

More about ‘Tirant lo Blanc’ / Més sobre el ‘Tirant lo Blanc’

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Volume 10

More about ‘Tirant lo Blanc’ / Més sobre el ‘Tirant lo Blanc’.
From the sources to the tradition / De les fonts a la tradició
Edited by Anna Maria Babbi and Vicent Josep Escartí

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From the sources to the tradition /

De les fonts a la tradició

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Introductory note

It is an uncontested fact that Joanot Martorell's novel *Tirant lo Blanch* stands out for being one of the medieval Catalan literature works which has raised and still raises more interest amongst scholars – and not only in the field of Catalan studies *strictu sensu*. As a matter of fact, although *Tirant* practically disappeared from circulation inside the Crown of Aragón during the 16th and 17th centuries, even amongst scholars – despite the Spanish translation published in Valladolid in 1511, and the Italian versions of 1538, 1566 and 1611 – the truth is that the 18th century, albeit showing signs of interest in this medieval work – as can be inferred from Fray Lluís Galiana's famous words – could not revive it for reading either, and only one version and several editions in French were published. It was necessary to wait until the 19th century, when the figures of Renaixença – the cultural and linguistic restauration movement which flourished in Catalonia, Valencia and the Balearic Islands – paid attention once again to medieval classics, and *Tirant* started reconquering its place in the history of European literature. Timidly at first, with quotations extracted from local bibliographic works; and later on, especially from the 1990s, through translations and studies undertaken from a wide variety of places – helped by the popularization of Romance studies in numerous European universities within an orientation towards globalization that was becoming increasingly visible. This is probably not the right place to perform a thorough review of the publications related to *Tirant lo Blanch* which gradually appeared across Europe and America. The knight Tirant, who conquered almost the whole known world – i.e. the Mediterranean world of its fifteenth-century author – in Martorell's novel embarked now upon such remote, universal adventures as its translations into English, Chinese and Russian. And it all accompanied by scholarly and academic contributions which increasingly enriched our previous vision of a novel which was complete and complex enough to call Cervantes' attention as well as that of Italo Calvino and Vargas Llosa a few centuries later.

By way of example, quite a few publications have been released from the 1990s in Valencia – Martorell's homeland as well as the location where the novel was first written and printed. Thus, several versions of this work which had never been reprinted in its place of origin for five centuries appeared precisely in 1990 – coinciding with the fifth centenary of *Tirant*'s first edition, carried out at Nicolau Spindeler's workshop. After an uncompleted attempt in the late 1970s

which was subsequently finished with a text by Josep Palàcios with illustrations by Manuel Boix, in a bibliophile edition, the University of Valencia professors Albert Hauf and Vicent J. Escartí undertook the philological edition (published by the *Generalitat Valenciana* [Valencian Region Autonomous Government]), whereas Victor Gómez-Labrado devoted his efforts to a version with normalized spelling (released by the Alfons el Magnànim Institution). Furthermore, Joan Pellicer and Rosa Giner offered a version adapted to the general public (published by Tres i Quatre in installments). This turning point meant the uninterrupted appearance of other publications – as *ad usum scholarum* editions – and, above all, it favored the appearance of studies written by other authors – amongst whom Jaume Chiner and Jesús Villalmanzo deserve a special mention – who shed light on many passages and many unanswered questions which still hovered around *Tirant*, and especially helped to solve mysteries about its author's life. Another milestone can be found in 2005, when the Valencia-based publishing house *Tirant lo Blanc* released two *Tirantian* volumes: (a) the first one, the *Tirant* of Martorell, by A. Hauf, which features the best critical edition currently available in the market; and (b) the second, a complementary edition of the Castilian version of *Tirante* – the one that Cervantes read, surely – by V. J. Escartí. These contributions most probably closed a large circle of studies focused on Martorell's work, insofar as Hauf's edition incorporated all the progress that had been made during the previous decades. Our advice for those wishing to know more details about what has been said so far is to consult the aforesaid edition by Hauf.

Studies and editions from Barcelona – in particular – as well as from a number of other places where Catalan is spoken or studied had equally become famous, gaining even more popularity as a result of being headed by Martí de Riquer's masterworks. It was our decision not to list them, since that would be a difficult and dense task which additionally lies beyond the scope of the present text. However, the pioneering role that studies made from Catalonia played in the recovery of this Valencian classic definitely needs to be stressed.

