of March's 1 is argued in Cabré and Torró «Preche alcun ordine» 131-34, and Torró, «El Manuscrit de Saragossa.»

## «INITIUM NARRATIONIS»

After the first sonnet, Petrarch's sonnets 2-5 in the Aldine recount the beginning of his *romanzo*. Rico has argued (see Chapter 6, n. 9) that the structure or *dispositio* of Petrarch's *initium narrationis* resorts to rhetorical *loci a re* (2 *causa*, 3 *tempus*) and *a persona* (4 *patria*, 5 *nomen*). Poem 2 recalls the cause and the circumstances that caused Petrarch's poetic voice to fall in love: Cupid wounded him with his bow and arrows. That deadly blow entered his eyes and then his heart, where he placed virtue. The next piece (3) recalls the exact moment when Petrarch was hit by Love. It happened unexpectedly on Good Friday, the day of Christ's passion. Poem 4 praises the place where Laura was born, and 5 honors her name. Velutello proposed a change in the order of the first poems of the Aldine, which also affected the *initium narationis*. Vellutello's first poems are 1, 3, 2, 4, 20, 5, etc. He changed sequence 2-3 (*causa-tempus*) to 3-2 (*tempus-causa*) and placed 20 between 4 and 5, making a case for a longer sequence where Petrarch would have been proclaiming Laura's excellence.<sup>52</sup>

As for Caracciolo, his beginning replicated Petrarch's (Santagata, *La lirica aragonesa* 215). Caracciolo's second poem recalls the day he fell in love, Maundy Thursday: «il giorno auante / Chel redemptor con lacrime gia tante / In sullegno per noi fo posto in alto» (vv. 2-4; «the day before / the Redeemer –with so many tears– / was placed on the cross for us»). Caracciolo's third poem reveals the cause of his falling in love: seeing his beloved; «quando prestante uide quella / Angelica e pudica soa figura» (vv. 5-6; «when I saw her excellent, / angelic and chaste figure»). And Caracciolo's fourth poem praises the place where his beloved was born. Note how Caracciolo's *tempus* also precedes the *causa* of the story, just like in Vellutello.<sup>53</sup>

Cariteo's *initium* is very different from the Aldine's or Caracciolo's. After the first poem, Cariteo keeps developing and amplifying his preface, and, at the same time, he lays out the beginning of his *romanzo*. Having introduced the name of his beloved, the place where she lives, or the cause of his suffering, Cariteo addresses two poems to the protectors of his works, invokes the Muses, and formulates metapoetical reflections on his poetry.

In *Endimione*'s Poem 2, Cariteo posits two different loves: one chaste and pious, another one angry and sick –only to determine that his love is chaste and ce-

<sup>52</sup> For a detailed discussion about the editorial controversy regarding the order of Petrarch's poem's 2 and 3, see Cabré, «Un lugar de Petrarca» 526-29.

<sup>53</sup> This also hints at the fact that *Amorì*'s editor was not basing his arrangement in the order of the Vat. Lat. 3195 or any of its textual descendants.

lestial. In verse 13 he also reveals the name of his beloved Luna. Poems 3 and 4 are dedicated to the poet's protectors Ferrandino, Prince of Capua, and Ferrante I, King of Naples. In Poem 4, the reader finds out that the poet's ambition is to be crowned in his native Barcelona: «io spero anchor di lauro ornar la fronte / Nel dolce luogo dove io nacqui pria» (vv. 3-4; «I hope I can adorn my forehead with laurel leaves / in the sweet place where I was born»). Poem 5 reveals the poet's ambition for an immortal fame. He harbors that desire against the envious, who fail to recognize his art. The lover hopes that thanks to his poetry in honor of Luna «havrà Barcellona il suo poeta» (v. 14; «Barcelona will have its poet»). In Poem 6, the lover praises his beloved as an angelical figure and begs the Muses to bring grace to Naples, the country where she stayed before leaving for Spain: «Rendete gratie, o Muse, al bel paese / Napol, dove il mio core ardendo visse» (vv. 1-2; «Bring grace, oh Muses, to the beautiful country, / Naples, where my burning heart lived»). The past tense continues to denote the prefatorial character of the poem, which regards *a posteriori* the story to continue.

The following three poems (7, 8, and 9) conclude *Endimione's* beginning of the story and preface. Love is the addressee of all three compositions. Poem 7 is addressed to Love as the cause of the poetic voice's woes: «prima cagion del mal ch'io sento» (v. 6; «first cause of the ill I feel»). The lover sings to ease his sorrows: «Canto per disfogar il duol ch'io premo» (v. 10; «I sing to vent my sorrows»). Poem 8 considers the effects of Love: «Ben veggio, Amor, gli effetti aspri, mortali» (v. 1; «I can see, Love, the harsh, deadly effects»). Cariteo discusses Cupid's lead and golden arrows and laments that Love is waging war against him. Echoing *RVF* 1, Cariteo ponders Love's gratuitous contrary effects: «in van si spera e'n van si teme» (v. 3; one hopes in vain, and in vain one fears»). Finally in Poem 9 the lover praises the angelical nature of his beloved, whom he saw in paradise before his soul entered that earthly living; Luna's qualities are weapons Love wages against him.

Cariteo's long preface and beginning of the story is the opposite of Bembo's succinct opening pieces. Bembo's *initium* follows the Aldine pattern *causa-tempus*.<sup>54</sup> After prefatory Poem 1, Bembo's 2 and 3 recount Love's sudden and unexpected assault. Poem 2 seems to focus on the *causa*—that is, the first time he saw his beloved: «donna scesa dal ciel vidi passarme, / e per mirarla, a piè mi cadder l'arme» (vv. 6-7; «I saw a lady descended from heaven passing by me, /

<sup>54</sup> The *causa-tempus* order in Bembo's edition agrees with that of the Aldine, which he himself edited. However, Albonico notes that Bembo's borrowings from Petrarch in these two poems may be reversed. Bembo's third may be indebted to Petrarch's second, and vice versa. This would perhaps betray a Vellutellian influence (Albonico 15).

and for looking at her, my arms fell to my feet»), whereas Bembo's Poem 3 seems to center on the *tempus* of Love's assault, namely spring: «Si come suol, poi che 'l verno aspro e rio / parte e dà loco a le stagion migliori» (vv. 1-2; «As usual, after the harsh and evil winter / is gone, and gives way to better seasons»).

Although Boscán's preface extends through the first four poems, the beginning of his story is as succinct as Bembo's. It takes up two sonnets (33-5th and 34-6th), both dedicated to the *causa* of the lover's suffering. In this case, it is not Love's sudden assault nor the arrival of the springtime that triggers the conflict. In the fifth poem, the poetic voice declares that his destiny, since birth, is to be under Love's command. In the sixth, the lover complains that no astrological change has ever altered his fate. According to Navarrete, Boscán's fifth poem would be a hyperbolic version of Petrarch's second, whereas Boscán's sixth would correspond to Petrarch's third, because of its astrological imagery (Navarrete 76-77). That could certainly appear to be the case, but there does not seem to be any literal borrowing from Petrarch's second and third in Boscán's 33-5th and 34-6th. Rather than a Petrarchist inspiration, these poems might have been shaped by classical models. Each implies that the lover was born under the astrological sign of Venus. That also occurs in Janus Secundus's second poem in his *Julia* (1.2), in which Cupid claims the poet for himself as soon as he is born, so that he only writes about love. Propertius recounts something similar about himself in the prefatory poem of his fourth book (4.1): an astrologist reminds the poet that he will only be capable of writing about love because he was born under Venus's sign. Regardless of the actual inspiration of Boscán's fifth and sixth poems, they do function as the opening of his story. Appearing after the preface, the two sonnets deal with the cause of lover's future grief.

The beginning of March's story also takes two poems –66 and 101– that is, the third and fourth in the sequence. As Cabré has shown, the *tornada* of 66 clearly sets the *tempus* when March's love began. In one of the few borrowings from Petrarch's *RVF*, March recalls having fallen in love unprepared on Good Friday, like Petrarch in his third poem:<sup>55</sup>

Amor amor lo jorn, quel innocent  
per be de tots fon posat en lo pal

<sup>55</sup> See Pagès, *Auzias March* 267; Cabré, «Un lugar de Petrarca» 526. Cf. *RVF*, 3, vv. 1-4: «Era il giorno ch'al sol si scoloraro / per la pietà del suo factore i rai, / quando i' fui preso, et non me ne guardai, / ché i be' vostr'occhi, donna, mi legaro.» A sixteenth-century reader noticed March's borrowing and marked it in his copy of the *Amorós* edition (f. 3; rare book R/3192 housed at the Biblioteca Nacional de España).

vos me feris car yom guardaua mal  
 pensant quel jornme fora deffenent  
 (vv. 41-44)

Oh, Love, the day when the Innocent / was set on the pole for our good / you hurt me,  
 because I was not ready / since I thought the day itself would protect me.

However, before the *tornada*, Poem 66 features several motives that discuss  
 Love's assault and blows –just as both *RVF* 2 and 3 do:<sup>56</sup>

O uer, amor tu inuoch, he, reclam  
*puix mas plagat* vulles m'abandonar  
 aquell vnguent que sol medecinar  
 los pacients que per, tu, mal passam.  
 (vv. 9-12, my emphasis)

Oh true Love, I call and invoke you, / *since you have wounded me*, won't you grant me /  
 that balm that cures / all those of us who suffer from you

Then the poetic voice begs Love to be requited. In the fourth stanza March  
 values his *new* sorrow, when he had already been accustomed to Love:

...m'era ja no res  
 lo mal d'amor viuint sobre, aquell  
 he per mal nou amorir vinch per ell  
 per no ser tal he com, molt maior, es.  
 (vv. 29-32)

...Love's sorrow was nothing to me, I was accustomed to it / and because of that new  
 pain, I am dying / for it is not so [new] and is much greater.

Finally, March refers one more time to Love's deadly blow, and indirectly indi-  
 cates that his beloved's sight caused it:

<sup>56</sup> Cf. *RVF* 2, vv. 5-8: «Era la mia virtute al cor ristretta / per far ivi et ne gli occhi sue difese, / quando 'l colpo mortal là giù discese / ove solea spuntarsi ogni saetta.» (my emphasis). And cf. *RVF* 3: «Era il giorno ch'al sol si scolaro / per la pietà del suo factore i rai, / quando i' fui preso, et non me ne guardai, / ché i be' vostr'occhi, donna, mi legaro. / Tempo non mi pareo da far riparo / contra colpi d'Amor: però m'andai / secur, senza sospetto; onde i miei guai / nel commune dolor s'incominciaro. / Trovommi Amor del tutto disarmato / et aperta la via per gli occhi al core, / che di lagrime son fatti uscio et varco: / però al mio parer non li fu honore / ferir me de saetta in quello stato, / a voi armata non mostrar pur l'arco» (my emphasis).

tu, est, aquell ayre molt pestilent  
 portant, al mon vna plaga mortal  
*esser menys d'ulls, ans del colp*, molt, y val  
 mas al *ferit* mort sola's guariment.

(vv. 37-40, my emphasis)

[Love] you are that plague / that brings to the world a deadly pestilence. / In order to avoid you, one needs *not to have eyes before you hit him*, / but once you *wound* him, only death can cure him.

At the same time, while March's Poem 66 conveys motives from both *RVF* 2 and 3, so does 101 –the fourth poem in the sequence. Cabré argued that March's second stanza in 101 features a borrowing from Alain Chartier and from Petrarch's own first encounter with Laura in the *Trionfi* in order to recall March's first vision of his beloved– that is, the *causa*:<sup>57</sup>

Io viu vns vlls hauer tangran potença  
 dedar dolor he prometre, plaher  
 yesmagnant viu sus mi, tal poder  
 qu'en mon castell era sclau de remença  
 yo viu vngest he, senti vna veu  
 d'un feble cos he cuydara jurar  
 qu'vn hom, armat yol fera congoxar  
 sens romprem pel yom so retut per, seu.

(vv. 9-16)

I saw her eyes as having the great power / to cause pain while promising pleasure. / I imagined that her power over me was such / that I was treated as a villain in my own castle. / I saw her demeanor and heard her voice, which / though coming from a frail body, I swear / would upset an armed man: / without her even touching me, I am surrendered to her.

Such a vision of the beloved could well be the *cause* of his love –which had already appeared in March's 66 and both in *RVF* 2 and 3. Additionally, there are two other references in 101 that are relevant to an *initium narrationis* similar to former examples. On the one hand, the opening simile includes a geographical reference that figuratively points to the beloved:

<sup>57</sup> See Cabré, «Un lugar de Petrarca» 521-22, and 526. A sixteenth-century reader noticed March's borrowing from Petrarch's *Trionfi* and marked it in his copy of the *Amorós* edition (f. 4; rare book R/3192 housed at the Biblioteca Nacional de España).

Lo viscahi ques troba'n alemanya  
 paralitich que no pot senyalar  
 si, es malalt remey no li pot dar  
 metge del mon, sidonchs no es despanya  
 qui del seu mal haura mes conexença  
 y entendra molt millor sa qualitat  
 atal son yo en estrany loch posat,  
 qu'altre, sens vos ja nom pot dar valença.

(1-8)

Just like the paralytic Biscayan, who is in Germany, / and cannot even point out to things; / if he falls ill, he will not be able to get any remedy / from any doctor, unless the doctor is from Spain, / for the Spanish doctor will know better / and will be able to recognize his sickness. / I am such a man; I find myself in such a strange place / that no one but you can bring back my strength.

The reference to the Biscayan only makes proper sense within the opening simile: the shy poet, madly in love, feels like a Biscayan, who cannot talk about his malaise to anyone in Germany. Only a doctor from Spain can heal him –which is to say that only his lady can heal his love-sickness. In view of former *initia* (such as Petrarch's, or Cariteo's) this geographical reference– which only appears here of all of March's verses –could also be understood as a reference to the *locus* of the story, directly after the *tempus* that had appeared in the last stanza of the previous poem.

No reference to Love's blows appears here. What 101 does include, though, is a thorough account of the overpowering *effects* of Love, which will be further developed in the poems that immediately follow. The lover is totally submissive to his lady, like a villein is to his lord (stanza 2). He feels like a little child lost in the cliffs (3). Not only is his sight, but all of his senses are involved in his fall (4). He enjoys contemplating the image of his beloved he has set in his mind, and loves her superiority and disdain (5). Even being unrequited makes him love her more (6). He just wants to be close to her (*tornada*).

In conclusion, both 66 and 101 include elements that lead to the *RVF's loci a re of initium narrationis* –references to the *causa* and *tempus* of the story– as they specifically appear in Petrarch's 2 and 3. There are also grounds to interpret certain verses of 101 as establishing the *locus* of the story and the *effects* of Love's action on the poetic voice.

## THE LOVE STORY

Petrarch knitted a large symbolic microtextual network across his macrotextual discourse and narrative. Many of his poems contain references to the myth of Apollo and Daphne, whose names are alluded to in his beloved's name. His allusions metaphorically mirror and symbolically elaborate his unrequited relationship with Laura (the laurel into which Daphne metamorphized when chased by Apollo) and his own poetic pursuits (the poetic laurels, his recognition and posterity; see Santagata, *I frammenti* 137-39.) After Laura's death, Petrarch invoked a different myth as a reflection of his own *romanzo*: that of Orpheus and his ill-fated wife Eurydice. Orpheus and Eurydice were irremediably separated by her untimely death in spite of Orpheus's trip to the otherworld and his lyric talent. Petrarchist authors also enhanced the symbolic depth of their narratives by means of narrative subtexts similar to Petrarch's. Cariteo, for instance, introduced in his *romanzo* the myth of Endimion and the Moon («Luna») / Diana, which gave the name to his *canzoniere*. In the second section of his book –after Luna's departure and marriage in Spain– Endimion's beloved is symbolized by Proserpina and her Spanish husband by Pluto (cf. double sextina 5 and sonnet 133).

While Caracciolo and Bembo did not elaborate any symbolic structures for their narratives on the basis of mythological characters (Santagata, *La lirica aragonesa* 225, 231), Boscán did imitate and reformulate Petrarch's original narrative subtext. Boscán's symbolic background narrative, though, is not mythological. Boscán constructed a Christological discourse and created a Christomorphic poetic voice through the first part of his *canzoniere* (Lorenzo, *Nuevos casos* 111-22). In the second part, Boscán's poetic voice changes as the lover sings about his new marital love. Such change, it has been argued, is reflected in symbolic references to the resurrection of Christ (Lorenzo, 116, 121). However, in the second part of Boscán's *canzoniere* the lover is actually redeemed by the sacrifice of his former Christomorphic self (116-88th, at the beginning of the new section). Instead of using a poetic voice fashioned after the life of Christ, the lover impersonates characters from the Gospels that were cured / saved by Jesus, such as the blind man (124-96th; cf. Mark 8.28) or the paralytic (127-99th, cf. John 5.8). Boscán, in any case, disseminated through his poems symbolic references to mirroring narratives from the Gospels.

There is no such symbolic matter underlying Amorós's macrotext, no narrative, classical or biblical, symbolically articulating and pervading March's love story as narrated in *b's* works on love. March only made occasional but consistent references to his love-induced sorrows as the punishments suffered by the inhabitants of the classical otherworld. The lover compares himself and his

condition to the torments of Titius (Poem 13-25th, vv. 17-20), Tantalus (31-40th poem vv. 41-44); or, less specifically, to woes from hell (54-29th, vv. 11-12; 99-101th, vv. 25-28), a place to which he refers by its classical topography (cf. «Lethe», 102-84th, vv. 137-40). While these references are scarce and commonplace,<sup>58</sup> they are the only instances in which March's poetic discourse displays a mythological coherent symbology as a subtext of the poetic narrative.

As seen before, calendrical references in *b* do not act as fundamental cohesive devices equivalent to Petrarch's anniversary sonnets. An implicit chronology, the passing of time is nevertheless clearly conveyed at the end of March's narrative. How then was March's love story constructed? After the prologue and the *initium narrationis*, the sequencing of March's poems and thereby the construction of his narrative is based on two principles: identity and difference—or rather repetition and transformation.<sup>59</sup> The editor of *b* designed short sequences of poems, whose single compositions have in common themes, concepts, and *topoi* pertaining to the discourse of the poetic voice about love and the beloved. Inflections in the narrative thus appear when certain features are progressively or abruptly replaced by others. Setting clear-cut boundaries between shorter sequences is a somewhat arbitrary decision in many instances. Often a poem on one side of a given boundary has more than one element in common with the next poem, which belongs to the next sequence. But it is through repetition and change of the elements of March's poetic discourse that *b*'s poems on love develop and articulate a number of episodes and situations.

With the aim of illustrating the intertextual mechanisms devised by *b*'s editor, the following pages will examine the three sections after the prologue and the beginning of story with somewhat more detail. The other sections will be approached more expeditiously. The first section after the preface and the *initium narrationis* consists of Poems 3, 21, 69, 67, 10, and 68 (5th-10th). This second series of poems deals with three questions: Love's *effects* on March's poetic voice; the lover's *submission* to Love's power; and the *desigual* («unequal») nature of Love—more intense on the lover than on the beloved, who as a result feels unrequited. The last poem of the *initium narrationis*, 101, introduces Love's effects as a sickness that only the beloved is able to cure. In its second stanza, the lover appeared absolutely subdued to his beloved. The first poem of the

<sup>58</sup> Such comparisons between love sufferings and hell's torments are classical, but common in vernacular poetry, the elegiac genre, and even in Neo-Latin literature; see, for instance, Propertius 1.9 and 2.17; Landino 1.3; Janus Secundus 3.5.

<sup>59</sup> The formulation of these construction principles is indebted to Santagata's theory of the intertextual connections between texts in *Dal sonetto al canzoniere* (33-76), which was put into practice in *La lirica aragonesa*, and *I frammenti dell'anima*.

new sequence (3-5th) includes a simile that compares the lover's condition to a patient whose doctor cannot determine his symptoms.<sup>60</sup> This simile links poem 3's 2nd stanza to 101's first. Poem 3 also addresses the issue of the lover's shyness.<sup>61</sup> When finding himself face to face with his beloved, March claims that she pretends not to notice his feeling only because her love is unequal to his:

Plena de seny dir vos queus am, no cal  
 puis crech de cert que us ne, teniu per certa  
 sibe, mostrau queus, esta molt cuberta  
 cella, per que *amor, es desigual*.

(Poem 3, vv. 17-20, my emphasis)

Full of Wisdom, I do not need to tell you that I love you / because I believe that you are aware of it, / even though you pretend that it is all covered / what makes this love is unequal.

In the next poem (21-6th), the poetic voice reasserts the inequality of their love from the third stanza until the end of the piece (vv. 17-44), showing awe at the disparate extremities that sustain it:

bem, marauell si, amor, no decau,  
 puix qu'en estrems vol que estiga son pes  
*lo meu voler es mes que, to ta, res*  
*yl vostre's menys quel terç d'un punt de, dau.*

(Poem 21, vv. 21-24, my emphasis)

I am amazed that Love has not fallen down, / for its weight is on both its extremes: / *my will –which is greater than anything– / and yours, which is smaller than one third of a dice's pip.*

In the next composition (69-7th), the lover continues emphasizing how his feelings are in one of the separate «extrems» («ends») of love<sup>62</sup> and describes the physiological effects of love-sickness –including shyness– on his body.<sup>63</sup> Again,

<sup>60</sup> «Metge scient no te, lo cas per joch / com la calor no surt apart, estrema / Lignorant veu que lo malalt no crema / he, jutjal, sa puix que, mostra bon, toch / lo pacient no pora dir son mal» (Poem 3, vv. 9-13).

<sup>61</sup> «he, port'al cor sens fum continu foch / he, la calor nom surt, apart de fora» (Poem 3, vv. 5-6).

<sup>62</sup> «Per quels estrems ha cerquat mon voler / enaquest mon no ha, trobat semblant» (Poem 69, 9-10).

<sup>63</sup> «No trob'en mi poder dir, ma tristor / he, de, aço ne, surt vn gran debat / lo meu cor, diu que no es enculpat / car, del parlar la lengua, es senyor / la lengua diu qu'ella molt beu dira / mas que la

Love is consubstantially unequal: «[Amor,] vullés pensar lincomportable dan / que lo, mon rep de tos fets *desiguals*» (Poem 69, vv. 61-62, my emphasis; «[Love], you should think about the unbearable pain / that the world receives from your unequal actions»). In the next poem (67-8th), March despises tepid lovers<sup>64</sup> and claims to be experimenting an «amor extrem» («extreme love»), thus emphasizing once again the unbalance between his feelings and those of his beloved.<sup>65</sup> Poem 10-9th describes how his extreme love is like a lord that subdues two of the three powers of his soul (understanding and will) and forces him not to use his memory. Finally, in poem 68-10th Love is portrayed again as a lord whom March serves blindly with the hope of obtaining a good reward. The poem ends with a statement of March's chaste intentions, which will be a bridge between these series of poems and the next sequence:

plena de seny *leigs desigs* de mi, tall  
herbes nos fan males en mom ribatje  
sia, entes com dins en mon coratje  
los pensaments nom deualen auall.

(Poem 68, 25-28, my emphasis)

Full of Wisdom, I always weed out *ugly desires*; / herbs do not become weeds in my river bank; / you should notice how my feelings / do not go down below my heart.

The second section comprises poems 23, 37, and 109 (11th-13th). These poems are panegyrics of March's beloved. Her miraculous beauty is at the same time physical, moral, and spiritual. Connecting with the last stanza of Poem 68 (from the previous section) 23's fifth stanza contains a linking expression:

tangran delit tot hom, entenet, ha  
he occupat se troba'en vos entendre

por, del cor, força li tol / que sens profit esta, com parlar vol / he si ho fa que balbucitara» (Poem 69, vv. 41-48). «Mos sentiments son axi alterats / quant la que, am mon vll pot diuisar / que nom acort si so'n terra n'en, mar / y els membres luny del cor tinch refredats» (Poem 69, vv. 25-28).

<sup>64</sup> «Ia de amor tebeu james yo sia / fret: ho tan calt cremat, tot fins encendra / alqui, amor los seus extrems engendra / no sent dolor ne viu, en malaltia / qui ama poch amor pocal contenta, / no es gelos, compleix lo que desija / a bastament, fins en tant ques fastija; / toquar se pot ço d'on ell se contenta. /... / Nom rept'algú sil tebeu no, esmente / sa voluntat nos pot dir que, be, ame / n'es veritat que del tot ell desame / noli escau que riga, ne guay mente / defilats vist no cregau que nu, vaja / creu ser vestit, no cerca pus, que vista / e lo tot nuu vol drap de bona lista / e son poder tot quant pot fer assaja» (Poem 67, vv. 1-8, 41-48).

<sup>65</sup> «Pedra de toch tinch he d'amor balançes / per saber, ell quant, es he sa natura, / mas vostr'amor he per cosa, scura / mon cor vbert vos, sta per, ses lançes / ... / Amor amor vos pensau

que lo desig del cos no, pot, estendre  
 ha, *leig voler* ans, com a mort, sta.

(Poem 23, vv. 37-40, my emphasis)

All smart men are so delighted / and busy trying to understand your subtleties / that their desires cannot reach out, from their bodies, / to any ugly wishes; those [desires] rather remain dead.

Poem 23-11th mentions the name of March's beloved (Teresa) and portrays her in the most hyperbolic terms as the prettiest, most virtuous, ingenuous, wittiest, and utmost subtle-minded lady on earth:

Sol per ha vos basta, la bona pasta  
 que deu retench per fer singulars dones  
 fetes n'ha hassats molt sauries he bones  
 mas compliment dona Teresal tasta.

(Poem 23, vv. 25-28)

There was only so much good material available –and it was all spent on you– / for God to make unique women; / God creates many wise and good women, / but Teresa reached perfection.

The next poem (37-12th) furthers the description of the effects of Love-induced shyness on the lover. March also contemplates the anguishing effects of Love on his mind, but says to be enjoying those as well. The poetic voice irreverently ends confessing to his adoration of his beloved as an earthly divinity:

ha vos, ador, sino men repreneu  
 deixau ami carrech de consciença  
 en tant strem es ma, gran ben volença,  
 que vos con fes per vn terrenal deu.

(Poem 37, vv. 37-40)

I adore you, I hope you do not reprimand me for this. / Let it up to me to feel guilty about it: / my love for you is so extreme / that I proclaim you an earthly god.

Finally, in 109-13th March praises both the physical and spiritual beauty of his beloved, but this time the emphasis is set on her body. The irreverence of March's laudatory verses surpasses the former two poems:

que yo vaja / buydes les mans per merçe de vos pendre / tot quant puch dar amplament vos vull rendre / semblam gran dret que la que am yo l'haja» (Poem 67, vv. 33-36 and 49-52).

Dona si us am nom graixcau amor  
 aquella part deque yo so forçat  
 grayu ha deu quius ha tal cors format  
 que altre cors no basta'sa valor

(Poem 109, vv. 1-4)

Lady, if I love you, do not thank me for it / for I cannot help it; / thank God for having formed such body / so worthy that no other one may surpass.

After praising his beloved –and ending with a surprising emphasis on her body– in the next sequence March deals with the opposition between his virtuous, chaste, and imperishable desires and the low, vile, passing feelings any lover needs to confront. This sequence includes Poems 33, 5, 34, 73, 44, 86, 50, 18 (14th-21th). Resuming the problems introduced in prefatory Poem 4-2nd, in this section the lover insists that his feelings for his beloved are spurred by his understanding, and did not originate in the body. Her soul is what fulfills his imperishable wishes for her (33, 5).<sup>66</sup> His suffering is terrible but he does not dare to confess to his chaste and virtuous love for her (34).<sup>67</sup> He does not expect anything from Love; his feelings are pure, extreme, and only between his soul and hers (73).<sup>68</sup> Although his love is everlasting, he begs her to reveal to him what her feelings are (44).<sup>69</sup> Nothing will change his feelings for her, not even the sorrows and torments he has to endure (86).<sup>70</sup> His love is contemplative, spiritual, and infinite (50, 18).<sup>71</sup>

<sup>66</sup> See, for instance: «Sens lo desig de cosa deshonest / don ve dolor atot, enamorat / visch dolorit desijant ser amat / he par ho be que nous vull deshonest» (Poem 33, vv. 1-4); «Tant he amat que mon grosser enginy / per gran treball de pensa, es subtil / leixant ha part aquell sentiment vil / que'n jorn, present los enamorats [c]iny, / so tan sabent que se ben departir / amor d'aquell desig, no virtuos / car tot desig retent hom congoxos / no's ver amor ne, pertal se deu dir» (Poem 5, vv. 1-8).

<sup>67</sup> «amor suplich quem leix donar entendre / lo sobre salt que de vos donam ve / entenen vos quin obra fa dins, me / he com sens mort yo no men puch defendre / Passar donchs puch sens honestat, offendre / mostrant virtut, com res, no cast, no vull / si mondesig no casta, pensa cull / nom trop en punt que res pens de vos pendre» (Poem 34, vv. 13-20).

<sup>68</sup> «Dins si, mateix veu gran gloria junta / qui, de amor be, ne mal no, spera / altre amant ab voluntat sancera / per ses virtuts, ses passions conjunta / nostresperit sols bens he virtuts guarda / quant solament vsa de sa, natura / amant per si aquella crehatura / que les virtuts als vicis, li son guarda» (Poem 73, vv. 49-56).

<sup>69</sup> «Tot metge pren errech deconsiença / si lo perill al malalt, te secret / ... / vos qui sabeu clarament mon mereixer / feu me ser cert de lesdevenidor / yo vull saber quem te cubert, amor / ... / Tarda de temps nom fa d'amor jaquir / los temps en mi venir ja no poran» (Poem 44, vv. 1-2, 5-7, 17-18).

<sup>70</sup> «Sim demanau lo greu turment que pas / es pas tan fort quem leua'l dir que passe / ... / may retraure de vostra'mor hun pas / puix, en seguir a vos honesta, medre» (Poem 86, vv. 1-2, 5-6).

<sup>71</sup> «Si com aquell qui per sa'nfinitat / no pot esser de res finit content / si que res fet ab algun element / en son delit nol haura contentat / per l'inperfet lo delit munde, posa / he sino'ndeu sa

Having reflected on, and clarified the nature of his feelings, in the following section (Poems 51, 24, 89, 13, 2, 19, 7, 54, 80, 1; 22nd-31th) the lover unsuccessfully continues to beg his beloved to reciprocate his love service. The poetic voice also refers to love as a bitter or bittersweet experience and reveals how absence or distance are responsible for some of his anguish. The poetic voice begins this sequence by lamenting that his feelings are not requited; he sees himself close to dying (51). Since misfortune has seized him, both his body and his soul suffer, and he wishes to get rid of the former (24). When lover and beloved find themselves parted, the lover longs to be with the beloved again, but does not lose hope that Love will eventually haunt his beloved. He will always be faithful (89).<sup>72</sup> His sorrows can be compared to punishments from hell. He wishes to die only to be able to see if she would cry out of regret for having been so cruel with him (13). His longing is real and affects his body like an illness. If she realized all his pain, then perhaps she would also love him (2). His feelings and moral situation are best expressed when not describing his own feelings, but, for instance, the «envejosos» («envious»; see Poem 7, vv. 40-44); also through a range of metaphors involving the sense of taste: bitterness,<sup>73</sup> bitter-sweetness,<sup>74</sup> or the shift from one to the other.<sup>75</sup> Note that the contrast between sweetness and bitterness is widespread throughout Petrarch's *RVF* and most likely inspired the editor to group together Poems 2, 19, 7, 54, 80, 1 (26th-31th in the edition) in this section on the lover's anguish.<sup>76</sup>

The poetic voice also recalls past times and good lovers, comparing them to himself, and considers that he should merit long-expected rewards (19, 7).

pensa no, satura / axi, amar vos, amant m'assegura / tot lo restant del mon, me fa gran, nosa» (Poem 50, vv.1-8); «tant en amor lesperit meu contempla / que par del tot fora del cos, s'aparte / car mos desigs no son trobats en home / si no en tal que la carn, punt nol torbe» (Poem 18, vv. 5-8).

<sup>72</sup> March's Poem 89 begins with an image from the Psalms (41.2-3) that is also present in Petrarch's *RVF*. «Ceruo ferit no desija, la font / ay tant com yo esser, a vos present» (Poem 89, vv. 1-2); «Et qual cervo ferito di saetta, / col ferro avelenato dentr'al fianco, / fuggie, et piú duolsi quanto piú s'affretta, / tal io, con quello stral dal lato manco, / che mi consuma, et parte mi diletta, / di duol mi struggo, et di fuggir mi stanço» (*RVF* 209.9-14).

<sup>73</sup> «Plena de seny donaume, vna crosta / del vostra pa quem lleue la margor / de tot menjar ma pres gran, dessabor / sino d'aquell qui molt amor me'costa» (Poem 2, vv. 41-44).

<sup>74</sup> «Vna sabor d'agredoç, amor lança / que lo meu gust departir les, no sab» (Poem 19, 33-34).

<sup>75</sup> «...car yo som prest de tastar, fel, o bresca / per los qi mal ho be, d'amor pendran» (Poem 54, vv. 39-40). «...si col malalt qui per, vn plahent, mos / tot son menjar en dolor, se nodreix» (Poem 1, vv. 31-32). The latter seems to recall an image from the *Trionfi*: «come uom ch'è infermo e di tal cosa ingordo / ch'è dolce al gusto, a la salute rea» *Triumphus Cupidinis* 3.107-08. See also Romani's Petrarchan rendering of March's verses («Por vn contrario que su apetito quiere / Hermoso al gusto y a la salud muy feo»).

<sup>76</sup> See *RVF* 129.21, 157.6, 164.10, 205.6, 215.14, etc.

Love should be conquered with good loving, not tricks (7). When his beloved is absent, she is missed because she is the only one who can please him and save him from death or misfortune (54). Everyone but him seem to obtain their due reward (80). Separated from his beloved (as in 89 and 7), the lover's only pleasure comes from remembering the past; for nothing good awaits him in the future (1).

March's story moves on to a new stage through Poems 81, 82, 62, 11, 14, 40, 32, 17, 31, 20 (32th-41th). A feeling of frustration and bad Fortune is the binding theme of the poems in this section. Affliction brings the lover each day closer to death (81, 82, 11, 17). While his beloved is a proud lady (81), his love is at the other «extrem» (62). March complains about Fortune, a force that can turn everything upside down (81, 82). No sooner has Fortune favored him (62), than he realizes Love brings fake pleasures (11), and decides not to pursue better luck anymore: Fortune lit the fire, and then extinguished it (14). March realizes that he has been given pleasure and annoyance at the same time. He will try to forget any pleasure that his beloved has ever granted him (40). But he then regrets his decision, for he might only succeed in life by being good. Goodness is more important than wealth and lineage. Hence he decides to focus on practicing virtue. Now he does not want his grief to go away (32). But then again, all his troubles may lead to his death, in which case only his family will mourn him. There is no possible defense against Love (17). Fortune abides, but only affects men's earthly goods. His desires thus make him feel like Tantalus (31). Regardless, his beloved is the highest spiritual good of all and is on earth. (20).

In the subsequent poems, as a response to his unfavorable Fortune, March despises earthly goods and hopes death puts an end to his grieves (26, 36, 55, 41; 42nd-45th). March despises this world, full of vice, where virtues are missing (26). Death may be the medicine to his ills; the end of his life and suffering. It can remedy his bad Fortune too. He wants to abandon the world (36). His life is on the line as a result of loving too intensely. Loving in excess has challenged his life; and he only contemplates Love now (55). March reasserts the moral decadence of this world, as compared to past times, and denounces the wicked actions of evil men. Blessed may be he who seeks good (41, cf. 26).

Nevertheless, in the following sequence (100, 58, 27, 45, 22, 46, 9; 46th-52th), March still wishes that his troubled affection for his lady should force him to die. The poetic voice faces numerous disjunctives. In Poem 100, March sees that he has been subjugated by Love and Fortune. He admits having looked for the pleasures of the flesh, just like vulgar men, and regrets his long-developed bad habit, which he finds very difficult to reject. March also distinguishes between those bestial, false, and sensuous pleasures that flatter men's

senses but are perishable, and the long-lasting pleasure that God, reason, and virtue provide (cf. *b*'s 2nd, and the section 14th-21st). However, in order for March to reach that true pleasure, the poetic voice demands that his body act in agreement with his mind. In the next poem (58) March praises the extreme beauty of his beloved, but considers that it is his mind that she delights the most. She is the source of those enduring pleasures he was seeking. And yet, an excruciating pain has captured his mind, and he does not know whether to choose death or life (27). That choice seems linked to the kind of love he wants to pursue (45), a choice that has been haunting him since the beginning of his story: Will he go after a spiritual love? Will he seek a bestial love? Or will he engage in a typically human love that mixes both extremes? His love, the lover goes on to reckon, is of the spiritual kind (22). But his beloved does not appreciate his hopeless desires, which outmatch those of any famous past lover. He will then have to abandon himself to a bodily and bestial love. March contemplates the possibility of dying as a result of whatever love God has devised for him, for if he did, he would not stop loving her, but would hope she lost the ability to love again (46). Moreover, if he died, he would prove to everyone that he is the most extreme lover that ever existed. So it seems that even Love wishes his death (9). On occasion, he is not sorry about the end of his days, for his passing will prove to everyone the magnitude of his love.

All these anguished and no less hyperbolic confessions precede a surprising turning point: Poems 85, 38, 114, and 28. These pieces are set in the very middle of the section «on love,» being the 53rd-56th poems of the total 108 of the first part of the edition. Once March's love seems to have been eventually reciprocated: «Yo so amat» (Poem 85, v. 57), the lover can only ask Fortune for no changes or disruptions in his pleasure:

Leixe la sort lo seu variat, torn  
 cesse amor son doloros, costum  
 dell so content si be nou, acostum  
 nom pot donar mes enlo present, jorn  
 mas yo vull ço que natura, no, te  
 he desig mes que yo, no puch, trobar  
 volent que res no pogues, empachar  
 aquell delit que per, amor, me ve.

(Poem 85, vv. 1-8)

May Luck stop turning around now; / may Love change its painful habits. / I am happy with him, although normally I am not. / At this time, he cannot give me anything else. / But I am asking for more than what Nature can provide, / because I am wishing for more than I can find, / when I wish that nothing disturbs / the pleasures that Love is giving me.

March now recognizes that he values Love's pleasure over anything else. He is only afraid of Love cutting that «nus» («knot») that unites him to his beloved. The tone of the next poem (38) remains positive, but casts a shade of doubt over the lover's feelings. March acknowledges her affection for him, but doubts whether it is real love: «...vostr'alt no passa'n, ben amar» (v. 8; «...your liking is not becoming good loving»). While 85-53th was the climax, 114-55th is the anticlimax of March's story. All he sees and thinks of her pleases him but his heart is not delighted:

fet es de mi lo ques devie fer;  
perdent amor no vull, quem ajud deu  
en fer quel mon me done, res del seu  
puix no te res dispost, a mon voler.

(Poem 114, vv. 13-16)

What had to happen has occurred to me; / having lost love, I do not want God to help me / obtain anything from this world, / because it does not contain anything else that I may want.

Amor ha fet que'n aço so vengut  
que pert lo mon per no poder amar  
e pogras fer si pogues comportar  
que amas yo e qu'amor nom ajud  
tot fon en semps veure mi, no dispost  
e leixar me de amor totalment  
de que romanch en tal trist pensament,  
que ala mort visiblement, m'acost.

(vv. 25-32)

Love has caused the situation I came to be in; / I'm losing the world since I cannot love; / and I would be able to love again, if I could endure it, / that I loved and Love did not help me. / All happened at the same time: seeing myself not inclined / and abandoning love completely, / for this I dwell in my sad thinking / so much so that I visibly approach death.

Hon mal no es tant com en altren, vench  
yol he fet gran preant molt, lo que pert  
car ve'nt me ser de tota'mor desert  
la terram fall e al cel, nom estench.

(vv. 41-44)

In a situation where an ill is not as terrible as what afflicts others, / I made it terrible by greatly valuing what I lose; / for, seeing myself lacking any loving / the earth fails me and I cannot reach for heaven.

Nothing in the world may please March at this point. He can only relish in the profound sadness of his soul, and he begs God for his days to end soon or for him to be allowed to love with no obstacles. His mind races day and night, only to his detriment (28). He is all alone («sense par») like an enemy or traitor to himself. And he can only think about how Love ties its knot, as he sees himself heading straight to death.

March's triumphant achievement and demoralizing loss give way to a sequence of poems revolving around March's regret for his ill-fated circumstances: 90, 63, 91, 77, 6, 110, 49, 84, 76, 83, 78 (57th-67th). His past pleasure is not coming back. March has lost all of Love's delights and is sorry for those whom Love has seized. He only wants to forget the day, the person, and the place where Love pleased him.<sup>77</sup> Women's wills are capricious and cannot be trusted. March believes that he must develop a new habit in order to provide spiritual goods for himself (90). He feels that Love has abandoned him (63). Hence March does not feel tormented by Love and is not pleased anymore by it either. Love is not ungrateful; what happens is that March himself is not capable of loving. March keeps recalling how in the past he had experienced love, but love turned into regret, as it was supposed to be (91). March cannot forget where and with whom his loves took place, but Love is characterized by constant change and is inextricably linked to Fortune's wishes. At this point, March's mind cannot reproduce the pleasures he had experimented, nor can he escape love's habit (77). No one in this world is compassionate, but finding some mercy in the eyes of his beloved could save him.

In this regretful discourse, Poem 6 (the 60th in *b*) stands out for two reasons. An openly palinodial perspective enters the narrative, and a time reference introduces a chronological anchor at this point. March begins the poem by acknowledging that it has taken him a long time to discover his mistakes in matters of love. It was all due to his youth: «Molt he tardat en descobrir, ma falta / per lo jouent quem nega experiment» (vv. 1-2; «It took me a long time to discover what my mistake was, / all because of my youth, which denied me experiences»). March considers the possibility that he took an unfortunate short-cut, but also shows awareness of not having been able to find a will equal to his. March served a woman who could not make him happy. He

<sup>77</sup> «plagues a deu quem desmembras lo jorn / ab qui, ne hon amor ma delitat»; Poem 90, vv. 7-8. These two lines could well seem to echo and oppose one of Petrarch's famous sonnets: «Benedetto sia 'l giorno, et 'l mese, et l'anno, / et la stagione, e 'l tempo, et l'ora, e 'l punto, / e 'l bel paese, e 'l loco ov'io fui giunto / da' duo begli occhi che legato m'anno» (*RVF* 65.1-4). See also «Los fets d'amor no puch metre'n oblit / ab quilts agui nel loch nom cau, desment» (Poem 91, vv. 49-50).

deceived himself. In Poem 110-61th March keeps emphasizing that he can see and acknowledge his mistake. But he had foreseen the unfavorable end to where he was headed. He only has pursued his destiny. Now he prays to be able to love the Virgin only. In 49-62nd March admits that it will sound counterintuitive, but Love is horrible and pleasing at the same time. March asserts that he pretends not to love she whom he longs for whenever she is nearby. The particular position of this poem in *b* is given by the *tornada*, in which March claims that Love cannot reach him, tie him up or scrape him. Paradoxically, he ends confessing to be «sleeping in love's hands.»

The next poem in March's remorseful sequence is less paradoxical, but still contradictory. In 84-64th, the poetic voice claims to have loved to the extent that he does not wish to love anymore. The trouble has exceeded the benefits he used to receive from Love. The lover now «desama» («unloves») and reflects that perhaps his shyness and silence did not allow his beloved to realize what his feelings were. The poetic voice considers Love to be ungrateful, considering all his service to it. Love has made him grow old and exhausted before due time. In the next poem (76) March recalls when he thought his love was requited. Now he believes it was only a mirage. Women lack constancy or faithfulness. He has developed the unfortunate habit of being in love. Without love no pleasure reaches him, so he has to admit that he does not know how to live. In 83-66th March wants but is incapable of freeing himself from love's burden. His mind is disturbed and cannot look ahead or back in time (78).

March's discourse becomes much more harsh and hostile in the following sequence (71, 42, 8, 47; 68th-71st). Not only does March regret his past love, he even curses his beloved and the entire female gender (71). He has forgotten what he used to find in love: women are ignorant, lustful, and lack intelligence—they are simply intended for procreation. The poetic voice admonishes lovers not to follow his path, and damns the time when he used to love women. Poem 42 is addressed to Na Montbohí. March calls her lustful, nasty, and poisonous and accuses her of being a bawd («alcavota»). While Poem 42-69th is placed next to Poem 71-68th because it is a *maldit* against a particular woman, it is tempting to consider Na Montbohí as something more in *b*'s narrative. March accuses her of being a bawd and this is precisely a common character in elegiac poetry, which most memorably Ovid cursed in his *Amores* 1.8 (see also Propertius 4.5; Tibullus 1.5; 2.6; Ovid, *Amores* 3.5). In the next poem (8), March tones down his attacks. He complains that Love is not conquered as it used to be, as a reward for one's courtly virtues. In the fifth stanza, March regrets having cursed Love and women. Women are fickle by nature; it is beyond their control, so it is not advisable to seek their love. Finally, in Poem 47 March criticizes the woman he used to love for loving a man who is not her equal. March

wonders if that may be so because her love is not virtuous. These suspicions do seem to make March's *maldit* against the old bawd relevant in this narrative, and *b*'s narrative follow an elegiac pattern: March's *maldits* recall Ovid's maledictions against Corinna for having cheated on him with another lover (3.11A-11B); and Propertius's complaints for Cynthia's betrayal (1.15; 2.6-8, 21).

Surprisingly, the following four poems stage a reconciliation with March's beloved, and his return to his amorous service (48, 25, 15, 64; 72nd-75th). With his lady loving him back again, March feels that he can amend his past mistakes. He again praises his beloved and promises her that he will love her and be faithful, for he wants to finish his days loving her (48). March remembers the time when her love pleased him so much (25). In Poem 25's *refrany* March keeps asking her to love him as she used to, now that he loves her more than ever. March still has some hope that after all that suffering, something nice might be in store for him (15), even though love seems to kindle all hearts but hers. With the arrival of spring, all animals find their equal, but that is not his case. He would like to be rewarded by his service to her, but instead she does not notice his woes and has lost his will (64). Once again, this reconciliatory section seems to be modeled on what appears to be a classical pattern. Reconciliation appears in Propertius's loves for Cynthia (1.19; 2.12-15, 25) after a betrayal like one in the former sequence (1.15; 2.6-8, 21).

Once the lover is back to going after his beloved, the next sequence deals with different characteristics of the self's continuing evolution. The poetic voice goes from feeling sadly unrequited to enjoying his love for his beloved (75, 53, 43, 16, 56, 118, 79, 57; 76th-83rd). Poem 75 is an allegorical piece in which Venus (sensual love) overpowers all mythological gods. This poem might seem to justify the change in March's feelings. He asserts that he would not pursue a love that did not leave a mark on him; his beloved is «his god,» and the only thing he asks God for is to save him from anger, which tires him out (53). He is back to being shy and afraid of showing his love to his beloved (43). He is thrilled to see her, but fears being unrequited (16). And now March recognizes that his soul is happy to long for her soul. He only begs God for his beloved's constancy and fidelity (56). The lover reaches a point where he does not need to feel reciprocated. He reckons that he loves with his flesh and his spirit, for love starts and ends in one's flesh and is utterly unpredictable (118). March then expounds on Cupid's three different arrows and their various effects; he is in love, while the beloved is not, so he senses again that his last days are approaching (79). March admires those who have sacrificed themselves in order to enjoy what is infinite in the other world instead of enduring harder times on earth. Longing for what lies ahead in the afterlife is already enjoying the afterlife (57).