Anyway, it goes without saying that such a huge work as *Tirant* was going to generate contributions of the most diverse nature. As said above, our aim here does not consist in summarizing all that has been produced in recent years, and neither is our intention to perform a bibliographic study. The present paper simply seeks to highlight trends, to provide exemplification through the use of several data.

Therefore, returning to the Valencian cultural scene of the last five-year period, it would firstly be worth stressing the importance of the two volumes released by the Alfons el Magnànim Institution under the title of *La novel·la de Joanot Martorell i l'Europa del segle XV* (2011), with more than twenty chapters signed by specialists in this topic from all over Europe. A set of works written

by two Valencian researchers deserve a special mention as well. Because of the controversy that it raised, attention should be paid to Agustín Rubio Vela's *Joanot Martorell y el condado de Dénia. Una clave en el Tirant* (Valencia, 2010), which collected numerous replies and answers that need not be dealt with now; and, likewise, a highly significant contribution – for the new keys that it reveals to us – by Abel Soler: the two volumes of *El corsari Jaume de Vilaragut i la donzella Carmesina* (València, 2014). All these works suffice to make clear the extent to which the interest in *Tirant* remains alive in scholarly circles – and not only there, since discoveries often reach the street, even giving rise to widely-followed polemics in periodical press.

Obviously, the already mentioned globalization which characterizes our present-day world makes it easier to understand the true dimension of those publications released in Valencia or in Barcelona: they all belong to a cultural collectivity which travels across the classrooms of universities and the halls of academies around the world. Indeed, one of the first large conventions centered on Martorell's novel beyond the borders of Catalan-speaking lands took place at the Université d'Aix-en-Provence in France: it was the “*Col·loqui Internacional Tirant lo Blanc: L'albor de la novel·la europea*,” held in October 1994, the proceedings of which were published by Montserrat Abbey three years later under the supervision of Jean M. Barberà. Other encounters where *Tirant* was present to a greater or lesser extent followed.

Now, the present publication focuses on one of those specialist meetings, more precisely, the one that took place at the *Università degli Studi di Verona* on September 19th and 20th, 2013. The Dipartimento di Filologia, Letteratura e Linguistica, la Scuola di dottorato in Studi Umanistici – both belonging to the University of Verona – and the ISIC-IVITRA, from the University of Alicante, promoted an encounter of several specialists, many of whose presentations are now published for the first time in this volume, at the *Convegno Internazionale “Tirant lo Blanc e l’Europa.”*

Materializing a university conference with its scientific committee formed by Antoni Ferrando (University of Valencia) and Vicent Martínez (University of Alicante), together with us – the authors of this prologue – and preparing a compilation of studies are certainly different processes which require various solutions depending on the contributions made. Hence our preference for re-orienting and bonding the collected works to a greater extent, since they clearly owned an intrinsic unity that the title of our publication has tried to reflect: *Más sobre el Tirant lo Blanc: De las fuentes a la tradición*. Actually, whereas the first part of this title shows our intention to join the research lines already developed for decades, the second one conveys a wish to specify further. After all, the concerns of those researchers whose works have been published here follow two broad streams:

(a) the identification of sources and their analysis, bringing together works and authors with the work under examination; and (b) their extension over time, through the survival of texts – in what is known to us as *tradition*. The context of Martorell, of his work, of the Italian translation published in Venice (1538) or its reception in the 19th century, and even its contact with the works of twentieth-century Italy, end up defining the leitmotif which enabled us to connect the sources for *Tirant* and its subsequent influence.

This may not be the right moment to perform an analysis – even if it is a short one – about the different works published here, but it is undeniably worth highlighting their main themes so as to achieve higher cohesion between them. In this regard, it can be firstly pointed out that Cecilia Cantalupi (Università di Verona/EPHE, Paris) and Elena de la Cruz (Universitat de Barcelona/Università di Verona) delve deeper into the study of sources for Martorell's work; instead, Lara Quarti (Università di Verona/Université de Poitiers) and Rafael Beltran (Universitat de València) strive to connect *Tirant* to literary motifs of its time. In turn, Abel Soler (Universitat de València) and Vicent J. Escartí (Universitat de València) analyze a number of aspects which characterize both Martorell's cultural environment and that of the actual novel. An outstanding place corresponds to the contributions made by Anna Bognolo (Università di Verona) and Chiara Concina (Università di Verona), which revolved around the Venetian edition of the Italian *Tirante* and thus allowed the host university to organize the conference since, as is well known, the city of Verona was part of the former Most Serene Republic of Venice. Finally, Rafael Roca (Universitat de València) and Roberta Capelli (Università di Trento) close the series, connecting *Tirant* to aspects of Valencian nineteenth-century contemporaneity or to twentieth-century Italian literature.

Of course, a text with the size of the one presented by us here and now requires the effort of a many people and institutions. That is why we would not like to finish this introductory note without expressing our gratitude to everyone who took part in the conference and in the edition of these papers. In particular, our thanks go to the Dipartimento di Filologia, Letteratura e Linguistica of the Università degli Studi di Verona – represented by its head, Prof. Guglielmo Bottari – and to ISIC/IVITRA, from the University of Alicante, and its head, Prof. Vicent Martínez; and likewise, to Antonio Cortijo Ocaña (University of California – Santa Barbara) as well as to Enric Mallorquí-Ruscalleda (California State University – Fullerton), for their wise pieces of advice. The volume currently in print would have been impossible without them.

Anna Maria Babbi (Università degli Studi di Verona)
Vicent Josep Escartí (Universitat de València – IIFV)

Nota introductoria

No nos equivocaremos al afirmar que, sin duda, la novela de Joanot Martorell, *Tirant lo Blanch*, es una de las obras de la literatura medieval catalana que más interés ha despertado y despierta entre los estudiosos. Y no sólo en el ámbito estricto de la catalanística. De hecho, si durante los siglos XVI y XVII el *Tirant* prácticamente desapareció de la circulación, incluso erudita, en la Corona de Aragón –a pesar de la traducción española publicada en Valladolid, en 1511, y de las publicaciones italianas de 1538, 1566 y 1611–, no es menos cierto que el siglo XVIII, a pesar de dar síntomas de interés por la obra medieval –como se infiere de las conocidas palabras de fray Lluís Galiana–, no pudo resucitarla para la lectura y únicamente en francés conoció una versión y diversas ediciones. Se tuvo que esperar al siglo XIX para que los hombres de la Renaixença –el movimiento de restauración cultural y lingüística que se dio en Cataluña, Valencia y las Islas Baleares–, se fijaran de nuevo en los clásicos medievales y el *Tirant* comenzase a reconquistar un lugar en la historia de la literatura europea. Tímidamente al principio, con citas extraídas de obra bibliográficas locales, primero; y, después, sobretodo a partir de los años 90 del siglo XX, cuando ya se apuntaba hacia la globalización, con traducciones y estudios desde lugares muy diversos, al amparo de la popularización de la romanística en muchas universidades europeas. No es este el lugar para hacer un seguimiento exhaustivo de las publicaciones que, en relación a *Tirant lo Blanch*, fueron apareciendo a lo largo y ancho de la geografía europea y americana. El caballero Tirant, que en la novela de Martorell conquistaba prácticamente el mundo conocido –el mundo mediterráneo del autor del siglo XV–, en nuestros tiempos se embarcaba en aventuras tan remotas, tan universales como su traducción al inglés, al chino y al ruso. Y, todo ello, acompañado de aportaciones eruditas y académicas que iban enriqueciendo más y más la visión que teníamos de aquella novela tan completa y tan compleja que fue capaz de llamar la atención de Cervantes y, siglos después, de Italo Calvino y de Vargas Llosa.

En Valencia, patria de Martorell y lugar donde fue escrita e impresa por primera vez la novela, por ejemplo, desde los años 90 no han sido poca las publicaciones que han visto la luz. Así, el mismo 1990 –quinto centenario de la primera edición del *Tirant*, realizada en los talleres de Nicolau Spindeler–, se editaban sendas versiones de la obra que, durante aquellos cinco siglos, no había sido editada de nuevo en su patria. Tras un intento inacabado –de finales de los años 70,