In spite of the earlier reconciliation and March's renewed feelings for his beloved, a drastic break occurs in the following poems (102, 27*bis*, 65, 120, 72, 70, [74,]<sup>78</sup> 52, 117; 84th-89th, 89th bis, 90th-91st). March comes to the conclusion that his love used to involve his soul only, but now pertains exclusively to his flesh. Because of a woman who is not constant about her feelings, love provides him short, perishable pleasures (102). March warns lovers that their pleasure will change over time until it vanishes. He now loves and hates, wishes well and profoundly dislikes, experiences love and feels rage all at the same time (102, 65, 120, 70). This section is presided by another elegiac *topos*, formulated by Catullus and Ovid, whose prominence upholds a large portion of March's loves.<sup>79</sup> Like countless times before, March is nonetheless doubtful so as to what kind of love he should choose (27*bis*). Rage and Love disturb him (65).

Chronological references reappear again in Poem 120. March feels an unbearable sadness. He cannot relieve himself from the delights his body affords him. He cannot quit loving, for it is an old and well-established habit for him. And as the lover contemplates his past pleasures, he realizes that all his actions were caused by love's passion. March lost his delights because he wished for more than what pleasure could offer him, and he concludes by praying to the Virgin for her intercession in his favor: he wants to live as if he had abandoned this world.

In the next poem (72), March continues indirectly despising the evil earthly world through a hyperbolic *laudatio* to an undeclared individual –in all likelihood Alfonso the Magnanimous, but the modern identification is irrelevant. Love and Rage keep tormenting March and confuse the tone of his writings (70). March begs Love to abandon him definitively. He has been following his Appetite, while his Mind and Will have kept debating. He cannot accept this situation any longer unless his beloved finds herself in a similar position (74). March then debates with his Heart. Love only brings instability. March's Heart should not complain anymore, for it has ended up finding what it had sought, a deep sorrow (52). And 117 repeats and further extends the same lesson: March had been looking for what does not exist. He sought loyalty in a dishonorable woman. He hoped to be happy and in love, which is a contradiction. March shows disappointment. He had pursued both a virtuous and a

<sup>78</sup> I have interpreted Poem 74 in the position it was originally intended to be printed; see Chapter 5, «*Compilatio*.»

<sup>79</sup> It has been argued that in several instances March borrowed from Ovid's formulation of the «*odii et amo*» theme (*Amores* 3.11-12); see Cabré «Ovid's *Odi et amo*» and «Una altra veu d'Ausiàs March.»

pleasurable love spurred by the senses, but only the latter still haunts him. He wants this sensual love to end, but this seems hardly a possibility, since it has become a habit.

The subsequent poems continue elaborating on the lover's disappointment, and March's stance becomes increasingly palinodial as the constellation of motives that are laid out in the next poems attests (Poems 88, 61, 115, 60, 29+30, 98, 35, 59, 99, 111, 116, 119, 121; 92nd-105th). Love is over or close to an end (88). All that remains is an unbearable pain. And yet love, an old habit of his, does not allow him to die or quit loving completely (61, 115, 98, 99, 116, 121). March's feelings for his beloved continue to go from love to hate, and rage (115, 29+30, 35, 99, 116, 119). Whatever is left of love in him, involves mainly his flesh (88, 115, 74, 99, 116, 119). Love was a mistake, an error (115, 60, 98, 119). Rage that forces love to enter exile seems the best solution (59, 99, 111, 116; 100th-103th).

At last, in the three concluding poems March summarizes his ideas about love (Poems 122b, 107, and 123; 106th-108th), which have been expressed already in many of the previous poems (especially 45). What is remarkable is the point of view from which March speaks: having already lost all bodily pleasures (122b) and love's passion, he can now talk about love freely and reasonably (123, stanza 1). What is most difficult about love is getting to know it and getting rid of it, as he has done (123, stanza 9). At this point, a new chain of events will occur, but this major turning point has already been explained: March's beloved will pass away. Her death will spur March's soteriological concerns and will force him to resume his palinodial discourse in the last poems of the edition.

This review of March's complete works as printed in edition *b* makes clear that the palinodial structure that sustains Petrarch's *RVF* is pervasive throughout the *Amorós* edition –including March's «works on love.» In this sense, the overall architecture of March's loves is Petrarchist. However, it is possible to point out a few features in the story that are much more like the elegiac loves of Propertius and Ovid than those of Petrarch. First of all, Petrarch's love for Laura is never requited; neither are those of Caracciolo, Cariteo or Bembo. Boscán's first love is not requited either; only the second one is –but that is a marital love. Conversely, March's love reaches a climax of reciprocation in the middle of the section on love (85, 38; 53th-54th). Still more significantly, an anticlimax follows March's happiness that derives into sorrow and concludes in hostility and even loathing of his beloved (71-68th, 8-70th). A certain «bawd» (Na Montbohi) is mentioned and cursed (42-69th). And finally, in Poem 47, March criticizes the woman he used to love for caring for a man who

is not her equal. All this jealousy, the cursing of the beloved, and the character of the old bawd are anything but Petrarchist. These elements build up a genuinely elegiac scene like those in Ovid or Propertius. March's later reconciliation is not Petrarchist, nor is his subsequent *loving* and *hating* his beloved. In these respects, Petrarchism has proved less essential than classicism to understanding the construction of the Amorós edition of March's text.

I have argued that the changes in the order of *D*'s poems recodified March's poetry in view of editorial models that were exemplary to an Italianate and classicist sixteenth-century readership. A life-long, exemplary, and palinodial narrative based on the lover's feelings for a single lady is the global Petrarchan dimension of March's love narrative. The ups and especially the downs of March's love story as well as certain rhetorical motives point towards classical macrostructural models. Further close readings of *b*'s narrative may shed further light on additional models for other shorter sequences.

In any event, at this point it is clear that the Amorós edition of March's poetry entailed a construction of a new meaning for March's works on the basis of other distinguished models. March's «devida forma» was mostly that of the *Canzoniere*, but did not exclude Latin lyric sequences. If the word «devida» entails a sense of correction, in view of the actual models that share that form, it also seems to imply a sense of restoration. As the form and the meaning of March's poems were being restored, they were simultaneously linked to the most prestigious poetical models of that time. Printing March's works was thus also recognizing their canonicity.



CONCLUSION:  
THE TROUBADOURS, PETRARCH, AND  
AUSIÀS MARCH (1500-1650)

Focused on two sixteenth-century editions of a medieval Valencian author, this study has brought attention to how the material transformations of early modern poetic texts at different stages in their publication process –from the making of the printer’s copy, to the typesetting and editing of the book in the printing shop– entailed thorough changes in the texts’ meaning. Thanks to Navarro’s and, especially, Amorós’s edition, not only did Ausiàs March’s poetry reach a wider audience and achieved a greater popularity, but it also became assimilated to other distinct poetics of even higher authority and influence.

In spite of the various purposes these editions served to their sponsors, and despite all the differences between the cultural milieus of their places of birth, the degree of mutual awareness between each venue of textual production is remarkable. Comparably little time elapsed between the printing of Navarro’s edition and the making of a clean manuscript copy of March’s works in Barcelona, incorporating a collation with Romaní’s translation (manuscript *B*). Less than five months went by between the printing of Amorós’s 1545 edition and Lluís Carròs de Vilaragut’s prologue to a Valencian manuscript (*E*) mentioning the two editions printed in Barcelona. Notwithstanding all the discrepancies between Navarro’s and Amorós’s versions of March –the former in debt with *cancionero* poetry, the latter with classical models– Petrarch’s role in the overall shaping of both editions adumbrates similar interpretive communities that appear to have been very much in contact and in tune. Either due to intrinsic qualities of March’s poetry –some of which may have been appreciated earlier, such as March’s cycle «on death»– or due to a sixteenth-century readership increasingly more knowledgeable of, and fascinated by, Petrarch’s poetry, March’s «Petrarchization» would continue to be noticed beyond Barcelona and Valencia.

Poets Fernando de Herrera (1534-97) and Antonio de Lomas Cantoral (1542-1600) borrowed from March’s initial poems, following the order set by the Amorós edition, in order to write their own prefatory compositions. They both carried out authentic composite *imitationes*, mixing Petrarchan and Marchian prefatory references.<sup>1</sup> During the second half of the century, a contro-

<sup>1</sup> See Rozas; and Cabré, «Un lugar de Petrarca.» For composite *imitatio* in Spanish poetry, see Lázaro Carreter, «Imitación compuesta.»

versy arose concerning the genealogy of March's works. Short references by authors such as Jerónimo Arbolanche,<sup>2</sup> Fray Tomás Quijada,<sup>3</sup> Luis Tribaldos de Toledo,<sup>4</sup> Juan López de Hoyos,<sup>5</sup> Diego de Saavedra Fajardo,<sup>6</sup> Pomponio Torelli, and Vicent Mariner<sup>7</sup> bear witness to discussions occurring from the 1560s to 1630s about March's debts to Petrarch and, especially, supposed Petrarchan debts to March. These assumptions are, unfortunately, not much argued.

A better-informed discussion on this genealogical issue appears in the marginalia contained in rare book 3192 at the Biblioteca Nacional de España. This is a copy of the Amorós edition I have mentioned before, since one of its readers identified March's actual borrowings from Petrarch in the prefatory sequence of the Amorós edition (see Chapter 6, nn. 55 and 57). This reader extensively glossed many of the words that he did not understand and updated Amorós's

<sup>2</sup> «Ni sé hacer versos que ninguno entienda, / Como Ausías Marc, en lengua lemosina; / Que cosa suya no hay, que no descienda / De aquella vena de Petrarca fina; / Que si él trata de *Amor*, de aquella suerte / El otro, y por lo mismo de la *Muerte* / Ni traducillo yo jamás supiera / Tan torpemente como el Lusitano; / ni sé hacer *Cancioneros* de manera / que mezcle lo divino con lo humano»; prefatory verses to his pastoral romance *Los nueve libros de las Habidas*, published in 1566.

<sup>3</sup> «Don Gaspar Romaní porque ha emprendido / traduzir con la pluma mal cortada / a Osias March divino... / mas es copia muy tosca y muy pesada / la que nota [que] á Petrarca había seguido; / la verdad es que á él siguió Petrarca / y de Ausias March es todo cuanto abarca»; 1577 preface to Bartolomé de Villalbas y Estaña's *Pelegrino curioso y grandezas de España* (1: 32); qtd. in Pagès, *Auzias March*, 415, n. 1.

<sup>4</sup> «...doctissimus vir Ludovicus Tribaldus Toletus, haec fere falta esse certissimis comprobavit conjecturis, a quo hujus Poetae tempora vero suscepimus ordine. Fuit igitur Ausias Marchus familiaris eques & socius Regis Jacobi Aragonij [1208-76], qui vibem Valentiam Mauris eripuit... Sed enim praedictus Tribaldus mihi hanc de hac re liberavit fidem, se Neapoli ab Alphonso de Velasco nobili didicisse, illum impense affirmare in egregia Ducis Florentiae Bibliotheca libros quosdam ipsa Petrarchae manu, cum Ausiae Marchi carminibus conscriptus vidisse» (Mariner 511-12). Mariner quotes Pere Antoni Beuter's fabrication of Petrarch's alleged borrowing from Jordi de Sant Jordi and Sant Jordi's temporary precedence over Petrarch (see Valsalobre, «Història d'una superxeria»), but replaces Sant Jordi with March.

<sup>5</sup> «En lo que toca a sus conceptos, es tan subido, que los de muy delicado juyzio creen que Petrarca tomo muchos de los muy delicados que tiene deste autor»; «Parecer» of the 1579 edition of Montemayor's and Romaní's translation of March's works (f. 2r).

<sup>6</sup> «Ausías March escribió en lengua lemosina y se mostró ingeniosísimo en las teóricas y especulaciones de amor, y aún dio pensamientos a Petrarca para que con pluma más elegante los ilustrase e hiciese suyos»; Saavedra Fajardo 137. Saavedra Fajardo's first version of the *República literaria* dates ca. 1613-20.

<sup>7</sup> In the prologue to his Latin translation of Ausiàs March (1633), Mariner also mentions Pomponio Torelli's *Trattato del debito del caualliero* (1596), in which, in one instance, Torelli deems a verse from «Cant. 3 Amor» (Poem 66) to have inspired Petrarch: «...non habbia poi a dire co'l Petrarca imitando in cio a Osia March: «Tempo non mi para de far riparo» (Torelli 102; bk. 2, pt. 3).

text in view of several features of Juan de Resa's 1555 edition, including the life of the poet. Next to his identification of March's debt with the *RVF* (Poem 66, v. 43), the late sixteenth-century reader wrote:

[I] Petrarcha al primer soneto. / [E]ra il gior noche al sol siscolo<raro> / [Un]os <que> han vist<o> poco dizen <que> / [P]etrarca se aprouecho en sus / [ob]ras deste poeta, y es falso / [al] rebes por que'l petrarca / [mu]rio en los años del señor / [1]374. en t<iem>po del Empera / [d]or Carlos. 4. Y del Papa gre / gorio .xi. Y este autor el año / 1453. siendo Papa/ [E]ugenio. 3. yen el t<iem>po dela <con> / [qu]lista de Napoles quando no / [h]abia parte que no estubiesse / allena del Petrarca (f. 3v)

Petrarch in his first sonnet *Era il giorno che al sol si scoloraro*. Some, who have not seen much, say that Petrarch borrowed from this poet [March]. This is false. On the contrary: Petrarch died in 1374 A.D., in the time of Emperor Charles IV, when Gregory XI was Pope. And this author [March, died] in 1453, while Eugenius III was Pope, in the time of the conquest of Naples, when there was no place that was not full of Petrarch.

This reader's marginalia, which identified one of the underpinnings of Amorós's macrostructure, further attests to ongoing discussions fostered by the circulation of March's works in a form akin to a *canzoniere*.

Considering March's poetic stature during the reign of Alfonso the Magnanimous and the under-researched reception of his works between the early reign of Ferdinand the Catholic and the early years of Charles V on the throne,<sup>8</sup> it is daunting to examine the causes of March's regained prominence, first, in the mid-1530s, at the hands of Garcilaso and Boscán, whose works were not widely disseminated until 1543;<sup>9</sup> and, second, through the editorial reshap-

<sup>8</sup> See Pagès, *Auzias March* 393-422.

<sup>9</sup> Note that Boscán's and Garcilaso's earlier imitations of March were naturally much less disseminated before their joint edition by Amorós in 1543. Neither Romaní nor Pedrol convey that they had translated or intended to edit, respectively, a popular author –Navarro's frontispiece epithet «famosísimo» should be read as a simple marketing strategy. Romaní wrote: «Pues como ya la experiencia del mundo y mi edad me retruxessen en los baxos techos de mi casa, buscando algunos libros en que leyesse, halle entre los otros las moralidades de Osias Marco, cauallero Ualenciano, en verso limosin escritas.» While Romaní seemed to have almost accidentally run into March's works in the privacy of his home, Pedrol's application for a printing license clearly shows concern that March's works had been almost lost: «las obras de Ausias March, poeta catalan, que, en muchas partes derramadas y casi perdidas, se hallavan nunca hasta agora impresas y aquellas corregir de muchos vicios que, por descuydo de los escriptores, en ellas avia, á fin que assi correctas, juntas y reduzidas á su devida forma se imprimiessen y a la memoria de tan digno varon jamas se perdiessen.» In 1560, printer Claudi Bornat dedicated his re-edition of March's works to Ferrando de Cardona. Bornat began his dedicatory praising Ferrando for having rescued March's

ing of March's poetry in the late 1530s and early 40s by means of Navarro's and Amorós's editions. It seems, however, that the close link between March's works and Petrarch's vernacular poetry could have contributed to March's recovered stardom. As claimed by Cabré and Torró, the fifteenth-century MS tradition already showed clear signs of March's accommodation to Petrarchan macrotextual patterns, including a prefatory reading for March's widely imitated Poem 1.<sup>10</sup> Boscán (in part) and Garcilaso did work over his Marchian imitations from MS copies. Before and after Navarro's and Amorós's editions, fifteenth-century Marchian codices were also perused by their sixteenth-century owners, some of which remarked on key features of March's *macrotesto*.<sup>11</sup>

The controversy regarding March's genealogical precedence over Petrarch could indeed have predated—or be contemporary to—the Petrarchan features of March's printed editions that stimulated March's reaching again a canonical status. Beginning in the sixteenth century, works written in Old Catalan were often referred to as written in «llemosí» 'Limousin.' On account of this misconception, medieval Catalan often became undistinguished from medieval Occitan.<sup>12</sup> That was also the case for March's works. Translators Romani, Jorge de Montemayor, and Vicent Mariner, as well as editors like Juan de Resa referred to March's language as Limousin, and mentioned its difficulty or obscurity. As discussed in Chapter 5, Amorós's printing shop added glosses to March's obscure words.<sup>13</sup> The sheer number of authors who refer to March as a Limousin or Provençal author<sup>14</sup> include the revelatory case of

works from the unfavorable fortune March had enjoyed until his sponsored editions: «Per molt cert se te que la occasio, que principalment vingue a vostra Señoria Illustrissima de manar que les obres de Ausias March fossen estampades, nasque mes de compasio que de desdeny: veent clarament que la fortuna no sols contenta de subuertir los estats, y la felicitat dels homens, e altres coses a ella suietes: mas encara la memoria nostra, los fruyts del ingeni, y finalment tot allo, que per vencer la mort, la humana industria ha trobat, presumesca allargarhi la sua ma: par cosa per cert molt stranya y diuersa del desig qui escriu.»

<sup>10</sup> See Cabré and Torró, «'Perché alcun ordine'»; Cabré, «Algunes imitacions»; Torró, «Cançoner de Saragossa.»

<sup>11</sup> See Chapter 6, «The making of March's beloved.» For additions introduced in a few of March's MSS in view of printed editions, see Martos «La copia completa y la restauración parcial.»

<sup>12</sup> See Colón, «Llemosí i llengua d'oc»; Rafanell; and Duran, «Defensa de la pròpia tradició» 250-56.

<sup>13</sup> See Colón «Els vocabularis.» It should be reminded that Carles Amorós was originally from Provence; Madurell and Rubió 37.

<sup>14</sup> Including Joan Ferrandis d'Heredia (before 1549), Nicolás Espinosa (1555), Jerónimo Arbolanche (1566), Pedro Argote de Molina (1575), Luys Santángel y de Proxita (1579), Jaime Guiral (1579), Diego de Saavedra Fajardo (1613-20); see also Pagès, *Auzias March* 413-22; Duran, «Defensa de la pròpia tradició» 251-56.

Federigo Ubaldini, who published in 1640 Francesco da Barberino's *Documenti d'amori* (1309-13). Ubaldini's edition includes a «TAVOLA / Delle voci, e maniere di parlare più / considerabili vfate nell'opera» («Table containing the most important words and idioms used in the work»), in which March appears as one of the quoted «Autori Provenzali,» along Arnaut Daniel or Bertran de Born. Ubaldini employed March's verses to document and gloss expressions used by Barberino.<sup>15</sup> Of course, not all references to March's language conflated his Catalan with the so-called *Limousin*, nor did they confuse his works with those of a troubadour. Boscán, as it has been already noted, distinguished Catalan from Occitan authors in the prefatory letter to the second book of his *Obras*.<sup>16</sup> In the above-cited fragment, Boscán was trying to trace the noble lineage of the *endecasílabo* all the way back to ancient Greek authors. He paused, though, in the alleged mediation of the «Provençal poets.» The Occitan-Catalan *decasil·lab* in which March wrote his poetry was indeed far from Petrarch's *endecasílabo* (Ramírez i Molas «El decasíl·lab»). But a syllable count that disregarded the Occitan-Catalan conventions (i.e., counting up to the last stressed syllable) and followed the Castilian tradition (i.e., counting up to the post-tonic syllable) would indeed find eleven syllables in March's poetry, which could therefore be (over)interpreted as a precedent of the *endecasílabo*.<sup>17</sup>

Occitan precedents for Petrarch's poetry were also held in much esteem by one of Boscán's authorial sources of his *epístola*: Pietro Bembo. As studied by Debenedetti, in the Italian *Cinquecento* emerged a keen interest in the study of the troubadours. For one thing, humanistic studies of Petrarch's vernacular poetry in the 1500s unveiled and overestimated Petrarch's knowledge

<sup>15</sup> March was listed as «Catalano, che scrisse in Limosino, stampato» (f. \*4v). March is quoted to exemplify the usage of words *ades*, *crema*, and *faessi*.

<sup>16</sup> Another example would be that of humanist Claude Dupuy, who in 1579 clarified Gian Vincenzo Pinelli that March's works were not written in Limousin, but in Catalan. Dupuy also sent Pinelli a copy of March's original works. Pinelli eventually owned also the 1562 edition of Montemayor's translation (Debenedetti 160-62; Raugei 2: 584-85). Not all medieval Catalan works were thought to be written in Limousin. It is of note the following passage belonging to Boscán's Spanish translation (1534) of Castiglione's *Cortésano* (1528): «No fue deshechado 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» (bk. 1, par. 34). This text was originally included in the second Canossa version of the book, not the first printed edition from 1528 (Zorzi Pugliese 145). This naturally means that Boscán translated a manuscript copy of the *Cortésano*, which could well have been a present to him or to the emperor.

<sup>17</sup> See Duran, who conjectured that Román's main intention could have been adapting the Italian *endecasílabo* into Spanish («La valoració renaixentista» 96-98).

of Occitan poetry. Mario Equicola, for instance, declared Petrarch a disciple of Arnaut Daniel and Folquet de Marselha. Alessandro Vellutello glossed extensively the Petrarchan references to troubadours in the fourth of his *Triumphus amoris* –one of these references was, by the way, included as marginalia in March's manuscript *N* by a sixteenth-century reader.<sup>18</sup> For another thing, as Bembo argued in the first book of the *Prose della volgar lingua*, Italian was believed by many to descend from Provençal. Angelo Colocci, to give another example, thought he observed in Dante and Petrarch the influence of the Limousin lexicon, considering it to be a conflation of Occitan and Catalan.<sup>19</sup> Bembo himself, by virtue of these ideas, participated in a failed project that aimed to edit an extensive book of Occitan troubadour poetry. Earlier Neapolitan admirers of the troubadours included none other than the Catalan poet in Italian language Benet Garret il Cariteo –owner of a *Libro limosino*, coveted by Colocci, and translator of Folquet de Marselha– and Garret's nephew Bartolomeo Cassasagia, translator of Arnaut Daniel.

In view of this intellectual climate and the genealogical ideas regarding the history of Romance languages, both in Italy and Spain, March's *Limousin* verses, which very rarely featured imitations of Petrarch, could be considered a source for the Italian poet, even before March's verses were editorially arranged in view of the *RVF*.<sup>20</sup> March's vast corpus, early textual tradition, and possibly more abundant textual witnesses and progeny set in all likelihood the right conditions for March to be appreciated not only for aesthetic reasons, but also because of the particular cultural relevance that his own verses had in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Spain, as well as in humanistic circles across Europe.

<sup>18</sup> This marginalia, however, appears in the section of the MS devoted to Pere Torroella, specifically by v. 580 of Torroella's «Tant mon voler s'es dat a'mors.» In f. 150v, on the left margin, right by the stanza in which Vaqueres is quoted: «de Vaqueres - / st de Vaqueres pot / sia Rimbaldo del / I fa mencio Petrarcha / lo triumfo de Amor / -. y fon cl fill de / [p]obre cavaller de / [?]chiese[?] castell de / [Pro]uen sa [se?] nomena / altrament Pairops.» This note refers to Vellutello's own: «L'altro Raimbaldo fu figliolo d'un pouero Cauallero de Vac / Chieres, castello in Prouenza, e domandauasi altramente Pairops, & era tenuto poco prudente» (f. 177r).

<sup>19</sup> «...tanti monstri di parole che sono in Dante, et non poche in Petrarca, di tutto la cagion è stata la imitatione, ché poche parole vi sono, che non siano o degli antiqui Siculi, o de Lemosini, o di vicini al Lemosisni; chiamo Siculi tutti quelli che sursero oltra al Faro et di qua, chiamo Lemosini tutti Francesi [de] Provenza et Catalogna» (qtd. in Debenedetti 135).

<sup>20</sup> A similar phenomenon happened to Jordi de Sant Jordi, whose noticed borrowing from one of Petrarch's poems triggered the same misguided genealogical judgments, if only far less editorially or poetically productive (Valsalobre, «Història d'una superxeria»).

## APPENDICES



I. BOSCÁN, ROMANÍ,  
AND MARCH'S POEM I

LEGEND:

xxxxx: text coming exclusively from March's original text.

xxxxx: text coming from Romaní's translation.

Axi com cell quen lo somnys delita  
E son delit de foll pensament ve  
Ne pren a mi quel temps passat me te  
*Limaginar* que altre be noy habita  
*Sentint venir laguayt de ma dolor*  
Sabent de cert quen sens mans he de jaure  
Temps de venir en ningun bem pot caure  
So ques no res en mi es lo millor  
(March, Poem 1, vv. 1-8)

Bien como aquel quen sueños **deuanea**  
Y se deleyta del **vano** pensamiento  
Assi me tiene el contemplar contento  
**Quen otro bien mi** alma no recrea  
Lo por venir siempre me fue peor  
Y se muy cierto que de dar en sus manos  
**Quanto** bien tengo son pensamientos **vanos**  
Lo que no es nada en mi es lo mejor  
(Romaní)

Como aquel que'n soñar gusto recibe,  
su gusto procediendo de locura,  
así el *imaginar*, con su figura,  
**vanamente** su gozo en mí concive.  
**Otro bien, en mí**, triste, no se escribe,  
si no es aquel que mi pensar procura:  
de **cuanto** ha sido hecho en mi ventura,  
lo solo imaginado es lo que bive.  
Teme mi corazón d'ir adelante,  
*viendo'star su dolor puesto en celada*,  
y así rebuelve atrás en un instante  
a contemplar su gloria ya pasada.  
¡O **sombra\*** de remedio inconstante!:  
ser en mí lo mejor lo que no es nada.  
(Boscán, Poem 105)

**sombra\***: cf. Romaní, v. 10: «Y amo la **sombra** pues todo es fenescido»

Al temps *passat* me trobe *gran amor*  
Amant no res puix tot es ja finit  
*Daquest pensar me sojorn em delit*  
Mas quant lo pert sesforsa ma dolor  
(March 1, vv. 9-12)

Pensando en lo pasado, de medroso,  
hállome gran amor dentro en mi pecho;  
bien sé que lo pasado es ya deshecho,  
mas da el maginallo algún reposo.  
*De descansar estoy tan deseoso*  
que para reposar doquiera m'echo;  
donde'spero descanso, allí es mi lecho,  
aunque sea el descanso mentiroso.

A lo que fue tengo infinito amor  
 Y amo la sombra pues todo es fenescido  
 Tiempos de mal fueron los que han sido  
 Mas en perdellos estaua lo peor

(Romaní)

Mas este descansar, siendo tan **vano\***,  
 ha d'acabarse'n muy breve momento;  
 y el triste recordar está en la mano.  
 He de bolver a mi dolor temprano;  
 la cuenta de'sto es tal que no la cuento;  
 mas hallo lo que pierdo y lo que gano.

(Boscán, Poem 106)

**vano\***: cf. Romaní v. 2 and 7: «**vano** pensamiento» and «pensamientos **vanos**»

Si com aquell qui es *jutjat a mort*  
 E de llonch temps la sap e saconorta  
 E creurel fan que li sera estorta  
 El fan morir sens vn punt de *recort*.

(March, Poem 1, vv. 13-16)

Soy como aquel a muerte **condenado**  
 Que de gran tiempo la tiene ya **tragada**  
 Si le **asseguran** que sera reuocada  
 Quando le matan **sient** el morir doblado  
 (Romaní)

Como'l triste que a *muerte'stá juzgado*,  
 y desto es sabidor de cierta ciencia,  
 y la **traga** y la toma en paciencia,  
 poniéndo's'al morir determinado;  
 tras esto dízenle que's perdonado,  
 y'stando así se halla en su presencia  
 el fuerte secutor de la sentencia  
 con ánimo y cuchillo aparejado:  
 así yo, **condenado** a mi tormento,  
 de tenelle **tragado\*** no me duelo,  
 pero, después, si el falso pensamiento  
 me da **seguridad**, d'algún *consuelo*,  
 bolviendo el mal, mi triste **sentimiento**  
 queda embuelto en su sangre por el suelo.

(Boscán, 108)

\***tragado**: cf. Alonso («Ausiàs March I, 13-16» 256-57)

Plagues a deu que mon pensar fos mort  
 E que passas ma vida en durment  
 Malament viu qui te son pensament  
 Per enemich fent li de mals aport  
 Que com lo vol dalgun plaher seruir  
 Prenlin axí com dona ab son infant  
 Que si veri li demana plorant  
 Ha tant poch seny que nol sab contradir.  
 (March, Poem 1, vv. 17-24)

¡O si acabase mi pensar sus días,  
 o fuese d'eternal sueño oprimido!  
**No es bien bivar**, trayéndome'l **sentido**  
 pesadas y continas chismeras:  
 o me carga de tristes fantasías  
**o me da el bien tan corto y tan**  
**medido\***  
 que me'spanto de que s'an mantenido,  
 con su tanto *gastar\**, las penas mías.

Pluguesse a dios que mi pensar muriesse  
**O** que mi vida se passasse durmiendo  
 Que **no es biuir** el que biue **sintiendo**  
 Dentro de si quien su despecho crece  
 Tanto por vos mi pensamiento quise  
 Que contra mi le ydo contentando  
 Como la madre que si el niño llorando  
 Pide veneno no se lo contradize

(Romaní, 17-24)

Com hermita que enyorament nol creix  
 Daquells amichs que hauia en lo mon  
 Tant ha llonch temps que en lo poblat no fon  
 Per cas furtuit hu dells li apareix  
 Qui los *plabers* passats li *renouella*  
 Si quel passat present li fa tornar  
 Mas com sen part les forçat congoxar  
 Lo be com fuig ab grans crits mal apella.

(March, Poem I, vv. 33-40)

El hermitaño questa en lo despoblado  
 Fuera **del mundo y de** quanto en el huuo  
 Si **algun amigo** vehe de los que **tuuo**  
 Y entre los dos **remiembran lo pasado**  
 Quanto plazer de tal memoria **siente**  
 Tanto pesar al departir le cabe  
 El bien que huye a su contrario sabe  
 Despues de ydo queda por mal presente.

(Romaní)

Viéndome Amor gemir de fatigado,  
 sobre'sto de mi mal me'stá acallando;  
 mas aun conmigo en esto se desmide,  
 como madre con hijo regalado,  
 que si le pide rejalgar, llorando,  
 no sabe sino dalle lo que pide.  
 (Boscán, Poem 109)

**o me da el bien tan corto y tan medido\***: cf. Romaní, v. 26: «Que con gran mal **pequeño bien** juntar»

*gastar\**: March, tornada vv. 41-42: Plena de seny, quant amor es molt vella, / absença es lo verme que la *guasta*, (cf. Cabré, «Imitacions i traduccions» 64, n. 8).

Soy como aquel que vive en el desierto,  
**del mundo y de** sus cosas olvidado,  
 y a descuido veis donde l'ha llegado  
 un **gran amigo**, al cual **tuvo** por muerto.  
 Teme luego d'un caso tan incierto;  
 pero, después que bien s'ha asegurado,  
 comienza a holgar **pensando en**

**lo pasado,**

con *nuevos sentimientos* muy despierto.  
 Mas cuando ya este amigo se le parte,  
 al cual partirse presto le conviene,  
 la soledad empieça a selle nueva;  
 con las yervas del monte no s'aviene;  
 para'l yermo le falta toda el arte;  
 y tiembla cada vez que'ntra en su cueva.

(Boscán, Poem 111)



## 2. LOCATION OF THE POEMS PRINTED BY JUAN NAVARRO

**LEGEND:**

[X]: Printing form number within each quire.

Xr / Xv: Folio number, recto o verso, from Navarro's edition.

: X / : X\* : Poem number X, starting at the page where it has been located.

Only poems with a \* have been collated.

**a (ff. 1-8)**

[1] f. 1r  
[2] 1v  
[3] 2r: 1\*  
[4] 2v  
[5] 3r: 2\*  
[6] 3v  
[7] 4r  
[8] 4v: 4\*  
[8] 5r  
[7] 5v  
[6] 6r: 9\*  
[5] 6v  
[4] 7r  
[3] 7v: 10\*  
[2] 8r  
[1] 8v: 13\*

**b (ff. 9-16)**

[1] 9r  
[2] 9v  
[3] 10r: 14\*  
[4] 10v  
[5] 11r: 87  
[6] 11v  
[7] 12r  
[8] 12v  
[8] 13r  
[7] 13v  
[6] 14r

[5] 14v  
[4] 15r  
[3] 15v  
[2] 16r  
[1] 16v

**c (ff. 17-24)**

[1] 17r  
[2] 17v  
[3] 18r  
[4] 18v  
[5] 19r  
[6] 19v: 18\*  
[7] 20r  
[8] 20v: 46\*  
[8] 21r  
[7] 21v  
[6] 22r  
[5] 22v: 71  
[4] 23r  
[3] 23v: 8\*  
[2] 24r  
[1] 24v

**d (ff. 25-32)**

[1] 25r: 23\*  
[2] 25v  
[3] 26r: 98  
[4] 26v  
[5] 27r

[6] 27v  
[7] 28r  
[8] 28v: 91  
[8] 29r  
[7] 29v  
[6] 30r  
[5] 30v: 45\*  
[4] 31r  
[3] 31v  
[2] 32r  
[1] 32v

**e (ff. 33-40)**

[1] 33r  
[2] 33v: 66  
[3] 34r  
[4] 34v  
[5] 35r: 85  
[6] 35v  
[7] 36r  
[8] 36v  
[8] 37r: 89  
[7] 37v  
[6] 38r: 77  
[5] 38v  
[4] 39r  
[3] 39v: 5\*  
[2] 40r  
[1] 40v: 22\*

**f (ff. 41-48)**

- [1] 41r
- [2] 41v: 15\*
- [3] 42r
- [4] 42v
- [5] 43r: 61
- [6] 43v
- [7] 44r: 34\*
- [8] 44v
- [8] 45r
- [7] 45v: 33\*
- [6] 46r
- [5] 46v: 16\*
- [4] 47r
- [3] 47v: 17\*
- [2] 48r
- [1] 48v

**g (ff. 49-56)**

- [1] 49r
- [2] 49v: 106
- [3] 50r
- [4] 50v
- [5] 51r
- [6] 51v
- [7] 52r
- [8] 52v
- [8] 53r
- [7] 53v
- [6] 54r
- [5] 54v
- [4] 55r
- [3] 55v
- [2] 56r
- [1] 56v

**h (ff. 57-64)**

- [1] 57r
- [2] 57v
- [3] 58r
- [4] 58v
- [5] 59r
- [6] 59v

- [7] 60r
- [8] 60v
- [8] 61r
- [7] 61v
- [6] 62r
- [5] 62v
- [4] 63r
- [3] 63v: 102\*
- [2] 64r
- [1] 64v

**i (ff. 65-72)**

- [1] 65r
- [2] 65v
- [3] 66r
- [4] 66v
- [5] 67r
- [6] 67v
- [7] 68r
- [8] 68v
- [8] 69r
- [7] 69v
- [6] 70r
- [5] 70v: 26\*
- [4] 71r
- [3] 71v
- [2] 72r: 100\*
- [1] 72v

**k (ff. 73-80)**

- [1] 73r
- [2] 73v
- [3] 74r
- [4] 74v
- [5] 75r
- [6] 75v
- [7] 76r
- [8] 76v
- [8] 77r
- [7] 77v
- [6] 78r
- [5] 78v
- [4] 79r: 92

- [3] 79v
- [2] 80r
- [1] 80v

**l (ff. 81-88)**

- [1] 81r
- [2] 81v
- [3] 82r
- [4] 82v
- [5] 83r
- [6] 83v
- [7] 84r
- [8] 84v
- [8] 85r: 94
- [7] 85v
- [6] 86r
- [5] 86v
- [4] 87r
- [3] 87v
- [2] 88r
- [1] 88v

**m (ff. 89-96)**

- [1] 89r: 93\*
- [2] 89v
- [3] 90r
- [4] 90v
- [5] 91r
- [6] 91v
- [7] 92r: 90\*
- [8] 92v
- [8] 93r
- [7] 93v
- [6] 94r: 88\*
- [5] 94v
- [4] 95r
- [3] 95v
- [2] 96r: 57\*
- [1] 96v

**n (ff. 97-104)**

- [1] 97r: 96\*
- [2] 97v
- [3] 98r

- [4] 98v: 95\*
- [5] 99r
- [6] 99v
- [7] 100r
- [8] 100v: 97
- [8] 101r
- [7] 101v
- [6] 102r
- [5] 102v: 114\*
- [4] 103r
- [3] 103v
- [2] 104r: 105\*
- [1] 104v

**o (ff. 105-12)**

- [1] 105r
- [2] 105v

- [3] 106r
- [4] 106v
- [5] 107r
- [6] 107v
- [7] 108r
- [8] 108v
- [8] 109r: 104
- [7] 109v
- [6] 110r
- [5] 110v
- [4] 111r
- [3] 111v
- [2] 112r
- [1] 112v

**p (ff. 113-20)**

- [1] 113r

- [2] 113v
- [3] 114r
- [4] 114v
- [5] 115r
- [6] 115v
- [7] 116r
- [8] 116v
- [8] 117r
- [7] 117v: 105
- [6] 118r
- [5] 118v: 115 i 113 (the end of the poem coincides with that of the folio)
- [4] 119r
- [3] 119v
- [2] 120r
- [1] 120v



### 3. MANUSCRIPTS AND EDITIONS CONTAINING MARCH'S WORKS

- [A] Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris. MS Espagnol 225.  
Date: *post* 1461 (cf. Beltran, *Poesia, escriptura*, 91-126; Torrò, *Introducció general* 29-30).
- [B] Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris. MS Espagnol 479.  
Date: according to the colophon, May 9, 1541.
- [C] Biblioteca del Escorial, Madrid. Ms.Liij.26. [Copy of c].  
Date: *post* December 1545 (cf. Pere Ramírez i Molas, «Un manuscrit inèdit»).
- [D] Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid. MS 2985. [*b*'s printer's copy]  
Date: *ante* March 1543 (see Chapter 6).
- [E] Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid. MS 3695.  
Date: according to the prologue, *ca* May 1546.
- [F] Biblioteca General Històrica de la Universidad de Salamanca. MS 2244.  
Date: ca. 1460-70 (cf. Beltran, *Poesia, escriptura* 159-61).
- [G] Biblioteca Històrica de la Universitat de València. MS 210. [Factitious codex, divided into four different parts: *G*<sup>1</sup>, *G*<sup>2</sup>, *G*<sup>3</sup>, *G*<sup>4</sup>].  
Date: *G*<sup>1</sup> dates from the last quarter of the fifteenth century; the rest date from the first half of the sixteenth century (cf. Josep Lluís Martos, «Cuadernos y génesis;» Beltran, *Poesia, escriptura* 161-65; and Martos, «La gènesi del cançoner *G* d'Ausiàs March»).
- [H] Biblioteca Universitaria de Zaragoza. MS 210.  
Date: ca. 1461 (cf. Torrò, «El *Cançoner de Saragossa*»).
- [I] Biblioteca de Catalunya, Barcelona. MS 10. [Copy of A].  
Date: 1460s, *post* A. (cf. Beltran, *Poesia, escriptura* 126-44).
- [K] Biblioteca de Catalunya, Barcelona. MS 2025.  
Date: according to the colophon, April 25, 1542.
- [L] Biblioteca de Catalunya, Barcelona. MS 9.  
Date: last third of the fifteenth century (cf. Francisco J. Rodríguez Riquete, *Vida y obra*, LXXXI-LXXXIV, and Torrò, «Introducció general,» 30).
- [M] Biblioteca de l'Ateneu Barcelonès, Barcelona. MS 1.  
Date: last third of the fifteenth century (cf. Francisco J. Rodríguez Riquete, *Vida y obra*, LXXXIV-XC, and Torrò, *Introducció general* 30).
- [N] Hispanic Society of America, New York. MS 2281.  
Date: ca. 1470-80 (cf. Beltran, *Poesia, escriptura* 174-77).
- [O] Trinity College Library, Cambridge, UK. MS R. 14-17.

Date: end of fifteenth century / beginning of the sixteenth (Martos, «El còdex de Cambridge.»)

[a] Valencia, Juan Navarro, March 10, 1539.

[b] Barcelona, Carles Amorós, December 22, 1543.

[c] Barcelona, Carles Amorós, December 22, 1545.

[d] Valladolid, Sebastián Martínez, February 20, 1555.

[e] Barcelona, Claudi Bornat, 1560.

4. POEM 57 AS PRINTED  
IN JUAN NAVARRO'S EDITION

I. Bohigas's text (vv. 9-32).

II  
Algu la pren e reb nom de mesqui, 9  
fugint perill qui l'es davant posat; 10  
altre sera de cor nobl'animat, 11  
que vol morir per la valor de si: 12  
venint en mans d'enemich seu potent, 13  
sobrat lo cors, guerrej'ab lo voler; 14  
de vencedor encara-s veu poder: 15  
vol perdre-l cors, per l'esperit vencent. 16

III  
Jesus en creu fon pus fort e potent 17  
que no aquells qui-ll feren mort pasar, 18  
car son voler no-l feren cambiar 19  
ne fon complit lur dampnat penssament. 20  
No roman fart lo forçador del cors 21  
si voluntat per cas semblant no força, 22  
ans es vencent aquell qui tant s'esforça, 23  
que de la mort no vol tembre son mos. 24

IV  
Del viure lonch ja sent lo gran repos 25  
qui d'aquest curt lo viure avorreix; 26  
e la dolor de la mort se parteix 27  
com lo qui mor compte de mort ha clos. 28  
Ladonchs virtut la força multiplica 29  
del virtuos, qui 's opinio ferma 30  
en qualque part on virtut lo conferma, 31  
que sol a Deu de l'esperit suplich. 32

2. Text *a*. Verse numbers correspond to the text transmitted by the rest of the tradition. The number of stanza relates to the text printed by Juan Navarro.

II	
Algu pren mort e reb nom de mezqui	9
Fugint perill qui les dauant posat	10
Altre sera de cor noble animat	11
Que vol morir per la dolor de si;	12
Venint en mans de enemich seu potent	13
Sobrat lo cos guerreja ab lo voler	14
De uensedor encaras veu poder	15
Uol perdrel cos per lesperit vensent.	16

III	
Del viure llonch ja sent lo gran repos	25
Qui daquest carcre lo viure auorreix	26
E la dolor dela mort se parteix	27
Com loqui mor comptes de mort a clos;	28
Lladonchs virtut la forsa multiplica	29
Del virtuos quie sa peticio ferma	30
En qualque part on virtut la conferma	31
E sol a deu del sperit suplica.	32

3. Text *Ro*. Verse numbers correspond to the text transmitted by the rest of the tradition. The number of stanza relates to the text printed by Juan Navarro.

II	
Algunos toman muerte couardeando	9
Por apartarse del peligro en questan	10
Otros tan nobles y animosos seran	11
Que morir quieren su valor aumentano;	12
No pienso yo que queda vencedor	21
Quien vancel cuerpo si voluntad no fuerça	22
Mas la victoria es daquel que sesfuerça	23
A bien morir venciendo su temor.	24

III	
Ya se reposa dela larga jornada	25
Quien de la vida su carcel aborrece	26

Y dela muerte el gran dolor descrece;	27
Tener conella la cuenta rematada	28
Alli virtud sus fuerças multiplica	29
En el virtuoso que su peticion firma	30
Enel consejo que la bondad confirma	31
Daquel que a dios por su ola suplica.	32



## 5. COLLATION OF NAVARRO'S TEXTS

1) *a, Ro* || *alii*

1.1) *a, Ro* || *alii*

Poem 2, v. 9

Moltes, *FABKa*; Muchas, *Ro* || Mes  
ales, *N*; Mas ales, *DEG<sup>2</sup>Lbcde*

Poem 5, v. 2

es fet subtil, *a*; se hizo muy delgado, *Ro*  
|| es suptil, *FNDEKLbcde*; es soptil, *AB*;  
es sotil *canvia en G<sup>1</sup>*

Poem 5, v. 8

No ve d'amor, *a*; de parte de desamor  
venir, *Ro* || Nos ueramor, *FNADG<sup>1</sup>KL*  
*bcde*; no es amor, *E*

Poem 8, v. 8

**Ni eneste** tiempo ni cuando el florescia,  
*Ro*; **Ni en aquest temps** ni quant fauor  
hauia, *a*] **Passa lo temps** quel bo fauor  
hauia, *FNBDEG<sup>2</sup>G<sup>1</sup>HKbcde*

Poem 8, v. 33

**si** he contramor hablado, *Ro*; **si** damor  
he mal dit, *a* || **com** damor he mal dit  
*FNBDEG<sup>2</sup>G<sup>1</sup>HKbcde*

Poem 8, v. 40

Y si la **houiesse**, *Ro*; E si **laves**, *FEG<sup>2</sup>Ka*]  
e si lay ves, *N*; e sila **vehe**. *B*; si la **vehes**,  
*DG<sup>1</sup>bcde*; si la **vahes**, *H*

Poem 8, v. 40

Gran **miraglo** seria, *Ro*; per **miracle** ho  
tendria, *a* || per **deu** la doraria, *FNB*  
*DEG<sup>2</sup>G<sup>1</sup>HKbcde*

Poem 9, v. 20

No deuo ser **culpado**, *Ro*; donchs nom  
vullar **culpar**, *a* || vullau **reptar** *FNA*  
*G<sup>1</sup>Lbcde*, vull **reptar** *D*

Poem 9, v. 25

Stant apart e sol[s, *a*] *FNABKLa* || **tot**

*DG<sup>1</sup>Hbcde*

Poem 10, v. 21

Me vencio **todo**, *Ro*; **tot** ma vencut, *FN*  
*BKa* || **er**, *AE*; **ell**, *DG<sup>1</sup>Hbcde*

Poem 13, v. 1

**Busquen** las gentes/las **muy** solenes fiestas,  
*Ro*; ab **molta** alegres festes, *a* || ab  
alegria festes *FNBDEG<sup>2</sup>Kbcde*; ab alagria  
festes, *A*

Poem 13, v. 21

(22) **Royendo** siempre/dentron mi pen-  
samiento, *Ro*; quem **rou** lamia pensa, *a*  
|| **romp**, *FNABDEG<sup>2</sup>Kbcde*

Poem 13, v. 34-35

Donde sera mi descanso complido / Alli  
vere como hos haura dolido, *Ro*; A hon  
lo be es ab tot complidament / Alli sabre  
de vos complidament, *a* || Part ueura  
ell per complir mon delit / Sera mester  
quem sia dellay dit, *FNABDEG<sup>2</sup>bcde*

Poem 15, v. 29

Cruels esteles, *a*; Mis malos signos, *Ro* ||  
Mos/O cruels fats *N/FBDEG<sup>2</sup>HKbcde*

Poem 17, v. 13

Damor ho dich, *FNABKL* || Este es  
amor, *Ro*; Est es amor, *Dabcde*; Cest es  
amor, *EG<sup>2</sup>H*

Poem 17, v. 16

**trae** el **desesperar**, *Ro*; **portal** **deses-**  
**perar**, *a*; **porta** nos **lesperar** *DG<sup>2</sup>H*, **por-**  
**tan** nos **lesperar**, *Eb*; **portan** vos **les-**  
**perar**, *cde* || se causa desperar, *FNABL*;  
se causa desesperar *K*

Poem 17, vv. 23-24

Triste de mi que todo el **cuerpo** es mio  
/ Pues bien deuria ser **dolido** de alguno,  
*Ro*; **cors**, **planga**, *a* || **cas**, **plore**, *FNAD*  
*EG<sup>2</sup>HKLbcde*