que se finalizaría más tarde, con texto a cargo de Josep Palàcios e ilustraciones de Manuel Boix, en edición de bibliófilo–, los profesores de la Universidad de Valencia Albert Hauf y Vicent J. Escartí se encargaban de la edición filológica (publicada por la Generalitat Valenciana), mientras que Victor Gómez-Labrado se ocupaba de una versión con regularización de grafías (publicada por la Institució Alfons el Magnànim). Por otra parte, Joan Pellicer y Rosa Giner ofrecían una versión adaptada al gran público (editada por Tres i Quatre, fascicularmente). Este punto de inflexión supuso la aparición continuada de otras publicaciones –como ediciones *ad usum scholarum*–, y, sobretodo, promovió los estudios de diferentes autores –entre los que destacaría Jaume Chiner y Jesús Villalmanzo–, que aportaron luz a muchos pasajes, a muchos interrogantes que planeaban sobre la novela de Martorell y, en especial, colaboraron a despejar incógnitas sobre la vida del autor. En 2005 se llegaba a otro gran hito. La editorial Tirant lo Blanc –de Valencia– publicaba dos volúmenes tirantianos: en el primero, el *Tirant* de Martorell, a cargo de A. Hauf –en la mejor edición crítica que existe hoy en el mercado–; en el segundo, la edición de la versión castellana del *Tirante* –la que leyó Cervantes, sin duda–, como complemento y a cargo de V.J. Escartí. Seguramente, con estas aportaciones se cerraba un gran ciclo de estudios sobre la obra de Martorell, ya que la edición de Hauf incorporaba todo lo que se había avanzado en las décadas precedentes. A ella nos remitimos, para quien quiera conocer más detalles sobre lo dicho hasta ahora.

Des de Barcelona –especialmente– y desde otros lugares donde se habla o estudia el catalán, los estudios y ediciones habían sido igualmente notorias y más si cabe, encabezadas por los trabajos maestros de Martí de Riquer. No nos detendremos a enumerarlos, pues sería costoso y denso y no es ese el objetivo del presente texto. Sin embargo, no queríamos dejar de remarcar el papel pionero de los estudiosos efectuados desde Cataluña en la recuperación del clásico valenciano.

Ahora bien: es obvio que un trabajo tan inmenso como el *Tirant* iba a seguir generando aportaciones del signo más diverso. Como acabamos de decir, no se trata de hacer, aquí, una recapitulación de lo producido en los últimos años ni, tampoco, pretendemos realizar ahora un trabajo bibliográfico. Simplemente, queremos resaltar tendencias, exemplificar con algunos datos. Y así, por volver al espacio cultural valenciano, en el último lustro destacaríamos, en primer lugar, los dos volúmenes publicados por la Institució Alfons el Magnànim, *La novel·la de Joanot Martorell i l'Europa del segle XV* (2011), con más de una veintena de capítulos firmados por especialistas en el tema de media Europa. También, diversos trabajos que han realizado dos investigadores valencianos. Por la controversia que despertó, merece ser recordado aquí el trabajo de Agustín Rubio Vela *Joanot Martorell y el condado de Dénia. Una clave en el Tirant* (Valencia, 2010), que ha tenido réplicas y respuestas varias en las cuales no entraremos ahora; y, también,

una aportación de gran trascendencia –por las nuevas claves que nos descubre–, de la mano de Abel Soler: los dos volúmenes de *El corsari Jaume de Vilaragut i la donzella Carmesina* (València, 2014). Bastan como ejemplo para incidir en cómo se mantiene vivo el interés por el *Tirant* en los círculos eruditos –y no tanto, pues a menudo los descubrimientos pasan a la calle, con polémicas incluso en la prensa periódica.

Evidentemente, la ya citada globalización actual hace ver la verdadera dimensión de las publicaciones realizadas en Valencia o en Barcelona: todas forman parte de una colectividad cultural que transita por las aulas de las universidades y por los salones de las academias de medio mundo. De hecho, una de las primeras grandes convenciones alrededor de la novela de Martorell, más allá de las fronteras de las tierras de lengua catalana, se llevó a cabo en la Université de Aix en Provence, en el “Col-loqui Internazional Tirant lo Blanc: L’albor de la novel·la europea”, celebrado en octubre de 1994 y cuyas actas, a cargo de Jean M. Barberà, fueron publicadas tres años después por la Abadía de Montserrat. Después vinieron otros encuentros donde hubo mayor o menor presencia tirantiana.