- Poem 17, v. 40  
gran esfuèrço, *Ro*; arditment, *DEG<sup>2</sup>Habcde* || foll gosar, *FNABKL*
- Poem 18, v. 3  
**altres** es nit, *a*; a **otri** es noche escura, *Ro*; **altres** par nit, *B* || **homens** es nit, *FNDEG<sup>2</sup>Kbcde*; homens es mig, *A*
- Poem 18, v. 50  
que la **deytat** sestoia, *FNABDEG<sup>2</sup>Kbcde* || que **amor** no reuela, *a*; **damor** questan sabidos, *Ro*
- Poem 22, v. 21  
**Mas** vos no veu, *a*; **Mas** desamor os tiene tan cegada, *Ro* || Vos no ueheu, *FNBDKbcde*; E no vehets, *E*; E no veheu, *G<sup>2</sup>*
- Poem 22, v. 25  
**Damor** nom cal hauer iames, *a*; No cumplira **damor** hauer perdon, *Ro* || Del **pare sant** nom cal hauer perdo, *FNBDEG<sup>2</sup>Kbc*; Del pare sant no cal hauer, *de*
- Poem 22, v. 27  
**Dauant** mi cau tot mon consentiment, *a*; **Delante** mi cayó el consentimiento, *Ro* || [Demán la mi] cab mon consentiment, *FNBK*; ca per mon sentiment, *Dbcde*; com tan acordament, *E*; com tan grocerament, *G<sup>2</sup>*
- Poem 23, v. 7  
grossers, *a*; grosseros, *Ro* || vehents, *FNABDEG<sup>2</sup>Kbcde*
- Poem 23, v. 12  
**Ve**u la color, *a*; Quenlo defuera **vera** lo mas perfecto, *Ro* || **Hoc**, *FNABDEG<sup>2</sup>Kbcde*
- Poem 23, v. 13  
**So ques** del cos, *Ea*; **Lo quenel** cuerpo, *Ro* || **Quant es**, *FNABDG<sup>2</sup>Kbcde*
- Poem 23, v. 16  
**jui** no sabra far, *a*; Podra vuestralma en vuestro ayre **juzgar**, *Ro* || no pora be [ben, *bcde*] parlar, *FNABDEG<sup>2</sup>Kbcde*
- Poem 23, v. 39  
quel **apetit**, *a*; Quel **apetito**, *Ro* || que lo **desig**, *FNABDEG<sup>2</sup>Kbcde*
- Poem 23, v. 40  
A cobejar so que **naturaus** da, *a*; A des-sear loque **natura** hos dio, *Ro* || A leig uoler ans com amort esta, *FNABDEKbcde*; A leig uoler ans com amor esta, *G<sup>2</sup>*
- Poem 26, v. 6  
**Mas no**, *a*, *Ro* || **Mas poch**, *FNABDEG<sup>2</sup>Kbcde*
- Poem 26, v. 8  
E **conegut** tampoch no se, *a*; Y entre los malos **desconoscida** va, *Ro* || sa valor en lo mon nol, *FNBDEG<sup>2</sup>HKbcde*
- Poem 26, v. 14  
E **yo conech** en molts **menys** la virtut, *a*; Y en **menos he yo** la virtud hallado, *Ro*; e yo conech en menys homens, *E* || **Los enemichs** son molts de la virtut, *FNBDG<sup>2</sup>HKbcde*
- Poem 26, v. 25  
de llurs bons actes **honrren**, *aE*; **honramos** oy los hechos, *Ro* || dactes bons no **desombren**, *FADG<sup>2</sup>bcde*; dactes honests **haombren**, *NBK*; dactes honests **desombren**, *H*
- Poem 26, v. 26  
de aquells, *aE*; daquellos, *Ro* || dels absents, *FNABDG<sup>2</sup>HKb*
- Poem 26, v. 29  
a **sells** qui **las**, *a*; a **daquel** que **le**, *Ro* || al **viu** qui la, *F*; **alom** qui las, *N*; al **viu** qui les, *ABDEG<sup>2</sup>HKbcde*<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> There is a problem with the agreement of the pronouns. Those should be in singular, because they refer to «llohor» and to the rhyme word «percassa» («No dan llohor a sells qui las percassa»). The problem may perhaps be due to a mechanical error.

- Poem 26, v. 42  
De Armogenes, AEG<sup>2</sup>, *a*, *Ro* || Dorigenes, *FNBDHKbcde*; de Origenes, *d*
- Poem 26, v. 43  
**Hon es la gran forsa** daquell Sanso, *a*;  
**Dondes agora** la fuerça de Sanson, *Ro*  
|| Qui mostrarem [mostraren, *NHA*]  
semblant [tan gran, *bc*] al fort samso,  
*FNABDEG<sup>2</sup>HKbcde*
- Poem 33, v. 39  
vostra, *a*; vuestra, *Ro* || nostra, *FNABDEG<sup>2</sup>HKLbcde*
- Poem 45, v. 26  
**Tan solament** sguarda part honesta, *a*;  
Que ha respecto **tan solo** a parte honesta, *Ro* || **E solament**, *FNABDEG<sup>2</sup>HKLbcde*
- Poem 46, v. 1  
mos delits, *a*; los mis deleytes, *Ro* || mos desigs, *FNABEG<sup>2</sup>K*; mon desig, *Dbcde*
- Poem 46, v. 8  
Que tots em semps, *a*; (6) Todos conformes se juntaran en vno, *Ro* || e que tots cinch, *FNABDEG<sup>2</sup>HKbcde*
- Poem 46, v. 20  
confessors, *a*; confessoras, *Ro* || confes, *FNABDEG<sup>2</sup>HKbcde*
- Poem 46, v. 21  
en tal, *a Ro* || en lo, *FNABDEG<sup>2</sup>HKbcde*
- Poem 46, v. 33  
**Quando yo muera pierda amor su poder**, *Ro*; **Apres ma mort amor perdal poder**, *a* || **Apres ma mort damar perdau poder**, *FNADeg<sup>2</sup>HK*; **Quant sere mort damor perdreu poder**, *B*; **Apres ma mort d'amar perdal poder**, *b*; **Apres ma mort d'amar perda poder**, *c*; **Apres ma mort de amar perdra poder**, *d*; **Apres ma mort d'amar perdra poder**, *e*
- Poem 57, v. 9  
algu pren mort, *a*; algunos toman muerte, *Ro* || algu la pren, *FNBDeg<sup>2</sup>HKbcde*
- Poem 57, v. 26  
carcre, *a*; carcel, *Ro* || curt, *FNBDeg<sup>2</sup>HKbcde*
- Poem 57, v. 30  
peticio, *a*; peticion, *Ro* || opinio, *FNBDeg<sup>2</sup>HKbcde*
- Poem 57, v. 39  
segons lo **molt** que costa, *a*; pues que **tan caro** cuesta, *Ro* [no clar si va aquí] || segons aquesta costa, *FNDG<sup>2</sup>HKbcde*; segons quil sacosta, *B*; que pren tan nich causa, *E*
- Poem 88, v. 20  
la raho nes, *DHbcde*, *a*; la razon es, *Ro* || es la raho, *FNABEG<sup>2</sup>K*
- Poem 88, v. 48  
frens aquella, *FNABDEG<sup>2</sup>HKbcde* || frens que aquella, *a*; frenos que aquella, *Ro*
- Poem 90, v. 10  
La terraluent, *FNH*; La terra vent, *AK*; la terra y vent, *DG<sup>2</sup>bcde*; ; terra y vent, *E* || **Lo terral vent**, *Ba*; Para el llouer le ayuda **el terral viento**, *Ro*
- Poem 90, v. 19  
**am loy e** despit, *FDEHbcde*; **ab loy he** despit, *G<sup>2</sup>* || **trobe gran** despit, *NABKa*; en tan **gran** desconsuelo, *Ro*
- Poem 93, v. 8  
los, *a Ro* || nos, *FNABDEHKbcde*
- Poem 93, v. 81  
Un gran, *FNBKade Ro* || Algun, *ADEHbc*
- Poem 95, v. 3  
nos haurem, *aG<sup>2</sup>*; Lo que hauremos, *Ro* || uos haureu [haurieu, *K*], *FNABDEHKbcde*
- Poem 95, v. 4  
volrreu, *FNABDEHKbcde* || volrrem, *G<sup>2</sup>a*; querriamos, *Ro*
- Poem 95, v. 9  
me trob yo [ya, *B*] tan, *FNABDEbcde* || yom trob ental, *G<sup>2</sup>a*; yo estoy en tal, *Ro*

- Poem 95, v. 12  
perdut, *FNABDEKabcde* || perdent *G<sup>2</sup>a*
- Poem 95, v. 31  
gràcia, *a*; gracia, *Ro*; grat, *G<sup>2</sup>* || deu, *FNABDEKbcde*
- Poem 95, v. 40  
dolc, *FNABDEKbcde* || ver, *G<sup>2</sup>a*
- Poem 95, v. 46  
besar, *FNABDEKbcde* || abras, *G<sup>2</sup>a*; abraços, *Ro*
- Poem 95, v. 48  
sostenir, *FNABDEKbcde* || sofrir, *G<sup>2</sup>a*; sufrir, *Ro*
- Poem 95, v. 51  
tots comptes, *FNABDEKbc* || ell tots temps, *G<sup>2</sup>a*
- Poem 95, v. 58  
per, *FNABDEKbcde* || de, *G<sup>2</sup>a*; *Ro*
- Poem 96, v. 26  
Si crit o cal no, *FF[2<sup>a</sup>]NABDEG<sup>2</sup>HKbcde* || So que no **vull** ne, *a*; Que satisfagan mi **voluntad** hablando, *Ro*
- Poem 96, v. 33  
mortal, *FF[2<sup>a</sup>]NABDEHKbcde* || de mort, *G<sup>2</sup>a*
- Poem 100, v. 1  
Ssoportat, *FBHa*; son portat, *AK*; soy lleuado, *Ro* || so posat, *EG<sup>1</sup>d*; son posat *Dbce*
- Poem 100, v. 17  
emparen, *FABDEG<sup>1</sup>HKbcde* || aparen, *a*
- Poem 100, v. 25  
Los meus **delits** tals **desigs**, *a*; Los mis **deleytes desseos**, *Ro* || Los meus **desigs** tals **delits**, *FABDEG<sup>1</sup>HKbcde*
- Poem 100, v. 25  
emprengheren, *FDEG<sup>1</sup>Kabcde*; emprendieron, *Ro* || aprengheren, *AB*; aprengheran, *H*
- Poem 100, v. 30  
Esser no pot, *a*; No puede ser, *Ro* || Nos pot auer, *FABDEG<sup>1</sup>HKbcde*
- Poem 100, v. 35  
E totes gents per aquells morir volen, *a*; Todas las gentes penan por esto y mueren, *Ro* || E totes les gens per aquells auer [hauer aquells, *Abcde*] uolen [moreren, *Ede*], *FADEG<sup>1</sup>HKbcde*
- Poem 100, v. 46  
lom [hom, *ADEHbcde*] es dit mes per la, *FADEG<sup>1</sup>Hbcde*; **definit** es lom de [per, *K*], *BK* || **defunt** es tal hom per, *a*; **muerto** es el hombre en esto, *Ro*
- Poem 100, v. 50  
So que li plau fa y lo restant llexa, *a*; Lo que le plaze obra y lo de mas dexa, *Ro* || Y el [Hel, *A*] quelí plau fa e, *F ADEG<sup>1</sup>HKbcde*; ffa lo quel plau etot, *B*
- Poem 100, v. 55  
Aquell [y aquell, *bcde*] qui [que, *EG<sup>1</sup>*] deu, *FABDEG<sup>1</sup>HKbcde* || So quel poria, *a*; Lo que deuria, *Ro*
- Poem 100, v. 59  
E com lo clerch fahent de festes, *FAD EG<sup>1</sup>HKbcde* || O com aquell quel jorn de festa, *a*; O como aquell quel santo quiere hallar, *Ro*; E com aquell qui les matines, *B*
- Poem 100, v. 60  
lo troya, *FBDEG<sup>1</sup>HKbcde*; la trona, *A* || lo alcora, *a*; lalcoran, *Ro*
- Poem 100, v. 67  
sa scienciay ajuda, *F*; la sciència jaguda, *A*; la sciencyay ajuda, *BEK*; la sciencia yajuda, *DG<sup>1</sup>Hbcde* || es nostra carn cayguda, *a*; nuestra carne es venida, *Ro*
- Poem 100, v. 78  
**E** desi ella lanima no contenten, *ABDKbcde*; **E** dessi ells laia no contente, *F*; **e** si ells lanima no contenten, *G<sup>1</sup>* [*al marge en una segona mà*: e si en ells llur arma no contenten]; **e** si en ells llur arma no contenten, *E*; **E** de si els lanima no contenten || **Que** per si ella a larma no con-

- tenten, *a* ; **Que** por si mismos a l'alma no contentan, *Ro*
- Poem 100, v. 79  
Com sobirans bens, *FABDEG'HKbcde*  
|| Com sobirans, *a* ; Como mas altos, *Ro*
- Poem 100, v. 101  
Ales honors **mals** pensaments segueixen, *a* ; **Malos** desseos y robos honra siguen, *Ro* || **vans**, *ABDEHKbcde*; **grans**, *FG'*
- Poem 100, v. 102  
riques, *FABDEG'HKbcde* || poques, *a* ; pocas, *Ro*
- Poem 100, v. 111  
folls amans [amants *BDEG'Kbcde*] *FBD EG'HKbcde*; seus amants, *A* || E son poch fruyt als amants no, *a* ; Su poco fruto al que ama no, *Ro*
- Poem 100, v. 140  
tocada, *FABDG'HKbcde*; practicada, *E*  
|| trobada, *a* ; hallada, *Ro*
- Poem 100, v. 143  
Axi, *FEG'*; Axils, *ABDHKbcde* || Com los, *a* ; Como el, *Ro*
- Poem 100, v. 160  
li aparexen, *FG'*; apareixen, *ABDEHKbcde* || los parexen, *a* ; les parescen, *Ro*
- Poem 100, v. 167  
Enlo comens pot ser quel voler gire, *a* ; En los principios podra ser que se buelua, *Ro* || en voler [poder, *B*] domes al comença que gire [gira, *bcde*] [ques, *ABDHKbcde*], *G'ABDEHKbcde*
- Poem 100, v. 193  
A tal, *G'ABDEHKd*; Altal, *bce* || Al bon, *a* ; del buen deleyte, *Ro*
- Poem 100, v. 194  
puix que, *G'Dde*; Pusque, *A*; puy que, *BEHbc*; puy que, *K* || Perque, *a* ; Porque, *Ro*
- Poem 100, v. 219  
entenen, *FABDEG'HKbcde* || l'entenen, *a* ; El hombre sabio, *Ro*
- Poem 100, v. 220  
Donchs, *a* ; Pues, *Ro* || Car, *FABDEG'HKbcde*
- Poem 102, v. 41  
finits, *FBDEG'HKbcde* || fallits, *a* ; falliscidos, *Ro*
- Poem 102, v. 52  
sino **lo** mouiment, *a* ; sino **el** mouimiento, *Ro* || **hun** *FBDEG'HKbcde*
- Poem 102, v. 66  
cabalos, *FBDEG'Hbcde* || traballos, *K*; treballos, *a* ; trabajado, *Ro*
- Poem 102, v. 113  
**partit** me viu james, *FBDEG'HK*; **partir** me viu james, *bcde*; || james **partit** me viu, *a*<sup>2</sup>; Nunca **partido** me vi tan claramente, *Ro*
- Poem 102, v. 124  
Mas mon oyr fora va daquest joch, *a* ; Mas el oyr fuera va deste juego, *Ro* || Laurella [Luncella, *D*; lorella, *EG'de*, luny cella, *bc*] es quelí [qui lí, *BE*] fa mortal, *FBDEG'HKbcde*
- Poem 102, v. 151  
yo am, *FBDEG'HKbce* || hi pens, *ad*; tales visiones, *Ro*
- Poem 102, v. 180  
O tal senyal, *BDHKbcde*; O tal señal, *Ro*; O tals senyals, *a* || O als peior, *F*; o als pijor, *EG'*
- Poem 102, v. 204  
com ama e [ne, *Ha*] aqui, *BDHKabcde*; como ama ni a quien, *Ro* || lamor daltrey desi, *FEG'*
- Poem 102, v. 206  
ja no creu que sia be, *F*; no creu ja que sia be [ben, *G'*], *EG'* || no creu be

<sup>2</sup> *a* features a mechanical error.

- amor [amar, *DHKabcde*] esser [y ser, *a*],  
*BDHKabcde*; Que bien no cree amar ni  
ser amado, *Ro*
- Poem 102, v. 207  
Ni de asso pot ser certificat, *a* [elisió  
perquè funcioni el primer hemistiqui];  
Ni dello puede estar certificado, *Ro* ||  
E lamador ia nos ben reposat, *FBDEG'*  
*HKbcde*
- Poem 102, v. 218  
Que lo que mes **contentat** vos haura,  
*a*; Que lo que mas os haura **conten-**  
**tado**, *Ro* || Que lo [co, *E*] que mes **del-**  
**itat** uos haura, *FEG'HKa*; Que lo major  
**delit** queus donara, *BDbcde*
- Poem 105, v. 14  
Que de semblant mal, *a*; Que deste mal,  
*Ro* || De semblant mal, *FBDEG'HKb*  
*cde*
- Poem 105, v. 16  
[Ta pietat] se dolga de mes obres, *a*; Tu  
piedad sapiade de mis obras, *Ro* || [Ta  
pietat] no troban [troben, *Ke*; troba en,  
*d*] mi que obre, *FBDEG'HKbcde*
- Poem 105, v. 18  
**es** carreguat, *a*; **es** cargada, *Ro* || he,  
*FBDEG'Kbcde*; ha, *K*
- Poem 105, v. 48  
Haia falach, *FBDEG'HKbcde* || Haja  
fallir, *a*; Quede vencida, *Ro*
- Poem 105, v. 111  
plau al, *FEG'HK* || semblal, *BDbcde*, *a*;  
paresce *Ro*
- Poem 105, v. 131  
Co sent [fent, *Dbs*] cascu, *FBDEG'H*  
*bcde* || Cascu conex, *a*; En conocello,  
*Ro*
- Poem 105, v. 147  
no mala, *FBDHKbcde*; recta, *G'E* || bo-  
na, *a*; buena, *Ro*
- Poem 105, v. 157  
Per consequent, *FBDEG'Hbcde*; Per con-  
siguent, *K* || si be delit de, *a*; y aunque  
*Ro*
- Poem 114, v. 51  
saviament, *DBEbcde* || fa vsament, *G'a*;  
hizo costumbre, *Ro*
- Poem 114, v. 81  
deu ami no val, *DBbcde* || cosa dell nom  
val, *EG'a*; ni cosa alguna del, *Ro*
- 1.2) *a*, (*Ro*) || *alii*
- Poem 2, v. 9  
es quel, *FABKa* || es lo, *NDEG'Lbcde*
- Poem 4, v. 51  
rete, *FNABKa* || soste, *DG'bcde*; en de-  
lit hasperança, *E*
- Poem 5, v. 19  
sercat, *a* || cartejat, *FNADEG'KLbcde*<sup>3</sup>
- Poem 5, v. 23  
quant, *Fa*; quando, *Ro* || com, *NABD*  
*EG'KLbcde*
- Poem 8, v. 1  
Vull, *Na* || me plau *FBDEG'G'HKbcde*
- Poem 8, v. 20  
Donamor, *NBa* || Dauamor, *FDEG'G'*  
*HKbcde*
- Poem 9, v. 21  
el cargo **si fallezco**, *Ro*; lo carrech **si**  
**fallesch**, *a* || lo carch **sin res fallesch**,  
*ADG'Lbce*; lo carech **sin res fallesch**,  
*FNB*; lo carrch **sin res fallesch**, *E*; lo  
carh **sin res fallesch**, *d*
- Poem 14, v. 16  
Tot, *FNABDEG'HKLbcde* || sols, *a*
- Poem 14, v. 18  
**ya** son cinco años, *Ro*; sinch anys son  
**ja** passats, *a*; son **ja** cinch anys passats  
[ja afegit posteriorment], *D*; son cinch

<sup>3</sup> Ro: escudriñar.

- anys **ja** passats, *bcd* || car son cinch anys passats, *FNAEG<sup>2</sup>HKL*; car temps gran es passat, *B*
- Poem 14, v. 32  
Aytant streny enell son manament, *a* ||  
*E* tant com pot estreny son manament,  
*FNABDEG<sup>2</sup>HKbcde*
- Poem 15, v. 17  
**sol**, *FDEG<sup>2</sup>bcd* || **foch**, *NBHKa*; Bien como el **fuego/dela sfera** escalienta, *Ro*
- Poem 15, v. 20  
qui es ple, *FNBDG<sup>2</sup>Kbcde* || quis tot ple, *H*; ques tot plen, *a*
- Poem 15, v. 22  
amor gita *FNBDG<sup>2</sup>HKbcde* || amor **nos** gita, *a*; amor **nos** embia, *Ro*
- Poem 15, v. 29  
fets, *BEH, a* || fes, *FNDG<sup>2</sup>Kbcde*
- Poem 16, v. 9  
questa a dios rogando, *Ro*; qui deu so- uint smenta, *a* || qui a deu no esmenta  
*FNABDEG<sup>2</sup>HLbcde*
- Poem 16, v. 17  
qualquier, *Ro*; qualsevol, *a* || de cascun,  
*FNABDEG<sup>2</sup>HLbcde*
- Poem 17, v. 4  
nom, *a* || nols *NABDEG<sup>2</sup>HKLabcde*, nols *canviat en nos*
- Poem 17, v. 14  
Quando, *Ro*; Quant, *a* || que, *FNABD EG<sup>2</sup>HKLbc*; qui, *de*
- Poem 17, v. 27  
uolent li donar, *FNAEG<sup>2</sup>KLde* || espe- rant rebre, *DHabc*
- Poem 17, v. 38  
deu, *a* || pot, *FNABDEG<sup>2</sup>HKLbcde*
- Poem 18, v. 47  
cert, *FNABDEG<sup>2</sup>Kbcde* || fet, *a*
- Poem 18, v. 53  
Axi primors amor ami reuella, *FNAB DEG<sup>2</sup>Kbcde* || Ami sols donchs a mos- trat sos miracles, *a*
- Poem 22, v. 13  
Car no es hu **que no** trop tot, *a*; No hay ninguno **que** no halle su grado, *Ro*; Per esser es **qui no** trop tot, *B* || Car non [no *D*] es hu no trobe tot, *FNEG<sup>2</sup>Kd*; Car nos un noble tot merce, *D*; Car no noblex tota merce, *bce*
- Poem 22, v. 29  
amor del cors sens pus *NBEG<sup>2</sup>Kde*; amor del cors sens pus, *F*; amor [amo, c; amor *C*] del cor sens pus, *Dbc* || del cos sens **voler pus**, *a*.
- Poem 23, v. 1  
Llexant **estar**, *a* || **a part**, *FNABDEG<sup>2</sup>Kbcde*
- Poem 23, v. 2  
Quen llur escalf **passen** la veritat, *a*; Que la verdad **passan** quando sencien- den, *Ro* || Qui per escalf [esclaf, *b*] **trespassen** [traspassen, *D*; **transpas- sen**, *e*] *FNADEG<sup>2</sup>Kbcde*; Qui solen dir mes de la, *B*
- Poem 23, v. 3  
E sots jaent, *a* || sostrahent, *FNABD EG<sup>2</sup>Kbcde*
- Poem 23, v. 20  
conech, *a* || coue, *F*; couench, *NABDE G<sup>2</sup>K*; conuench, *bcd*
- Poem 23, v. 24  
Verge no **fos**, *a*; (23) Virgan no **fue**, *Ro* || **sou**, *FNABDG<sup>2</sup>Kbcde*; sots, *E*
- Poem 23, v. 29  
un **tal** coneximent, *a*; de **tal** conoci- miento || **tan** gran coneximent, *FNAD EG<sup>2</sup>Kbcde*; **tan** gran mereximent, *B*
- Poem 26, v. 6  
Mas **no**, *a* *Ro* || Mas **poch**, *FNABD EG<sup>2</sup>Kbcde*
- Poem 26, v. 7  
conegut, *a* || sabut, *FNBDG<sup>2</sup>HKbcde*
- Poem 26, v. 10  
barbereschs, *a*; (9) alarbes, *Ro* || afri- cans, *FNBDG<sup>2</sup>HKbcde*

- Poem 26, v. 16  
Si del costum **nos** llunya vostra abstesa,  
*a* || **se**, *FNABDEG<sup>2</sup>Kbcde*; **sen**, *H*
- Poem 26, v. 19  
E tan poch **es**, *a* || En tan poch, *NBDE  
G<sup>2</sup>HKbcde*; En tan poch, *F*; en molts poch
- Poem 26, v. 41  
alsat, *a* || trobat, *FNABDG<sup>2</sup>HKbcde*
- Poem 26, v. 46  
**ab** sa vista subtil, *a*; (47) **con** su vista  
subtil, *Ro* || **per**, *FNABDEG<sup>2</sup>HKbcde*
- Poem 23, v. 19  
bons, *FNABDEG<sup>2</sup>K* || ben, *abcde*
- Poem 33, v. 38  
Per hon, *a* || per ço, *FNABDEG<sup>2</sup>HK  
Lbcde*
- Poem 34, v. 22  
vostrom, *a* || nostre, *FNABDEG<sup>2</sup>HKL  
bcde*
- Poem 45, v. 67  
Sils, *a*; Si vn, *Ro* || Y els, *FNDEbc*; Els  
*A*; Los, *B*; ils, *G<sup>2</sup>de*; y los, *K*
- Poem 45, v. 86  
Fugint aquell, *a* || ffinint aquell, *FAB  
EG<sup>2</sup>Kbcde*; ffinint aquell, *N*; fenit aquell,  
*D*; Solo en aquel
- Poem 46, v. 19  
molts, *a* || los, *FNABDEG<sup>2</sup>HKbcde*
- Poem 46, v. 34  
Sia tostemp, *a*; Sea por siempre, *Ro* || e  
sia tost, *Ecd*; E siatots, *FNABDG<sup>2</sup>HKb*
- Poem 88, v. 1  
delit pert, *FNABDEG<sup>2</sup>Kbcde* || pert de-  
lit, *Ha*; pierde deleyte, *Ro*
- Poem 88, v. 7  
De deu e, *FNABDEG<sup>2</sup>HKbcde* || Y de  
les gents, *a*
- Poem 88, v. 11  
atendre, *FNABDEG<sup>2</sup>HKbce* || descen-  
dre, *ad*
- Poem 88, v. 21  
La vida dom, *FNABDEG<sup>2</sup>HKbcde*] la vida  
veig, *a*
- Poem 88, v. 24  
si laveu, *FNABDEG<sup>2</sup>HKbcde* || ellas veu, *a*
- Poem 90, v. 11  
Tota dolor daltre **mesqui yo sent**, *a* ||  
Tota dolor daltre [daltra, *NBDKbcde*; dal-  
tri, *E*] **mes conuinent** [couinent, *ABDE  
G<sup>2</sup>Hbc*], *FNABDEG<sup>2</sup>HKbcde*
- Poem 90, v. 16  
Car en lafany **es** companyo e par, *FNAB  
DEG<sup>2</sup>HKbcde* || Car en lafany **mes** com-  
panyo e par, *a*; Uoy cotejando conel **mi**  
pena y gloria, *Ro*
- Poem 90, v. 17  
Si cas semblant adegü ueig passar [adal-  
gü veig [veix, *de*] *DEbcde*,] veig adegü,  
*NAB*] *FNABDEG<sup>2</sup>HKbcde* || Si en cas  
semblant **a nengu veig dolor**, *a*
- Poem 90, v. 24  
lamargos, *FADEG<sup>2</sup>Hbcde*; amargos, *N*;  
las amargos, *K* || lamargor, *Ba*
- Poem 90, v. 30  
sense [sensa, *H*] nos, *FDG<sup>2</sup>Hbcde* || meyns  
de nos, *N*; meny de nos, *ABKa*
- Poem 90, v. 34  
nos, *FNBADEG<sup>2</sup>HKbcde* || nous, *a*
- Poem 93, v. 56  
lur deport, *FNABDEHKBcde* || son re-  
port, *a*
- Poem 93, v. 68  
altre be cor, *NADEHKBcde*; altre de cor,  
*B* || a altre be, *a*
- Poem 95, v. 6  
perdrens, *HDEbc*; pendrens, *F*; perdres,  
*N*; perdents, *A*; perdre, *B*; Quel pren-  
dens, *K* || perdreus, *G<sup>2</sup>ade*
- Poem 95, v. 56  
pereich, *FNABDEKbc* || partex, *G<sup>2</sup>ade*
- Poem 96, v. 23  
sin, *NADEG<sup>2</sup>HKbc*; sien, *FBd*; sen, e || sil, *a*
- Poem 97, v. 32  
lo sant qui, *FABH*; lo sant que; *NK*; lo  
sanct qui, *DEbcde* || aquell que, *G<sup>2</sup>a*; a  
quien *Ro*

- Poem 100, v. 31  
creu, *a* || uol, *FADEG'HKbcde*; volch,  
*B*
- Poem 100, v. 32  
desig, *FADEG'HKbcde* || delit, *a*
- Poem 100, v. 40  
vna marguant, *FADG'HKbcde*; son amar-  
gant, *E* || vna amarga, *a*
- Poem 100, v. 62  
delit, *a*; deleyte, *Ro* || delits, *FABDEG'  
HKbcde*
- Poem 100, v. 70  
prenguan [prenguen, *HK*] la sua, *FABD  
EG'HKbcde* || se prenga en sa, *a*
- Poem 100, v. 76  
ab, *FADEG'Hbce* || per, *BKad*
- Poem 100, v. 80  
Quant, *a* || Com, *FABDEG'HKbcde*
- Poem 100, v. 85  
qual ab gran **delit** volen, *a* || qual ab  
gran **desig** volen, *FABDEG'HKbcde*
- Poem 100, v. 106  
Nons [nous, *Dbcde*] hy cal dar, *FABDE  
G'HKbcde* || Noy cal donar, *a*
- Poem 100, v. 110  
emolt poch, *ABDHKbcde*; e molt [molt  
*ratllat*] poch temps, *F*; e poch temps, *E*;  
e molt poch temps [temps *ratllat*] || e  
molt menys, *a*
- Poem 100, v. 121  
tot, *a* || tant, *FABDEG'HKbcde*
- Poem 100, v. 148  
tals, *FABDG'HKbcde*; als, *E* || los, *a*
- Poem 100, v. 153  
per hom, *FABDEG'HKbcde* || en nos, *a*
- Poem 100, v. 165  
puix, *G'Dbcde*; Pus, *A*; Puis, *EHK* ||  
**Quant** lome es mal lo be no li pot plau-  
re, *a*; Quan, *B*
- Poem 100, v. 166  
aquell, *G'ABDEHKbcde* || assil, *Ba*
- Poem 100, v. 213  
entant, *FABDEG'HKbcde* || aytant, *a*
- Poem 102, v. 62  
val tantsols, *a* || valrria *FG'HKde*; valrrie,  
*B*; valdria, *DEbc*
- Poem 102, v. 74  
report, *FEG'a* || recort, *BDHKbcde*
- Poem 102, v. 93  
farta la sua **carn**, *aG'*; carn *canviat per ?  
segona mà en fam*, *F* || farta la sua **fam**,  
*BDEHKbcde*
- Poem 102, v. 183  
cert damor [damar, *H*] com la, *FBDEG'  
Hbcde* || damor quem crida, *a*
- Poem 102, v. 189  
que ab raho, *Eade*; que con rason, *Ro* ||  
que raho, *FBDG'HKbc*
- Poem 102, v. 194  
aco[ayço, *E*] lam, *FBDEG'HKbcde* || co  
la vull, *a*
- Poem 102, v. 232  
Lom bestial o lntenent complit, *FEG'de*;  
Lom bestial que nos de seny complit,  
*a* || Lo qui damor com bestia sentit,  
*BDbc*; Lo qui raho lo fa ser ahunit, *H*;  
Lo qui la raho lo fa fer ahunit, *K*
- Poem 105, v. 20  
sino als quis ajuda, *FBDEG'HKbcde* ||  
aquell qui mes sajuda, *a*; Que tu mas  
vales aquel que mas sayuda, *Ro*
- Poem 105, v. 21  
atu señor, *a* || a tu, *FBDEG'HKbcde*; a  
tu, *Ro*
- Poem 105, v. 63  
e tolls, *FBDEG'HKbcde* || a tots, *a*; a  
todos, *Ro*
- Poem 105, v. 131  
Co sent [fent, *Dbs*] cascu, *FBDEG'Hbcde*  
|| Cascu conex, *a*; En conocello, *Ro*
- Poem 105, v. 140  
perque not am la, *FBDEG'HKbcde* || de  
no amarte causa, *a*; Que han sido causa  
en mi **de no querer**, *Ro*
- Poem 114, v. 82  
don so, *DBbcde* || de ser, *EG², a, Ro*

2) *a* || *Ro*, *alii*2.1) *a*, (*alii*) || *Ro*, *alii*

Poem 2, v. 3

Pues vido el **cielo** estar sereno y claro,  
*Ro*; **cel**, *FNBDEG<sup>2</sup>KLbcde*] **temps**, *A*;  
**sol**, *a*

Poem 2, v. 7

**Haze** juyzio / que si es muy durable,  
*Ro*; **fa** son juhi, *DEG<sup>2</sup>bcde* || **Leua** son  
 juhi, *FNAG<sup>2</sup>KL*; **Leua** juhi, *Ba* [*Ro* és  
 anterior a *DEG<sup>2</sup>bcde*]

Poem 8, v. 5

**Passosel tiempo**/quel bien servir valia,  
*Ro* || Ja nos conquer com aquell temps  
 ay mia, *a*; Axis conquer en aquest temps  
 aymia, *FNBDEG<sup>2</sup>G<sup>2</sup>HKbcde*

Poem 8, v. 8

**Ni eneste tiempo** ni cuando el flore-  
 cia, *Ro*; **Ni en aquest temps** ni quant  
 fauor hauia, *a* || **Passa lo temps** quel  
 bo fauor hauia, *FNBDEG<sup>2</sup>G<sup>2</sup>HKbcde*

Poem 15, v. 18

**Totes les parts** que son deius lo cell,  
*FNBDEG<sup>2</sup>HKbcde*; (v. 17) Bien como el  
 fuego dela sphaera escalienta / **Todas**  
**las partes** questan cerca la tierra, *Ro*  
 || **Totes les coses** que son en torn de  
 aquell, *a*

Poem 23, v. 7

grossers, *a*; grosseros, *Ro* || vehents, *FN*  
*ABDEG<sup>2</sup>Kbcde*

Poem 23, v. 15

Tall e **blancor**, *a* || Talle y **color**, *Ro*;  
 Vostra **color** yell tall pot, *FNEG<sup>2</sup>K*;  
 Vostre color yl [el, *B*] tal pot, *ABDbc*

Poem 26, v. 12

**Pegesa la ab vici** dada empenta, *a* ||  
**Lom vicios el pech** lan dat, *FNBBDH*  
*Kbc*; **Lom vicios yl pech** lan dat, *G<sup>2</sup>*;  
**Lhom vicios y el pech** lan dat, *de*; **Vi-**  
**cios y necios** la tienen desterrada, *Ro*

Poem 26, v. 21

Los [*Los canciat per mateixa mà en Lo*,  
*F*] **nonbres** tant daquella qui la deson-  
 ren [desonbren, *C*] *FNDEG<sup>2</sup>HKbcde*;  
 Son **infinitos** que desonran la honra, *Ro*;  
 Del pensament de la virtut sasombren,  
*B* || **Bes lo nom** tant dels que virtut  
 desonren, *a*

Poem 26, v. 48

Lo **viure** llur mes quel present duraua,  
*FNABDG<sup>2</sup>HKbc*; lo **veure** llur mes quel  
 present duraua, *de*; Si estos faltaron que  
 haran los que **veo**, *Ro* || Corrent cami  
 lla per la mar anaua, *a*; Corrent camil  
 (*mots borrats*) sus per la mar anaua, *E*

Poem 34, v. 25

sol, *a* || pot, *FNABDEG<sup>2</sup>HKLbcde*; pue-  
 de, *Ro*

Poem 45, v. 44

Que sino brut plaer **no la** companya, *a* ||  
 Y solo el bruto plazer **les** acompanya, *Ro*;  
**nols** acompanya, *FNABDEG<sup>2</sup>HKLbcde*

Poem 46, v. 11

E mostrara voler, *FNABDEG<sup>2</sup>bcde*; (sus  
 hondas) mostraran querer, *Ro* || De fet  
 mostrant voler, *a*

Poem 57, v. 12

dolor, *a* || valor, *FNBDEG<sup>2</sup>HKbcde*, *Ro*

Poem 88, v. 23

Ma, *FNABDEG<sup>2</sup>HKbcde*; Mi, *Ro* || Que, *a*

Poem 90, v. 30

delit nostre, *FNABG<sup>2</sup>Ka* || nostre delit,  
*DEHbcde*; nuestro deleyte, *Ro*

Poem 93, v. 11

Que penes, *a* || Les penes, *FNABDE*  
*HKbcde*; Las penas, *Ro*

Poem 93, v. 76

pensament, *a* || sentiment, *FNABDE*  
*Hbcde*; sentimiento, *Ro*

Poem 95, v. 67

**tot** quant es jus, *FNABDEKbcde*; **Todo**  
 hombre anda desta temORIZADO, *Ro* ||  
 quant es dejus, *G<sup>2</sup>a*

- Poem 100, v. 15  
delits comuns, *FBEG'*; Yo los deleytes comunes he seguido, *Ro* || comuns delits, *ADHKabcde*
- Poem 100, v. 34  
o de **fortuna uolen**, *FADEG'HKbcde*; o de **fortuna quieren**, *Ro* || o de **natura colen**, *a*
- Poem 100, v. 45  
tals delits no, *FADEG'HKbcde*; tal deleyte, *Ro* || delits del cos, *a*
- Poem 100, v. 55  
Aquell [y aquell, *bcd*] qui [que, *EG'*] deu, *FABDEG'HKbcde* || So quel poria, *a*; Lo que deuria, *Ro*
- Poem 100, v. 133  
Donchs quant la carn es a larma tirada, *FABDEG'HKbcde*; Mientras la carne con ellalma sembuelue, *Ro*; || **acos-tada**, *a*<sup>4</sup>
- Poem 100, v. 188  
ver mana, *G'ADEHKBcde*; verdad manda, *Ro* || [-] mana, *B*; be mana, *a*
- Poem 102, v. 175  
Car por gentil **ve** de notable cor, *FBDEG'bcde*; El gentil miedo de muy gran bondad **viene** *Ro*] Car por gentil **es** de notable cor, *a*; **hix**, *H*; **yo**, *K*
- Poem 102, v. 208  
Si en **lamat** [lo amat, *d*] la proua be noy, *FBDEG'HKbcde*; Si donde **ama** no prueua lo que tiene || **per cosa al mon** fins que la proua y, *a*
- Poem 102, v. 225  
No es en **asso**, *a* || no **siaci**, *FBDEG'HKbcde*; Todos los que aman no sona **qui** entendidos, *Ro*
- Poem 102, v. 228  
De son compost e sab **compas y pes**, *a* || De son compost e sab **com partit**
- es**, *FBDEG'HKbcde*; Delalma y cuerpo y **como esta partido**, *Ro* [lectio facilior?]
- Poem 105, v. 62  
gracia, *FBDEG'HKbcde*; gratia, *K*; **de grado** da sus dones, *Ro* || guardonaua, *a*
- Poem 105, v. 143  
[**senyor**] **deu** fes que la *FBDEG'HKbcde*; [O **senyor**] **dios**, *Ro* || O **senyor** fes, *a*

2.2) *a* || *Ro*, *alii*

- Poem 4, v. 43  
desigs, *BG'a* || delits, *FNADEKbcde*; plazerers, *Ro*
- Poem 9, v. 13  
Quanto puede el **querer**, *Ro*; que pot fer molt **amar** *FNABDEG'KLbcde* || **amor**, *a*
- Poem 9, v. 22  
Quando me **hizo** sin seso y sin saber, *Ro*; car **fuy**, *EG'* || Car **so** abstret de seny e de saber, *FNABDLabcde*
- Poem 15, v. 32  
hull cast, *FNDEG'HKbcde*; lull cast, *B*; sus ojos castos, *Ro* || ull **no** cast, *a*
- Poem 16, v. 2  
Que **yo** de veros/he tanto desseado, *Ro*; del que **yo** desijat, *FNAG'HL*; del que **yo** he, *BK* || del que he *Dbcd*; del que ay, *E*; de so que he, *a*; de que he, *e*
- Poem 17, v. 14  
ser el mas desamado, *Ro*; sere per uos, *FNABDEG'HLbcde*; ser dauos, *K* || **pens** ser per uos, *a*
- Poem 17, v. 55  
houieran, *Ro*; hagren, *FNAEG'KL*; agueren, *BDKbcde* || auran, *a*
- Poem 22, v. 26  
car, *FNBDEG'Kbcde*; Que, *Ro* || de, *a*

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Román recursivele employed «embolver» as a translation of «tirar», cf. Poem 100, v. 166: tire, *G1ABDEHKBcde* || tira, *bcd*, *Ro*: Y no hay mal que conel no sembuelua.

Poem 33, v. 33

mon pensament mostra que s'entrestex,  
*a* || **mentrsitexi**, *FNDKLBcde*; **quem** en-  
 tristeix, *ABE*; que **mentrestexch**, *G*<sup>2</sup>; **Y**  
 amor **me** haze estar entresticido, *Ro*

Poem 34, v. 24

si so forsat, *a* || si forcat son, *FNAG<sup>2</sup>KL*;  
 puy forcat so, *B*; si forçat so, *Dbcde*; for-  
 çado fuy de amar, *Ro*

Poem 45, v. 44

Que sino brut plaer **no la** companya,  
*a* || **Y** solo el bruto plazer **les** acom-  
 paña, *Ro*; **nols** acompanya, *FNABDEG<sup>2</sup>*  
*HKLbcde*

Poem 45, v. 64

Son mes punyents, *FABKa*; Son mes pu-  
 nyents, *N* || son pus ardents, *DEG<sup>2</sup>bcde*,  
 son mas ardientes, *Ro*

Poem 45, v. 80

*A, Aa* || *E, FNBDEG<sup>2</sup>Kbcde*, *Y, Ro*

Poem 46, v. 20

no seran, *FDG<sup>1</sup>bce*; no fueron, *Ro* || no  
 auran, *NAEHKad*; nos hauran, *B<sup>5</sup>*

Poem 57, v. 28

comptes, *a* || compte, *FNBDEG<sup>1</sup>HKbcde*;  
 la cuenta rematada, *Ro*

Poem 57, v. 32

**E** sol a deu, *a* || **Que** sol(s), *FNBD*  
*EG<sup>1</sup>HKbcde*; Daquel **que** a dios, *Ro*

Poem 93, v. 11

Que penes, *a* || Les penes, *FNABDE*  
*HKbcde*; Las penas, *Ro*

Poem 93, v. 15

quel mon **no** pot hauer dat, *a* || quel  
 mon pot hauer dat, *FNABDEHKBcde*;  
 quel mundo dar pudiera, *Ro*

Poem 93, v. 96

be, *FNABKa* || bo, *DEHbcde*; bueno,  
*Ro*

Poem 102, v. 123

sos defensors **son** lo toch e mon vll, *FE*  
*G<sup>1</sup>HKade* || **ha**, *BDbc*

Poem 105, v. 64

que no tema, *FEG<sup>1</sup>HKad* || no tremole,  
*BDbce*; que no tiemble, *Ro*

### 2.3) *a* || *Ro, alii*

#### (paleographical and mechanical)

Poem 1, v. 6

**Y** se muy cierto que de dar en **sus** ma-  
 nos, *Ro*; **ses**, *FNABCDEG<sup>1</sup>KLbcde* ||  
 Sabent de cert quen **sens** mans he de  
 jaure, *a*

Poem 9, v. 34

Mi opinion/**grandes contrastes** tiene,  
*Ro*; De **grans contrast**s ma opinio es  
 plena, *FNABDEG<sup>1</sup>HKLbcde* || **gran con-**  
**trast**, *a*

Poem 14, v. 8

Loque **sus** hijos, *Ro*; **sos** *FNAB*  
*DG<sup>2</sup>HKLabcde* || So que  
**los** fills, *a*

Poem 14, v. 15

Alli nos hiere/**do** somos deleytados, *Ro*;  
 lla **don**, *FNABDG<sup>2</sup>KLbcde*; llay **don**, *E*  
 || la **hon**, *Ha*

Poem 14, v. 28

Ni cumplir puede, *Ro*; No pot complir,  
*FNABKLbcde*; Nos pot complir, *DEG<sup>2</sup>H*  
 || Complir no pot, *a*

Poem 15, v. 23

Los [he/a]rmitans *FBDEG<sup>2</sup>HKbc/N*; Los  
 hermitaños, *Ro* || Als hermitans, *a*; als  
 hermitanys, *de*

Poem 15, v. 40

Mostren, *FEG<sup>2</sup>de*; mostran, *NBDHK*,  
 muestran, *Ro* || mostrau, *abc*

<sup>5</sup> *Ro*'s reading, which would apparently read against *a*, is quite irrelevant. The reading occurs in an auxiliary verb, whose verbal tense Romaní changed.

- Poem 26, v. 13  
Salomo, *ade* || Salamo, *FNBDG<sup>2</sup>HKbc*;  
Salamon, *Ro*
- Poem 45, v. 13  
tenten, *a* || senten, *FNABDEG<sup>2</sup>HKL*  
*bcde*; sienten, *Ro*
- Poem 45, v. 86  
tal estrem los, *FNABDEG<sup>2</sup>Kbcde*; tant  
extrem, *C*; questos estremos, *Ro* || tal  
vidals, *a*<sup>6</sup>
- Poem 88, v. 40  
ventura, *FNABDEG<sup>1</sup>HKbcde*, *Ro* || na-  
tura, *a*<sup>7</sup>
- Poem 88, v. 54  
toll, *FNABDEG<sup>1</sup>HKbcde*; el saber **quita**,  
*Ro* || tal, *a*
- Poem 88, v. 66  
instant, *FNABDEG<sup>1</sup>Kbcde*; instante, *Ro*  
|| justant, *a*
- Poem 102, v. 92  
solemniat, *FDEG<sup>1</sup>Hbc*; sollempniat, *BK*  
*de*; por muy gran fiesta, *Ro* || sople-  
niat, *a*
- Poem 102, v. 125  
Car tot quan hoig en ira oretorn, *FBD*  
*EG<sup>1</sup>HKbcde* [cf. poem 102, v. 80]; Pues  
quanto oygo en yra se conuierte, *Ro* ||  
Tot quant ell hou y enyora es son retorn, *a*
- Poem 105, v. 41  
cor meu forteixques, *a* || menfortesques,  
*FBG<sup>1</sup>HK*; menforteixques, *Dbcde*; Haz-  
**me** señor el coraçon tan fuerte, *Ro*
- Poem 105, v. 48  
nom, *FBDEG<sup>1</sup>HKbcde*; no me, *Ro* ||  
mon, *a*
- Poem 114, v. 63  
coses, *DBbcde*; cosa, *Ro* || cossos, *a* ||  
remeys, *EG<sup>2</sup>*

### 3. *Ro* / *a* (*B*) (*K*) || *alii*

- Poem 2, v. 7  
**Haze** juyzio / que si es muy durable,  
*Ro*; **fa son juhi**, *DEG<sup>1</sup>bcde* || **Leua** son  
juhi, *FNAG<sup>2</sup>KL*; Leua juhi, *Ba*
- Poem 2, v. 14  
Que vuestro **grado**/sentra por mi sin  
tino, *Ro*; **grat** *B* || **alt** *FNADEG<sup>2</sup>G<sup>1</sup>K*  
*Lbcde*
- Poem 5, v. 6  
no virtuos, *FNABDEG<sup>1</sup>KLabcde*; vicioso,  
*Ro*; luxurios, *B*
- Poem 8, v. 10  
**Como** quien dança, *Ro*; **Com** lo, *B* ||  
**Si col** *FNDEG<sup>2</sup>G<sup>1</sup>HKabcde*
- Poem 9, v. 13  
Quien no **conosce**, *Ro*: Lo qui no **sap**,  
*B* || Cell [Quell *DG<sup>1</sup>*] qui no **sent** *FN*  
*ADEG<sup>1</sup>KLabcde*
- Poem 15, v. 2  
Conque mis **lloros**, *Ro*; **dols**, *B* || **guays**,  
*FNDEHabc*; gotxs, *K*; guanys, *d*
- Poem 17, v. 41  
Metgen lo mon, *FNADEG<sup>2</sup>HKLabcde* ||  
Medico alguno, *Ro*; Metje algu, *B*
- Poem 17, v. 48  
Damor qui may contrassi uol, *FNADE*  
*G<sup>2</sup>HKLabcde* || losconsejos **desama**, *Ro*;  
Daquella amor que **auorrex**, *B*
- Poem 18, v. 3  
homens es nit, *FNDEG<sup>2</sup>Kbcde*; homens  
es mig, *A* || **altres** par nit, *B*; **altres** es  
nit, *a*; **a otri** es noche escura, *Ro*
- Poem 18, v. 52  
y aptes *FNADEG<sup>2</sup>Kbcde* || aptes, *Ba*
- Poem 22, v. 13  
Car non [no *D*] es hu no trobe tot, *FN*  
*EG<sup>2</sup>Kd*; Car nos un noble tot merce, *D*;

<sup>6</sup> Mechanical, by attraction of word «vida» –from the previous verse.