Ahora, con la presente publicación, recojemos una de esas reuniones de especialistas. En este caso, la realizada en la Università degli Studi di Verona, los días 19 y 20 de septiembre de 2013. En el Convegno Internazionale “Tirant lo Blanc e l’Europa”, el Dipartimento di Filologia, Letteratura e Linguistica, la Scuola di dottorato in Studi Umanistici –ambos de la Università di Verona– y el ISIC-IVITRA, de la Universitat d’Alacant, promovían la reunión de un grupo de estudiosos muchas de cuyas ponencias ven ahora la luz en este volumen.

La concreción de un congreso universitario con comité científico integrado por Antoni Ferrando (Universitat de València) y Vicent Martínez (Universitat d’Alacant) –además de quienes firmamos este prólogo– y la constitución de un libro de estudios son, ciertamente, procesos diferentes y requieren soluciones diversas, a tenor de lo aportado. Y es por esto que en este volumen hemos preferido reorientar y cohesionar más los trabajos reunidos, pues, claramente, poseían una unidad intrínseca que hemos querido reflejar en le título de la publicación: *Más sobre el Tirant lo Blanc: De las fuentes a la tradición*. De hecho, si en la primera parte del enunciado queremos unirnos a las líneas de investigación que desde hace décadas se llevan realizando, en la segunda parte hemos querido concretar más, pues la preocupación de los investigadores aquí publicados van por los derroteros de dos grandes corrientes: la de la identificación de fuentes y su análisis, poniendo en contacto obras y autores con la obra estudiada y, por otro lado, la de su prolongación en el tiempo, a través de la persistencia del texto, en aquello que llamamos *tradición*. El contexto de Martorell, de la obra, de la traducción italiana publicada en Venecia (1538) o la recepción de la misma en el XIX e, incluso, su

contacto con obras de la Italia del XX, acaban por definir el hilo conductor con el que hemos querido enlazar las fuentes del *Tirant* y su influencia posterior.

No es este el momento de llevar a cabo un análisis, aunque sea breve, de los diferentes trabajos que se publican aquí. Pero sí que conviene remarcar, para cohesionarlos, sus líneas maestras. Y, en este sentido, señalaremos, en primer lugar, que Cecilia Cantalupi (Università di Verona/EPHE, París) y Elena de la Cruz (Universitat de Barcelona/Università di Verona) se adentran en el estudio de fuentes de la obra de Martorell, mientras Lara Quarti (Università di Verona/Université de Poitiers) y Rafael Beltran (Universitat de València) se esfuerzan por conectar la obra de Martorell con motivos literarios de su tiempo. Por otro lado, Abel Soler (Universitat de València) y Vicent J. Escartí (Universitat de València) analizan aspectos del entorno cultural de Martorell y de la propia novela. Un lugar destacado merecen las aportaciones de Anna Bognolo (Università di Verona) y de Chiara Concina (Università di Verona), que giran alrededor de la edición veneciana del *Tirante* italiano. Un motivo que permitió a la universidad anfitriona acoger el congreso, pues la ciudad de Verona formaba parte, como es bien sabido, del territorio de la antigua Serenísima República de Venecia. Finalmente, Rafael Roca (Universitat de València) y Roberta Capelli (Università di Trento), cierran el ciclo, conectando el *Tirant* con aspectos de la contemporaneidad del siglo XIX valenciano o la literatura italiana del XX.

Una obra de las dimensiones de la que presentamos aquí, ahora, requiere el esfuerzo de muchas personas e instituciones. Y no quisiéramos terminar esta nota introductoria sin dar las gracias a todos cuantos han participado en el congreso y en la edición de estos trabajos. En especial, al Dipartimento di Filologia, Letteratura e Linguistica de la Università degli Studi di Verona, en la persona de su director, el Prof. Guglielmo Bottari, y al ISIC/IVITRA de la Universitat d'Alacant y su director, el Prof. Vicent Martínez. Y, también, a Antonio Cortijo Ocaña (University of California – Santa Bárbara) y a Enric Mallorquí-Ruscaldea (California State University – Fullerton), por sus sabios consejos. Sin ellos, el volumen que ahora sale de las prensas no habría sido posible.