<sup>7</sup> *a* repeats the rhyme word.

- Car no noblex tota merce, *bce* || Per  
esser es **qui no** trop tot, *B*; Car no es  
hu **que no** trop tot, *a*; No hay ninguno  
**que** no halle su grado, *Ro*
- Poem 33, v. 4  
tota us vull honesta, *B*; hos desseo ho-  
nesta, *Ro* || nous vull desonesta, *FNAD*  
*EG²HKabcde*
- Poem 33, v. 18  
mon de part, *Aa*; mon deport, *B* || mou  
de part, *FNDEG²KLbcde*
- Poem 33, v. 39  
la **part** d'amor, *B*; Del otro amor quen  
vuestra carne esta / poco cuydado de **su**  
**parte** me viene, *Ro* || Aquellamor, *FNA*  
*KLd*; Que aquell amor, *a*; Car l'amador  
qui son voler no [*DEG²*] farta [*DEG²bce*]
- Poem 33, v. 40  
no **crial** cor, *B*; *Ro*, v. 36: **criado** || No  
met al cor, *FNAKLad*; nol rou damor,  
*DEG²bce*
- Poem 34, v. 21  
scusar, *K*; escusar, *Ro* || esquiuar, *FNA*  
*BDEG²HLabcde*
- Poem 45, v. 18  
Volgren fluir, *B*; Menfluyo, *Ro* || Volch  
[*Voch*, *N*] influir, *FNADEG²KLabcde*
- Poem 45, v. 41  
Los qui, *B*; Los que, *Ro* || Cells qui,  
*FNADEG²HKLabcde*
- Poem 46, v. 33  
Apres ma mort damar perdau poder, *FN*  
*ADEG²HK* || **Quant** sere mort damor  
perdreu poder, *B*; Apres ma mort d'amar  
perdal poder, *b*; Apres ma mort d'amar  
perda poder, *c*; Apres ma mort de amar  
perdra poder, *d*; Apres ma mort d'amar  
perdra poder, *e*; **Quando yo muera**  
**pierda amor su poder**, *Ro*; **Apres ma**  
**mort amor perdal poder**, *a*.
- Poem 90, v. 10  
La terraluent, *FNH*; La terra vent, *AK*;  
la terra y vent, *DG²bcde*; ; terra y vent, *E*  
|| **Lo terral vent**, *Ba*; Para el llover le  
ayuda **el terral viento**, *Ro*
- Poem 90, v. 24  
lamargos, *FADEG²Hbcde*; amargos, *N*;  
las amargos, *K* || lamargor, *Ba*
- Poem 100, v. 59  
E com lo clerch fahent de festes, *FA*  
*DEG²HKbcde*;] O com aquell quel jorn  
de festa, *a*; O como aquell quel santo  
quiere hallar, *Ro*; E com aquell qui les  
matines, *B*
- Poem 100, v. 76  
ab, *FADEG²Hbce* || per, *BKad*
- Poem 100, v. 81  
delit, *FBEG²HK* || delits, *ADabcde*; deley-  
tes, *Ro*
- Poem 100, v. 165  
puix, *G²Dbcde*; Pus, *A*; Puis, *EHK* ||  
**Quant** lome es mal lo be no li pot plau-  
re, *a*; Quan, *B*;
- Poem 100, v. 166  
aquell, *G²ABDEHKBcde* || assil, *Ba*
- Poem 100, v. 207  
cascu per si lom hauent ne, *G²AEKa*;  
cascu per si hauent lom [-], *Dbcde*; cascu  
per si lom hauent [-], *H* || **E separats**  
quinalgu te, *B*; **Y diuididos** pierdese, *Ro*
- Poem 100, v. 224  
ençendre, *H*; ancendre, *G²*; ençendre,  
*A*; antendre, *F*; contendre, *bc*; conten-  
dre, *de* || stendre, *K*; estendre, *a*
- Poem 102, v. 66  
cabalos, *FBDEG²Hbcde* || traballos, *K*;  
treballos, *a*; trabajado, *Ro*
- Poem 102, v. 69  
ama **dona** vil, *FBDEG²Habcde* || **cosa**,  
*K*; que ama en vil **lugar**, *Ro*
- Poem 105, v. 64  
que no tema, *FEG²HKad* || no tremole,  
*BDbc*; que no tiembale, *Ro*

**4. *Loci critici* from poems not collated, which Pagès examined in his edition**

- Poem 89, v. 18  
al meu, *NABK, a*; el meu, *I* || a mon, *FDEG'Hbcde*
- Poem 89, v. 29  
Si tal cas ve, *NABK, a* || E siu compleix, *FDEG'Hbcde*  
*Ro*: «haziendo esto» [not relevant]
- Poem 91, v. 9  
delit, *G'*; lo delit, *DHbcde, a*; deleyte, *Ro*  
|| lo dit, *FNBEK*
- Poem 91, v. 61  
yo veig de mi, *FBEG'*; veo de mi alexarse, *Ro* || de mi yo veig, *NDHKabcde*
- Poem 92, v. 12  
sol lo vici tira, *DHbcd, a* || per lo [los *Fe*] vicis tira, *FNABEG'Ke*, que los vicios procura, *Ro*
- Poem 98, v. 13  
tolre, *A*; dolre, *NDKbcde, a*; dolerme, *Ro*  
|| perdre, *FEG'*
- Poem 98, v. 14  
si be u vull, *FG'*; si bem vull, *A*; si ben vull, *DEbc* || yol vull mas, *NK*; yol vull e, *ade*<sup>8</sup>

<sup>8</sup> *Ro*: Quiero mi bien y conel no me alegre.



## 6. FILIATION OF *Ro* AND *a*

I. Relationships with individual witnesses (dating from before 1539). \* marks contamination:

- 1) Reads with *H*: Poems 15, 17, 91, 92, 100, 102\*
- 2) Reads with *N*: Poems 4, 8, 15, 89, 90, 93, 98\*
- 3) Reads with *F*: Poems 2, 4, 93, 100, 102\*, 105
- 4) Reads with *A*: Poems 2, 4, 26, 89, 90, 98\*, 100
- 5) Reads with *G'*: Poems 90, 91, 92\*

II. Relationships with witness groups (dating from before 1539). \* marks contamination:

- 1) *F, a, Ro* ] *HG'*: Poem 105
- 2) *FA, a, Ro* ] *N*: Poem 2
- 3) *FAN(H), a, Ro* ] *G'*: Poems 4, 100
- 4) *FN, a, Ro* ] *AH*: Poem 93
- 5) *FG', a* ] *H*: Poem 102\*
- 6) *N, a, Ro* ] *FAG'*: Poems 8, 98\*
- 7) *NH, a, Ro* ] *F*: Poem 15
- 8) *NA, a, Ro* ] *F(H)G'*: Poems 89, 98\*
- 9) *NAG', a, Ro* ] *FH*: Poem 90
- 10) *H, a, Ro* ] *F(NAG')*: Poems 17, 92, 102\*
- 11) *HG', a, Ro* ] *FN*: Poem 91
- 12) *A, a, Ro* ] *FNH*: Poem 26



## 7. REORDERING OF THE POEMS IN MS *D*

### LEGEND

AMX: number of March's poem according to Pagès's canonical edition.

Xr-Xv: folios where the poem was copied in MS *D*.

a-z, aa-zz, aaa-zzz, aaaa-zzzz, aaaaa-vvvvv: the letter or letters that set the order of the poem in edition *b*. Comparing the manuscript with the edition, it can be established that long *s* precedes short *s*, and *v* precedes *u*.

[X]: the order number of the poem in edition *b*.

AM1. 1r-1v. ff [31]	AM32. 29r-30r. nn [38]
AM2. 2r-2v. aa [26]	AM33. 30r-31r. o [14]
AM3. 3r. (a blur may be covering «e») [5]	AM34. 31r-31v. q [16]
AM4. 3v-4v. b [2]	AM35. 32r-32v. yyyy [99]
AM5. 4v-5v. p [15]	AM36. 32v-33v. ss (long) [43]
AM6. 5v-6v. ll [61]	AM37. 33v-34v. m [12]
AM7. 6v-8r. cc [28]	AM38. 34v-35v. ddd [54]
AM8. 8r-8v. ttt [70]	AM39. 35v-36r. a [1]
AM9. 9r-9v. bbb [52]	AM40. 36v-37r. mm [37]
AM10. 9v-10v. i [9]	AM41. 37r-38r. tt [45]
AM11. 10v-11v. kk [35]	AM42. 38r-38v. sss (short) [69]
AM12. 11v-12v.	AM43. 39r-39v. cccc [78]
AM13. 12v-13r. z (not readable) [25]	AM44. 39v-40r. s (long) [18]
AM14. 13r-14r. ll [36]	AM45. 40r-42r. yy [49]
AM15. 14r-15r. yyy [74]	AM46. 42r-43r. aaa [51]
AM16. 15r-16r. dddd [79]	AM47. 43v-44r. vvv [71]
AM17. 16r-17r. oo [39]	AM48. 44r-45r. uuu [72]
AM18. 17r-18v. v [21]	AM49. 45r-45v. nnn [63]
AM19. 18v-19r. bb [27]	AM50. 46r-46v. t [20]
AM20. 19v-20r. qq [41]	AM51. 46v-47v. u [22]
AM21. 20r-21r. f [6]	AM52. 47v-48v. qqqq [90]
AM22. 21r-21v. zz [50]	AM53. 48v-49v. bbbb [77]
AM23. 22r-22v. l [11]	AM54. 49v-50v. dd [29]
AM24. 22v-23v. x [21]	AM55. 50v-51r. ss (round, but not readable, perhaps under the casting off mark) [44]
AM25. 23v-24v. xxx [73]	AM56. 51r-52r. eeee [80]
AM26. 24v-25v. rr [42]	AM88. 52r-53v. ssss (long) [92]
AM27. 25v-26v. xx [48]	AM89. 53v-54v. y [24]
AM28. 26v-27r. fff [56]	AM90. 54v-56r. ggg [57]
AM29+AM30. 27r-28r. uuuu [97]	
AM31. 28r-29r. pp [40]	

- AM91. 56r-57v. iii [59]  
 AM85. 57v-58v. ccc [53]  
 AM86. 59r. s (short) [19]  
 AM92. 59r-63v. hhhhh [109]  
 AM93. 63v-65v. (not readable, but follows previous poem copied in the MS D) [110]  
 AM94. 65v-68r. kkkkk [111]  
 AM95. 68r-69v. lllll [112]  
 AM74. 69v-70v. pppp [96]  
 AM75. 70v-72r. aaaa [76]  
 AM76. 72v-73r. ppp [65]  
 AM77. 73r-73v. kkk [60]  
 AM78. 74r-75r. rrr [67]  
 AM79. 75r-76r. gggg [82]  
 AM80. 76r. ee [30]  
 AM81. 76r. gg [32]  
 AM82. 76r-76v. hh [33]  
 AM83. 76v. qq [66]  
 AM84. 76v-77v. ooo [64]  
 AM87. 78r-83v. ffff [107]  
 AM57. 84r-84v. hhhh [83]  
 AM58. 85r-85v. uu [47]  
 AM59. 86r-86v. zzzz [100]  
 AM60. 87r-87v. vvvv [95]  
 AM61. 88r-88v. ssss (short) [93]  
 AM62. 89r-90r. ii [34]  
 AM63. 90r-91v. hhh [58]  
 AM64. 91v-92r. zzz [75]  
 AM65. 92r-93r. llll [86]  
 AM66. 93r-94r. c [3]  
 AM67. 94r-95r. h [8]  
 AM68. 95v. k [10]  
 AM69. 95v-97r. g [7]  
 AM70. 97r-98v. oooo [89]  
 AM71. 98v-100v. sss (long) [68]  
 AM72. 100v-101v. nnnn [88]  
 AM73. 101v-102v. r [17]  
 AM97. 102v-104r. mmmmm [113]  
 AM96. 104r-104v. nnnnn [114]  
 AM98. 105r-106v. xxxx [98]  
 AM99. 106v-108r. aaaa [101]  
 AM100. 108v-113r. vv [46]  
 AM101. 113r-114r. d [4]  
 AM30 bis. 114v-115v  
 AM27 bis. 115v-116r. kkkk [85]  
 AM32 bis. 116r-117r  
 AM40 bis. 117r-118r  
 AM102. 118r-123r. iiiii [84]  
 AM103. 123r-124r. ooooo [115]  
 AM104. 124r-130r. ppppp [116]  
 AM105. 130r-135r. vvvvv [122]  
 AM106. 135r-145r. qqqqq [117]  
 AM107. 145r-147r. sssss (long) [119]  
 AM108. 147r-149r. ttttt [121]  
 AM109. 149v-150r. n [13]  
 AM110. 150v-151r. mmm [62]  
 AM111. 151r-152r. bbbbb [102]  
 AM112. 152v-162v. sssss (short) [120]  
 AM113. 162v-168v. rrrrr [118]  
 AM114. 169r-170v. eee [55]  
 AM115. 171r-173v. tttt [94]  
 AM116. 174r-177v. ccccc [103]  
 AM117. 178r-182v. rrrr [91]  
 AM118. 183r-185r. ffff [81]  
 AM119. 185r-187v. dddd [104]  
 AM120. 187v-190v. mmmm [87]  
 AM121. 190v-192v. eeeee [105]  
 AM122b. 192v-194r. eeeee [106]  
 AM123. 194v-196r. ggggg [108]  
 AM124. 196r.  
 AM125. 196v.  
 AM127. 197r-199v.  
 AM128. 199v-204.

## 8. Ms D's CASTING OFF

- 1r. «Prima d».
- 1v. «ij» [d].
- 2r. «jx» [c]
- 3r. «jx»[a].
- 3v. «ij» [a].
- 4r. «iij» [a]. [limit line corrected]
- 5r. «ix» [b].
- 6r. «xv g».
- 6v. «xvj g». Line
- 7r. «xiiij» [c]
- 7v. «xiiiij» [c] [corrected] «xiv» [c].
- 8r. Line. «xvj h»
- 8v. «prima I».
- 9r. «xij f» [duplicated in a bigger script, same position]
- 9v. «xiiij f»
- 10r. «xv.» [a]. «xvj» [a]. [correcting «xiiiij»]
- 10v. «xvj» [a]. «.v.» [vi d]
- 11v. «vij» [d].
- 12v. Cross, in the beginning of a poem, and line. Also marking for «.viiij.» [c]
- 13r. «jx» [c].
- 13v. «viiij» [d]
- 14r. «7 I»
- 14v. «8 I»
- 15r. Line. «va en cartes gi / on sera aquesta». «16 I»
- 15v. «prima K».
- 16r. «.xiiij.» [d]
- 17r. «xiiiij» [d].
- 17v. «prima c»
- 18r. «ij» [c]
- 19r. «.xji.» [c]
- 19v. «prima e»
- 20r. Line [ix a]
- 20v. «.x.» [a]
- 21r. Line «viiij f» [duplicated in a bigger script, same position].
- 21v. «ix f» [duplicated in a bigger script, same position].
- 22r. «ij» [b]
- 22v. «iij» [b]
- 23r. «.v.» [c]
- 23v. «5 I»
- 24r. «6 I»
- 24v. «ij e».
- 25r. «iij e»
- 25v. «iiiij e». Line.
- 26r. «prima f» [in the edition, actually, «ii f»]. «iij. f» [takes into account previous correction]
- 26v. «V g»
- 27v. «7 n»
- 28r. «8 n».
- 28v. «xv» [d]
- 29r. «xvj.» [d]. «.xj.» [v]
- 29v. «.xij.» [v]
- 30r. «vij» [b]
- 30v. «viiij» [b]
- 31r. «x» [b]
- 31v. «xj» [b]
- 32r. «12 n»
- 32v. «13 n».
- 33r. «vj e» [wrong]
- 34r. «iiiij» [b]
- 34v. «v» [b]. «xvj f»
- 35r. «prima g»
- 35v. Line. «i» [a]
- 36r. «ij» [a]
- 36v. «.x.» [d] duplicated in a bigger script, same position
- 37r. «viiij .e.» [correcting limit line]
- 37v. «viiij e». Line
- 38r. «jx-e» [cancelled and corrected in the editon so as to fit in «viiij e»]. Line «xiiiij h»

- 38v. «xv» [h] [cancelled, but edited as marked originally]
- 39r. «15 I»
- 40r. «xiiij» [b].
- 40v. «v» [f] and duplicated in «v f» [change in limit line]
- 41r. «vi f» [limit line cancelled, but printed as originally marked]
- 41v. «vij f»
- 42v. «x f» [duplicated]
- 43r. «xi f» [duplicated]
- 43v. «2 I»
- 44r. «3 I I»
- 44v. «4 I»
- 45r. Line «ij h»
- 45v. «iij h».
- 46r. Line «xv» [b] [duplicated in a bigger script, in position not corresponding to the edition]
- 46v. «xvj» [b].
- 47r. «iij» [c]
- 47v. «iiij» [c]. «xiv l» [wrong limit line]
- 48r. «14 L» [wrong limit line]
- 48v. «15 L». «13 I»
- 49v. «14 I». «xv» [c]
- 50r. «xvj» [c] [plus a wrong limit line].
- 50v. «vi e». [duplicated in a bigger script, same position]
- 51r. «vij e» [bigger, by wrong limit line]. «vij e» [smaller, by right limit line]
- 51v. «2 k» [duplicated in a bigger script, but in different and correct position]
- 52r. «3 k».
- 52v. «10 n»
- 53r. «11 n»
- 53v. «12 n». «vj» [c] [wrong both page and limit line]
- 54r. «vij» [c] [wrong both page and limit line]
- 55r. «vj g»
- 55v. «vij g»
- 56r. «xj g»
- 56v. «xij g»
- 57r. «xiiij g»
- 57v. «[xiiij f]» [blurred]
- 58r. «aquesta es la / xiiij ---- / y aci comença»
- 58v. «xv f» [duplicated in a bigger script, same position] «aquesta esla / xv f / la qual acaba / en cartes xxxiiij / alla hon junta ab / la xvj»
- 59v. «5 Q». «6 Q».
- 60r. «3 Q». [wrong] «7 Q».
- 60v. «7 Q» [wrong] «8 Q»
- 61r. «5 Q» [wrong] «9 Q»
- 61v. «10 Q».
- 62r. «11 Q». «7 Q» [wrong]. «12 Q»
- 62v. «8 Q» [wrong] «13 Q»
- 63r. «9 Q» [wrong] «14 Q»
- 63v. «15 Q»
- 64r. «16 Q»
- 64v. «12 Q» [wrong]. «prima R»
- 65r. «8 Q» [wrong]. «2 R»
- 65v. «14 Q» [wrong]. «3 R»
- 66r. «15 Q» [wrong]. «4 R»
- 66v. «16 Q» [wrong]. «5 R».
- 67r. «prima R» [wrong]. «6 R»
- 67v. «7 R»
- 68r. «8 R»
- 68v. «9 R»
- 69r. «10 R»
- 69v. «††15 L††?»
- 70r. «5 n» / «15 L» [wrong]. «6 n»
- 70v. «10 I»
- 71r. Line
- 71v. «11 I»
- 72r. «12 I»
- 72v. «vj h». Line.
- 73r. «vij h».
- 73v. «xiiij g»
- 74r. «vij h»
- 74v. «ix h»
- 75r. «x h». «7 k»
- 75v. «8 k».
- 76v. «iiij h»
- 77r. «v h»

- 77v. «vi h» [wrong limit line]  
 78r. «4 p»  
 78v. «5 p» [duplicated by a wrong limit line]. «6 p»  
 79r. «6 p» [wrong]. «7 7 p»  
 79v. «8 p» [wrong]. «8 p»  
 80r. «9 p». «8 p» [wrong]. «10 p»  
 80v. «9 p» [wrong]. «11 p»  
 81r. «10 p» [wrong]. «12 p»  
 81v. «13 p»  
 82r. «14 p». «12 p» [wrong]  
 82v. «15 p»  
 83r. «13 p» [wrong]. «16 p»  
 83v. «14 p» [wrong]. «prima Q».  
 84r. «9 K». Line [that doesn't show in the edition]  
 84v. «10 K».  
 85r. «prima f» [duplicated, one wrong]  
 85v. «ij .» F  
 86r. «14 u»  
 86v. «15 u».  
 87r. «3 n»  
 87v. «4 n».  
 88r. «13 M»  
 89r. «iiij» [d]  
 89v. «v» [d]  
 90r. «viiij g»  
 90v. «ix g»  
 91r. Line  
 91v. «x 8» [no limit line]. Line  
 92r. «9 I». «4 L»  
 93r. «5 L». «v» [a]  
 93v. «vj» [a] [wrong]  
 94r. «vij» [a]. «vij» [wrong]. «††xiiij†† [a]» [pointed limit line]  
 94v. «xiiij» [a]. Line  
 95r. «xiiij» [a] [wrong]. «xv» [a].  
 95v. «††iiiiix††». «††iub††» [wrong limit line]  
 96r. «††xij††?» [wrong]. «xj» [wrong]  
 96v. «xij a». «xij» [a] [wrong]  
 97r. «xiiij» [a].  
 97v. «13 L»
- 98r. «14 L»  
 99r. «xi h»  
 99v. «xij h»  
 100r. «xiiij h»  
 101r. «11 L». Line  
 101v. «12 L».  
 102r. «xij.» [b]  
 102v. «xiiij» [b].  
 103r. «11 R»  
 103v. «††9††» [wrong]. «12 R»  
 104r. «13 R»  
 104v. «14 R».  
 105r. «9 n»  
 105v. «10 n»  
 106r. «11 n»  
 107r. «16 n»  
 107v. «prima o»  
 108r. «2 o».  
 108v. «ix e»  
 109r. «x e». «xj e» [wrong]  
 109v. «xi e»  
 110r. «xi xij» [e] [both wrong]  
 110v. «xij e». «xij xij e» [latter wrong]  
 111r. «xiiij e»  
 111v. «xiiij †† e» [written over previous number]  
 112r. «xv e» [written over previous number]  
 112v. «xvi e»  
 113v. «vij» [a]. [duplicated in wrong position]  
 114r. «viiij a» [duplicated in wrong position]  
 118v. «11 k».  
 119r. «12 k»  
 119v. «13 k»  
 120r. «14 k»  
 120v. «15 k»  
 121r. «16 k»  
 121v. «prima L»  
 122r. «2 L»  
 122v. «3 L»  
 123r. «15 R»

- 123v. «16 R»  
 124r. «prima S»  
 125r. «2 S»  
 125v. «3 S»  
 126r. «4 S»  
 126v. «5 S»  
 127r. «6 S»  
 127v. «7 S»  
 128v. «8 S»  
 129r. «9 S»  
 129v. «10 S»  
 130r. «11 S».  
 130v. «16 x»  
 131r. «prima y»  
 131v. «2 y» [correcting «15 x»]  
 132v. «3 y» [correcting «16 x»]  
 133r. «4 y» [correcting «prima y»]  
 133v. «5 y» ]. [duplicated in wrong position]  
 134r. «6 y» [wrong limit line and cancelled]  
 134v. «7 y»]. [duplicated in wrong position]  
 135r. «12 s» [wrong limit line]  
 136r. «13 s»  
 136v. «14 s»  
 137r. «15 s»  
 137v. «16 s»  
 138r. «prima T»  
 138v. «2 T»  
 139v. «3 T»  
 140r. «4 T»  
 140v. «5 T»  
 141r. «6 T»  
 141v. «7 T»  
 142r. «8 T»  
 143r. «9 T»  
 143v. «10 T»  
 144r. «11 T»  
 144v. «12 T»  
 145v. «8 .v.»  
 146r. «9 .v.»  
 146v. «10 v»  
 147v. «12 x» [correcting]  
 148r. «13 x» [correcting]  
 148v. «14 x» [correcting]  
 149r. «15 x» [correcting].  
 150r. «vj» [b].  
 150v. «prima h.»  
 151v. «3 o»  
 152r. «4 o».  
 152v. «11 8 v» [«8 in different ink]  
 153r. «12 v»  
 154r. «13 v»  
 154v. «14 v»  
 155r. «15 v» [correcting «12»]  
 155v. «16 v» [correcting «13»]  
 156r. «prima x» [correcting «14»]  
 156v. «2 x» [correcting «15 v»]  
 157v. «3 x» [correcting «16 v»]  
 158r. «4 x» [correcting «prima x»]  
 158v. «5 x» [correcting «2 x»]  
 159r. «6 x» [correcting «3»]  
 160r. «7 x» [correcting «4»]  
 160v. «8 x» [correcting «5»]  
 161r. «9 x» [correcting «6»]  
 161v. «10 x» [correcting «7»]  
 162v. «11 x» [correcting «8»]. «13 T»  
 163r. «14 T»  
 164r. «15 T»  
 164v. «16 T»  
 165r. «prima v»  
 165v. «2 .v.»  
 166r. «3 .v.»  
 166v. «4 .v.»  
 167v. «5 .v.»  
 168r. «6 .v.»  
 168v. «7 .v.»  
 169r. «ij g»  
 169v. «iij g»  
 170r. «iiij» [g]  
 171r. «14 M»  
 171v. «15 M»  
 172r. «16 M»  
 173r. «prima N»  
 173v. «2 N»  
 174r. «5 o»

- 174v. «6 o»  
 175r. «6 o» [cancelled]  
 175v. [cross by stanza not included in the edition]  
 176r. «8 o»  
 176v. «8 o» [cross by stanza not included in the edition]  
 177r. «9 o» [cancelled]. «9 o»  
 178r. «prima M/»  
 178v. «2 M»  
 179r. «3 M»  
 179v. «4 M»  
 180r. «5 M» [duplicated, one in the wrong position]  
 180v. Line  
 181r. «6 M»  
 181v. «7 M»  
 182r. «8 M»  
 182v. «9 M».  
 183r. «4 R»  
 183v. «5 R»  
 184v. «6 R»  
 185r. «10» [o]  
 185v. «10 o» [cancelled] [cross by stanza not included in the edition]  
 186r. «11 o» [duplicated in different positions, and cancelled] [cross by stanza not included in the edition]  
 186v. «11 o»  
 187r. «12 o» [duplicated in different positions, the wrong one cancelled]  
 188r. «6 L»  
 188v. «7 L»  
 189r. «8 L»  
 189v. «9 L»  
 190r. «10 L»  
 190v. «13 o»  
 191r. «14 o»  
 191v. «15 o»  
 192r. «16 o»  
 192v. «prima p»  
 193v. «2 p»  
 194r. «3 p».  
 194v. «2 q» [correcting «15 p»]  
 195r. «3 q» [correcting «16 p»]  
 195v. «4 q» [correcting «prima q»]



## 9. OBSCURE WORDS IN MS *D* AND EDITION *b*

### LEGEND:

Xr-Xv: folios of MS *D* in which the word is or should be.

AMX: number of March's poem according to Pagès's canonical edition.

[deleted]: implies the word is only visible through a Wood's lamp.

### 9.1. Words only in *D*

- 4v. AM4. «endurar per / tenir fam» [deleted].  
6v. AM7. «riquesa» [between lines, on the top of word «rictat,» deleted].  
10v. AM11. «malastruch per / mal †† reysas ††» [deleted].  
11r. AM11. «benahuirat per / ben auenturat» [deleted].  
11r. AM11. «null per / ††††» [deleted].  
16r. AM16. «volta» [on the margin, by «born», deleted].  
22r. AM24. «no sech lo temps / no segui lo temps» [deleted].  
35v. AM39. «††cuy††††††††††» [deleted].  
62v. AM92. «larma per / lanima».  
93v. AM66. «si col malalt / †††† / ††††» [deleted].  
107v. AM99. «meri per / merexque».  
107v. AM99. «hahir <per> / Parahir».  
108r. AM99. «embolta <per> / embolicada / o embuelta».  
108r. AM99. «pus per / mes».  
108v. AM100. «pechs per / ignorant».  
108v. AM100. «marma <per> / manima».  
109r. AM100. «arma per / anima».  
113v. AM101. «feble per flach/» [deleted].  
131v. AM105. «abreuges / <per> acurces».

### 9.2. Words only in *b*

- 2r. AM2. «Veus per voltres ho vegades».  
12r. AM13. «Setge per / siti».  
12v. AM13. «De lay per / depardella».  
13v. AM14. «Cenyt per / abrassat».

- 15r. AM16. «Lenta per / tarda».  
 15v. AM16. «Glots per / golosos».  
 17r. AM17. «Poncell <per> / no ser pro / uat en ca- / sos de a- / mors».  
 26v. AM28. «Palpebres. / per les pa- / stanyes d<e>ls / vlls».  
 28r. AM30. «Renar, per / Rabosa».  
 28r. AM31. «Leys <per> ella».  
 28v. AM31. «Embassar <per> / proueir».  
 29v. AM32. «Arreus per / les coses / nescesaus».  
 30r. AM32. «Ma po<n>ya / <per> mo<n>d<e>gut».  
 32v. AM35. «Irescer: <per> / ahirar».  
 33r. AM36. «Fenyer.per / burlar.».  
 34v. AM37. «Veus per / vegades.».  
 35v. AM38. «Born. per / volta».  
 37r. AM41. «Aulesa. per / vellaqueria».  
 37r. AM41. «Cauorca <per> / coua».  
 38v. AM42. «Cusca. per / pereosa ho / e<m>pachada».  
 46r. AM50. «Dompdar / per ama<n>sar».  
 46v. AM50. «Meriu per / meritau.».  
 46v. AM50. «Vag per / desocupa / da.».  
 49r. AM53. «Lig. <per> ley».  
 51r. AM55. «Desastru- / ga. per mal / acertada».  
 54r. AM89. «Ops <per> me- / nester».  
 57r. AM91. «Marsit. <per> / mustiu».  
 58r. AM85. «Sem. <per> me / nys cabat / ho buyt».  
 74v. AM78. «Volpell. <per> / vergo<n>yos / ho per en / vergonyit».  
 87r. AM60. «Foure.per / banya».  
 97r. AM69. «Degra per / deuria tru- / fan per bur / lan».  
 102r. AM73. «James ha/ buyra per / james repo / sa».  
 110r. AM100. «Punyen <per> / treballen».

### 9.3. Words both in *D* and *b*

- 3r. AM3. *D* «affeblit <per> / †††† / <et> debilitat» [deleted]; *b* «Affeblit <per> debilitat».  
 3v. AM4. *D* «cell per / aquell» [deleted]; *b* «Cell per / aquell».  
 4r. AM4. *D* «renart per / rabosa» [deleted]; *b* «Renar per / Rabosa».  
 4v. AM4. *D* «pech per / ignocent» [deleted]; *b* «Pech per i- / nocent».  
 10r. AM10. *D* «endure / per deju / †† passe ††» [deleted]; *b* «Endure per / dejune».

- 10r. AM10. *D* «venço <per> / vençime<n>t» [deleted]; *b* «Venso per / ven-sime<n>t».
- 10v. AM10. *D* «membrar per / retraer a / [blur] memoria» [deleted]; *b* «Me<m>brar <per> / reduyr ha / memoria».
- 20r. AM21. *D* «ben ahuirar / per ben auen / turar»; *b* «Ben havi- / ratper ben / auenturat».
- 21r. AM21. *D* «sem per / buyt» [deleted]; *b* «Sem,per bu / yt».
- 30v. AM33. *D* «rou per, / rosega»; *b* «Rou per / rosega».
- 35v. AM39. *D* «m arma <per> / m anima» [deleted]; *b* «Arma per / anima».
- 35v. AM39. *D* «pregon per / fonts» [deleted]; *b* «De p<re>gon / per prima / ment».
- 36r. AM39. *D* «mils per / millor»; *b* Mils per / millor».
- 94r. AM70. *D* «tebeu <per> / non †††† nj / ††††» [deleted]; *b* «Tebeu per / no ser calt / ni fret».
- 113v. AM101 *D* «esculls <per> / loch pen††t / ha totes parts» [deleted]; *a b* «esculls per / lochs pen / dents ha to / tes parts».
- 114r. AM101. *D* «yom seny <per> / yom burle» [deleted]; *b* «Yom seny / <per> yom bur- / le».
- 114r. AM101. *D* «pahoruch per / temeros» [deleted]; *b* «Pahuruch / per teme- / ros».



10. BCPM, NÀPOLS, CAIXA XXXIII, D. 12

March 9, 1535. Orden o mandamiento de pago del Illmo. duque de Montalto dada al magnifico mossen Miquel Bastida, mayordomo del Ill. Sr. Almirante Don Fernando de Cardona, de los salarios de los oficiales y servidores de la casa de dicho Almirante, durante las fechas que se indican, de importe 1.000 ducados pagaderos por el Banco de Esteban Vaglies, especificamente los conceptos y las cantidades que debian satisfacerse a cada uno de los oficiales y servidores que se nombran en la lista. Firma original de Fernando de Aragon, duque de Montalto, sello de sus armas.

[Fragments]

Magnifico mossen Michele Bastida maggiordomo de lo Ill. sor admirante Don Ferrando de Cardona, per che volimo che se pagano li salarii deli officiali et seruituri dela cada dil p.to. Ill. admirante dela pnte. terza de pascha che cominzo il primo di ginnaro proximo passatto et inira il vltimo de aprile primo venturo. Et prouiderse ad altri bisognii et esciti necessarii extra hordinarii per bisogno de dicta casa per la qual causa ve facimo pagare al pnte. duc. Mille per il banco di estephano vaglies, Per tanto ve hordinamo per lo pnte. nro. mandato che debbiat pagare a li Infrs. persunii le quantitats de dinari ad caschuno desiguale sonno per loro salarii de dicta terza lo quale pagamento se debbia fare ad ogni vno finita la terza. Recuperando de ipsi polise de recep. o altra debita cautela che con lo prte. Mandato serrano senza dubio alchuno valitur. ad vuy Julio render de vrj. comput. vz.

...

Diego Alvarez de Peralta, ayo de l'almirant, 33 ducats etc. [100 ducats per year]  
Jacobo Fornes, maestro di sala 16 etc. [50 d / y]  
Gesmundo Altarriba, camarero 16 etc. [50 d / y]  
Pedro de Palacios, copiero 13 etc. [40 d / y]  
Joan Castellvi, trinxant 10 [30 d / y]  
Bartolomeo Francolino, secretari 33 etc. [100 d / y]  
Mateo de Avignio, medico 10 [30 d / y]  
Joan Petro de Milano, salurgico 8 [24 d / y]  
Nicolao Prats, capellano 6.5 [20 d / y]  
Pedro de Terranova, cavallarizo 13 [40 d / y]

Ludovico Parisetto, maestro di detto Signore 20 [60 d / y]

Benedicto Sever, vedetore 10 [30 d / y]

Michele Serra, comporatore 10 [30 d / y]

Stephano Sardo, rebostiero 6 [18 d / y]

Jacobo Robinat, dispensiero 5 [15 d / y]

Sandino delo tinello 4 [12 d / y]

Tre Stafiere

Mulatier

Doi Muzi di stalla

Doi muzi del comporatore

Sanita suandara

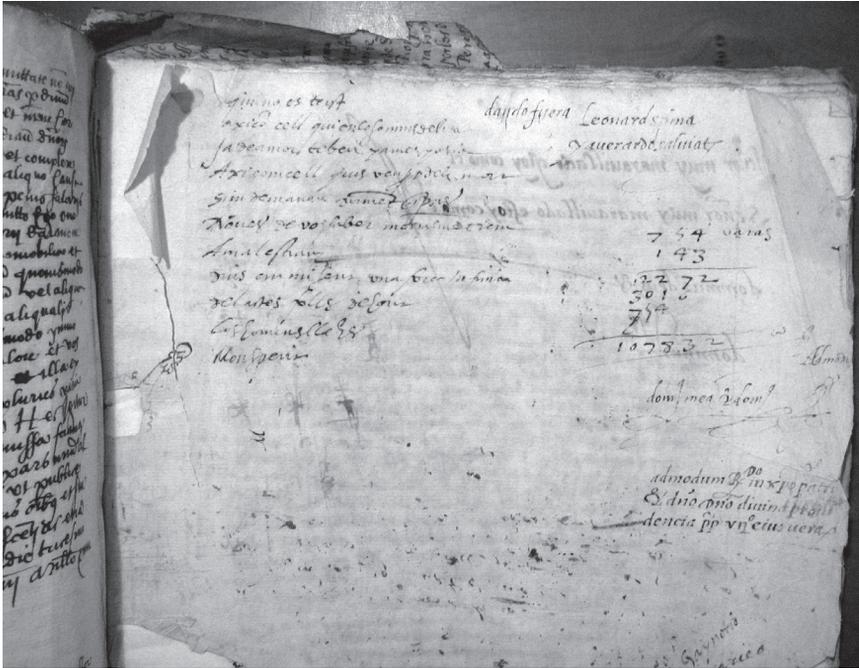


Figure 11. AHPB, 313/105, guard leaves.

## Transcription

### LEGEND:

[X]: Poem number X (esparsa: indicates the type of poem, consisting of one only stanza.)

v. XX: indicates the verse number, when it is not the very first of the composition. All verses that are not the incipit happen to be the first verse of a stanza.

Qui no es trist [39]

Axi com cell qui en lo somnis delita [1]

Ja de amor tebeu yames **yo** sia [67] (BDG'Kbede: **yo**)

Axi com cell quis veu prop de la mort [81, esparsa]

Sim demanau turment que pas [86, esparsa]

Noues de vos saber [89, v. 33]

A mal estrany [49]

Dins en mi sent una forca infinita [49, v. 33]

Dels actes folls dhon [120, v. 73]

Los homens lechs [87, v. 321]

Mon esperit [87, v. 231]

## 12. PARATEXTS FROM MARCH'S LATER EDITIONS (1546, 1555, 1562)

12.1. Ms E. (1 may 1546)

[6r]

Ab la molta affectio y estremada voluntat <que> la noble dona Angela Borja y de carroç de vilaragut te ales marauellosos obres del gran poeta y stremat Caualler Mossen Ausias March, enamorada y encesa ardentme<n>t en aquelles, desijant saber la descendencia y origen natural de aquell y hon era nat e criat vna persona tan exemplar y de marauellos e Angelich Jngeni, Art, Saber, gracia y stil de trobar, eloquencia y audacia de parlar y scriure en vers obres tan profundes y plenes de tot saber y doctrina, Y per tenir vn llibre de verdadera scripcio essent Jnformada <que> yo don luis carroç de vilaragut Batle general per la Ces.<sup>a</sup> M<sup>d</sup>. del Emp.<sup>or</sup> e Rey n<ost>re señor en lo regne de Valencia, hauria vist molt y Jnquirit axi en saber la descendencia y linatge del dit Mo<ss>en Ausias march, com encara en tenir la verdadera y original Scripcio deles obres de aquell, hauent legit, vist y regonegut molt libres antichs scrits de ma per los contemporals ab lo dit auctor, verifficant y comprobant los vns ab los altres y ab les dos Jmpresions fetes en Barcelona per manament del Ill<sup>e</sup> Admirant de Napols don Ferrando de Cardona la vna a xxij de Dehembre Any M.D.XXXXIIJ y laltra en lo mateix dia y mes, Any M.D.XXXXV. Vistes les errors e Jnaduertencies dels Impre<ss>ors les quals corrompen la Ex.<sup>na</sup> y sentencies deles dites obres, feta diligencia per molts anys entot lo <que> es estat ami possible, axi per complir los manaments y satisfer ala voluntat dela desus dita dama y S.<sup>ra</sup> pera que de son desig fos complidament satisfeta com per que de tal auctor restas perpetua memoria y verdadera scriptio y dela sua origen y descendencia se tingues complida noticia recolligint ab tot compliment les sues excellents y melliflues obres les quals

[6v]

en valor y estima, art, stil y eloquencia sobrepujen als Jmmortals Poetes Dant. y Petrarca y al eloquent Joa<n> de Mena y atots los altres antipassats en tant auantatge que no se scriu ni troba <que> ans ni apres de aq<uell> algu haia scrit en vers, obres morals ab tant vius exemples y naturals compara-

cions com lo dit mo<ss>e<n> Ausias march en honrra y memoria del qual ab tota veritat he attes y sabut que fonch Caualler valencia nat y criat enla Ciutat de Valencia de origen y descendencia dels marchs cauallers Cathalans de antica y honrrosa proles fill de mossen Pere march y de Elionor ripoll [canvi de mà] e casa ab Joana escorna dama valentiana de antich e honrrat linatge y fonch Señor dels lochs de Beniarjo y Pardines e altres circumuehins y señor de dos cases enlo carrer del glorios Sanct Thomas enla ciutat de Valentia la vna deles quals es huy del noble don Ramon Ladro Señor de Castalla [underlined by a later hand; on the margin: <lo qual consta / en <p> /pro?/ de aq<ue>ll ab / acte rebut Per / en Pau rrosell / rotg / Axj de oct / ubre any M. CCCC L I>] y laltra del noble don Miquel de Moncada les quals estan la vna dauant laltra. Los quals lochs e cases hague y hereta de Son pare mossen Pere March lo qual fonch Governador general de totes les terres del bon Duch de gandia nomenat Alonso Comte de Ribagorça é de Denia é Señor de la Baronia de Arenos é Condestable del Realme de Arago <per> manament e Seruey del qual edifica lo monestir del glorios senct Hierony de gandia y en senyal de tan senyalat seruey dexa les sues armes esculpides com huy en dia stan en lo sobredit monestir. fonch lo dit Caualler mossen Ausias March valeros de sa persona y contemporal ab lo Rey de Arago Conquistador del Realme de Napolis que comença a [on the margin: «segons consta ab / los actes d<e l>a batlia / [general] de val<encia>»] Regnar enlo any -M.CCCCXVJ. fins á lany M.CCCCLVIJ. Y molt affectat Seruidor de dona Teresa Bou dama valentiana tan gentil virtuosa honesta é Sauia com les obres fetes en son Seruey é lahor mostren en seruiti dela qual en vida é apres mort de aquella escrigue la maior part del present libre perles

[7r]

obres del qual veuran les mes acabades e perfetes amors honestes que may ningun enamorat Caualler ha Sentit ni escrit y per que pensant lohar aquell la mia lengua y flach estil no offena la sua valor y estima soplisque ala dessusdita Dama y señora mia prenga carrech en alabança de aquell y deles sues obres dir lo que yo no se ni gose y no consenta que ninguna persona se atreueixca corregir ni emendar ninguna cosa en lo present libre per quant Seria borrar la original escripsio del mateix auctor y reba est Senyalat Seruey ab aquella voluntat y amor que al auctor de aquell te yl enuia est affectat Seruidor al Seruici dela quen mereix molts majors escrit en Valentia per Hierony Figueres lo Primer dia de Maig Any M.DXXXXVj.

12.2. Ed. *d: Las obras del famosissimo Philosopho y poeta mossen Osias Marco*. Ed. Juan Resa. Valladolid: En casa de Sebastián Martínez, 20 February 1555.

[A6v]

MOSEN AVSIAS MARCH fue nascido y criado en la ciudad <de> Valencia. Fue del antiguo y muy noble linage delos Marchs: caualleros Catalanes. Su padre se llamo: Mossen Pere March. Y su madre Leonor Ripoll. Fue casado co<n> Ioanna Scorna, dama Valenciana, y <de> noble linage. Fue señor de las villas de Beniarjo y Pardines, co<n> algunos otros lugares sus comarcas. Biuió en el tiempo que reynaua el Rey don Alonso de Aragon que conquisto a Nápoles. Su dama por quien el tantas y tan excelentes cosas escriuió, se llamo Doña Teresa Bou: natural de Valencia.

12.3. *Las obras del excelentissimo poeta mossen Ausias March, cauallero Valenciano* Trans. Jorge de Montemayor. Zaragoza: Casa de la viuda de Bartolomé de Nágera, 4 March 1562.

[a8 r]

LA VIDA DEL POETA, POR / Diego de Fuentes trasladada de sus / Antiguos originales

En la famosa y muy Antigua ciudad de Barcelona, tenia su natural habitacion vn noble Cauallero y generoso, al qual llamauan Mossen Pedro Marco, este valeroso cauallero, por medio de sus muchas y muy adornadas virtudes, que en si incorporadas, hazian continua habitacion, caso co<n> vna Señora de no menos virtuosas partes, y nobles Rayzes: a la qual por nombre llamauan Leonor Ripol. Estos dos señores, teniendo enel Reyno de Valencia, dos lugares, el vno llamado Veniarjo, y el otro Pardines, con algunos otros lugarcillos, y alquerias. Paresciendoles ser justa y muy razonable cosa, trasplantar eneste Reyno, su natural, lo hizieron desta manera. Porque dexando su propia patria, se fueron a Valencia donde al cabo dealgunos dias, enella la noble Señora concibio y pario vn hijo, al qual pornombre pusieron Ausias Marco. Plugo ala diuina magestad, quel nascido niño camina<n>do, por la senda no poco estrecha dela vida, con ayuda de la paterna exortacio<n>, despues dela inspiracio<n> diui-

[a8 v]

na, no tan solamente se contento llegar al parangon con las virtudes de sus viejos padres, pero auentajose en tal manera, que con su trabajoso estudio alcanço grandes premios por las escuelas. Y tanto camino por este tan honrrado trabajo, que despues de por muchas excelencias suyas, fue laureado por poeta, no menos affamado, <que> lo fue el doctisimo, Françisco Petrarca, en nuestros tiempos. De cuyo origen no poca razon tendria los caualleros de oy, de le procura imitar, en algunos passos, y no dexar estas artes en poder de los sieruos, pues no embalde fueron dichas liberales, sino por ser dedicadas para solamente los libres. Acontescio que como los que en esta profession, para algunas vezes con mas leuantado estilo, mostrar la fuerça y licor de sus versos, toman honestos Amores, deste modo mismo haziendolo el doctisimo Poeta, se enamoro de vna dama, no menos discreta que hermosa, llamada Teresa bou, nacida en la misma ciudad de Valencia. Cuya discreta victoria y alta erudicion, fue parte, para que nuestro laureado poeta, en sus altos y mas que incomprehensibles versos cantasse, las excelencias y grandes marauillas desta muy noble Señora, segun que por ellos mas largamente parecera.

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## ILLUSTRATIONS

*Figure 1.* *Las obras del famosísimo filósofo y poeta mosén Osiás Marco.* Valencia: Juan Navarro, 1539, 2<sup>o</sup>, f. 2r.

*Figure 2.* *Les obres de mossèn Ausiàs March.* Barcelona: Carles Amorós, 1543, 4<sup>o</sup>, f. 1r.

*Figure 3.* Covers of MS 2985, Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid, 4<sup>o</sup>.

*Figure 4.* Front cover and back cover of MS Esp. 479 at the Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, 8<sup>o</sup>.

*Figure 5.* Front cover and back cover of MS 2025 at the Biblioteca de Catalunya, Barcelona, 8<sup>o</sup>.

*Figure 6.* Hand A, MS *D*, f. 1r.

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