Anna Maria Babbi (Università degli Studi di Verona)
Vicent Josep Escartí (Universitat de València – IIFV)

A Petrarchan source of *Tirant lo Blanc*

The letter *Familiare* XII 2 and its Catalan tradition

Cecilia Cantalupi

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Chapter CXLIII of the Catalan novel *Tirant lo Blanc* relates to Abdallah Salomon's didactic speech to the protagonist, Tirant. It is a faithful adaptation of the Latin letter *Fam. XII 2* written by Petrarch in 1352 and sent by him from Avignon to Niccolò Acciaiuoli. The letter was first translated into Catalan at the beginning of the 15th century. Two different, independent copies of the original translation are preserved in Madrid (Biblioteca Nacional, ms. 7811) and Barcelona (Biblioteca de Catalunya, ms. 6). This essay will try to determine how the original Latin letter could have arrived in Catalonia and will draw attention to some significant variations between its critical text and the three Catalan versions, trying to identify which witness of the Petrarchan *Rerum familiarium libri* could have been the base for the translation.

In the final pages of the introductory essay to a recent Italian translation of *Tirant lo Blanc*, Paolo Cherchi informs the reader that Joanot Martorell was not a writer with a background in the humanities:

Le fonti classiche che si possono rinvenire nei suoi scritti sono scarse e si riducono a qualche opera di Ovidio, di Seneca e a pochi altri testi, e per di più sembrano mediate da traduzioni e rifacimenti in catalano. La maggior parte delle sue fonti sono opere catalane, specialmente di morale e di edificazione. [...] Altre fonti sono italiane, e vanno dal *Novellino*, alla *Fiammetta*, al *Decameron*, e qualche tessera sembra ripresa da Dante. (Cherchi 2013, lxxxviii)

The influence of the vernacular works of Boccaccio on *Tirant* has been thoroughly examined¹ and two studies were dedicated to the re-use of another Italian source,

1. For the critical text of the translation into Catalan of the *Elegia di Madonna Fiammetta*, taken from two manuscripts of the 15th Century, cf. Annicchiarico (1983–1987); about Juan Ruiz de Corella and the elegiac Boccaccio as models for *Tirant*, cf. Annicchiarico (1998). Concerning the links between the novel by Martorell and *Decameron*, cf. the indispensable contributions by Hauf (1994) and Pujol (1998). For the *Filocolo* as another Boccaccian source for *Tirant*, cf. Pujol (1999).

the *Historia destructionis Troiae* by Guido delle Colonne (Wittlin 1989; Pujol 1997). The reworking of the models takes shape either in the form of vague recollections, simple references and isolated quotes, or in a more obvious way, such as short rewritings or actual transcriptions of passages from the source: for example, in Chapter cx, the third tale from the *Novellino*² was harmoniously merged and incorporated into the plot of the book.

More than a century ago, Rubió i Lluch (1907, 141–170) noticed an unspecified Petrarchan influence in the description of the storming of the Fortress of the God of Love (Chapters LIII–LV of the London section); while Cherchi, in a note to Chapter xcvi (2013, 188), where Diafebo tells the story of the collar worn by the king of England which dates from the time of Julius Caesar, evokes a possible reference to the first tercet of Sonnet cxc of the *Rerum Vulgarium Fragmenta*, vv. 9–11:³

Nessun mi tocchi – al bel collo d'intorno
scritto avea di diamanti et di topazi --:
libera farmi al mio Cesare parve.⁴

Beyond these weak Petrachan echoes, Martorell draws conspicuously from the letter *Familiare* XII 2 to shape entirely Chapter CXLIII of the novel. This clearly and surely renders the author indebted to Petrarch.

The title of the chapter being examined is *Lo consell que Abdal·là Salomó donà a Tirant Capità* which is part of the third macro-section of the novel, predominantly set in the court of Constantinople. The fame of Tirant's deeds in the Mediterranean reaches the city and the Greek emperor requests the intervention of the invincible knight in the fight against the Turkish army that is occupying nine and a half of the ten lands that make up his realm. Once at court, Tirant is appointed Captain General and the novel progresses intertwining the heartbreak of the hero, madly in love with Princess Carmesina, with his first trials as leader of the Christian army. The Sultan, self-proclaimed emperor of Greece, begins preparations for the siege of the capital, but Tirant, helped by volunteers from all across the lands, uses a ploy to create chaos in the enemy camp to claim an overwhelming victory. Abdallah Salomon appears for the first time in Chapter cxxxiv and Martorell presents him in this way:

2. Entitled *D'un savio greco, ch'uno re teneva in pregione, come giudicò d'uno destriere*, the tale can be read in Ed. Conte (2001, 10–13).

3. As far as we know, Petrarch was the first to link the legend to Julius Caesar (in previous Greek, Latin and Romance versions, the protagonist was Alexander the Great) but the passage from *Tirant* is rich in details missing from the sonnet, which therefore cannot be considered Martorell's direct source; cf. Cherchi (2012, 317–324).

4. Quoting from Ed. Contini (1966, 246).

[...] la u d'aquests ambaixadors era home molt docte en totes ciències e de singular consell, que lo Gran Turc lo tenia en estima de pare e no feia neguna cosa sens consell d'aquest, que en tota la pagania no s'hi trobava home de tanta sapiència ni eloquència, e totes les coses que feia ab molt gran deliberació. Aquest moro era nomenat Abdal-là, e per la saviesa li posaren de sobrenom Salomó.⁵

Abdallah plays the role of messenger in an exchange of letters between the Captain and the Sultan and delivers a message to draw up a truce with the Christians for six months, a truce that Tirant refuses to grant. The Turks prepare to do battle once more and once again are defeated, so Abdallah is sent on a new diplomatic mission in order to appeal for pardon for many prisoners.

These preparatory chapters (cxxxiv–cxlII) begin to reveal the ambivalent nature of the character, metaphorically represented by his constant coming and going between the two enemy camps. He is a Moor and a spokesman for the infidels, but at the same time is so wise, judicious and cultured that he immediately appeals to the protagonist, to whom he becomes a friend, ally and tutor, to the point of providing him – a little later – a real *speculum principis*. Note, for example, the final words of both messages, which sound like a preview of the teaching of the *consell*.

In Chapter cxxxviii Abdallah says to Tirant:

– ¡Oh iniqua fortuna, com véns pròspera al novell Capità fent-li obtenir triümf de victòria de la passada batalla ab molta glòria, honor e fama virtuosa, en gran dan del poble morisc e de l'antigua senyoria d'aquell! *E per esforçar lo teu virtuos ànim, Capità senyor, te vull mostrar ésser de tan conseller com enemic,* reduint-te a memòria aquelles coses qui conserven e augmenten la tua honor e fama, la qual la voluble fortuna t'ha consentida mostrant-te en tots tos fets valentíssim e discret Capità; e deus guardar de no perdre aquella honor e fama gloriosa que deu ésser donada als cavallers qui usen de virtut. (Ed. Riquer 1947, IV, 392)⁶

And in Chapter cxlii:

Si a la tua senyoria, Capità Magnànim, serà plasent fer-nos gràcia de voler venir en alguna concòrdia, ço és que la tua clemència e pietat los vulla perdonar la vida, series reputat per gloriós dins les portes dels teus enemics. *E plàcia a tu usar virtuosament, segons tu qui est, e no mires lo que ells volien usar contra tu, que havien a fer segons ells qui són.* (Ed. Riquer 1947, IV, 413)

5. Quoting from the edition curated by Martí de Riquer (1947, IV, 383–384).

6. In this paper all italics within quotations are the author's own.

A brief appendix to Chapter CXLI informs the reader that “lo Capità no dixava partir prop de si al moro Abdal-là, per les bones e discretes raons que li deia” (Ed. Riquer 1947, IV, 414). One day, finally, after a banquet, Tirant entreats him to say something beneficial for all concerned. He lays a satin drape in the middle of the clearing on which to put a bench, where Abdallah, like an actor or a preacher, begins to ‘improvise’ “un consell, lo qual cascú [...] lo porà pendre per a si” (Ed. Riquer, IV, 414).

More than advice *coram populo*, however, Chapter CXLI relates to the oral version (oral, of course, within the fictional space of the narrative) of an authentic short essay of the *de regimine principum* genre. Structurally, the long passage is part of a set of insertions which are non-narrative, or not strictly connected with the progress of the main plot. They support the technique of *entrelacement* to temporarily suspend the flow of events and postpone the release of action, seemingly indefinitely.

In this sense, *Tirant lo Blanc* works like an actual collection of moral-didactic ramblings, the interpolations being amenable in large part to essay-writing of this genre: *speculum principis* aside, in Chapters CLXXX–CLXXXVI, Martorell follows the pattern of the medieval Latin *altercatio* or of the Romance *débat* to construct a dispute between Carmesina and the Empress about the primacy of Wisdom or Bravery amongst chivalric values. From the beginning of the novel to the end, we can read many examples of *parlamenta* and letters that, together with the initial aside concerning the chivalric code, the history of the Order of the Garter and the sermons of the North African interlude, constitute a heritage of medieval culture, that is evidently still alive and fully appreciated in the 15th century. Behind each of these digressions it is possible to trace a precise source, a group of inspirational texts or a literary genre of reference. They are, therefore, privileged lookouts from which to investigate the cultural landscape in which Martorell operated and the literary reserve he had use of.

The original Latin text – as in all of the letters by Petrarch between epistolography and artistic prose – sprang from a specific historical context; nevertheless, studies of Chapter CXLI and its source mainly repeat the sparse and inaccurate information with which Moliné i Brasés (1908, 345–351) introduced his edition of a translation of the letter in the Catalan language,⁷ the 15th century *Letra de Reials Custums*. Therefore, it is appropriate to review the relevant evidence of the political-historical nature of the era.⁸

7. *Fam. xii 2* is not the only letter by Petrarch to have had the honour of an early translation into Catalan: in 1388 Bernat Metge translated *Sen. xvii 3* written for Boccaccio, containing the Latin version of the tale of Gualtieri and Griselda, *Decameron x 10*; cf. Tavani (1988, 108–109).

8. News about Naples during the second Angevine dynasty can be found in any good textbook on medieval history but for the specific context of the drafting of the letter, cf. Fracassetti (1892),

Petrarch's letter is dated 20 February, 1352 and was sent from Avignon⁹ to Niccolò Acciaiuoli¹⁰ who, since 1348, was Grand Seneschal of the Kingdom of Naples, where he had arrived from Florence in his youth as a simple merchant. Ambitious and without scruples, he joined the entourage of Catherine of Valois, wife of Prince Philip I of Taranto and sister-in-law of Robert of Anjou. The two became lovers and for the rest of his life Niccolò was a defender and a supporter of Louis of Taranto,¹¹ the second child of Catherine. In 1347, he arranged Louis' marriage to the heiress to the throne, Joanna I,¹² whose first husband, Andrew of Hungary, was strangled and thrown out of a window in Aversa in 1345. Allegedly, the murder was carried out by a group of conspirators sent by Catherine, Joanna and Niccolò. The brother of the deceased, Louis of Hungary, reacted by invading the territories of the Angevin crown. The first invasion took place between 1347–1348, forcing Joanna and Louis to escape to Avignon, where Pope Clement VI recognised the validity of the marriage. On this occasion Louis of Hungary withdrew voluntarily as he was occupied with other fronts and the couple were able to return to Campania. He invaded for the second time in 1350, taking advantage of a disorganised and helpless Naples, caused by the conflict between the two spouses which was fostered by Acciaiuoli himself in the previous two years, in order to oust Joanna from power for the benefit of Louis.

In June 1351, Acciaiuoli managed to stipulate an agreement for the gradual withdrawal of the Hungarian troops from Naples. Soon after, on 29 August, Petrarch sent Acciaiuoli the first of seven letters (*Fam. xi* 13),¹³ which already demonstrate a marked idealisation of the character, celebrating his success at the political and diplomatic level and loading his actions with strong expectations. With the death of Charles Martel (the crown prince born to Joanna and Andrew of Hungary), Clement VI granted Louis of Taranto permission to hold the royal title. The coronation of the spouses, celebrated on 27 May, 1352, marked the end of the long dynastic crisis. Three months earlier, Petrarch wrote *Fam. xii* 2, since the ceremony would coincide, from his point of view, with the return of peace and prosperity in Naples and, with this perspective, the education of the young sovereign – delegated

in particular, the footnote to the text of *Fam. xii* 2 (III, 117–120); Dotti (1992, 244–246); Dotti (2002 –) in particular, the introduction to books xii–xv (IV, 9–14), and notes on the letter xii 2 (IV, 386–392).

9. For the critical text, cf. Ed. Rossi (1933–1942, III, 5–17). All the citations are from this edition.
10. For a general overview of the character, cf. Léonard (1960, 87–90).
11. About Louis of Taranto, cf. Kiesewetter (2006, 487–492).
12. For more information about Joanna I, cf. Kiesewetter (2001, 455–477).
13. The other six are *Fam. xii* 12, 15 and 16 and *xxiii* 18; *Sen. iii* 3 and *Epyst. iii* 14.