From Ausiàs March to Petrarch: Torroella, Urrea, and other ausimarchides

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The works of Pere Torroella epitomize literary activity from 1440 to 1480 at the Trastámara courts of Navarre, the Crown of Aragon, and the Kingdom of Naples and Sicily. As he moved across this geographical spectrum, he was exposed to Italian influence as much as to the merging of the Catalan poetic tradition with *cancionero* poetry. Some fifty poems, half of them in Spanish, half in Catalan (including the earliest sonnet in this language), bear witness to his place at that cultural crossroads. His prose writing consists of a dozen texts, most of which attest to Torroella's copious correspondence with writers of diverse social standing: from the Barcelona merchant Francesc Ferrer to the Aragonese nobleman Pedro de Urrea; as a knight in royal service, he addressed Hugo de Urríes and Bernat Hug de Rocabertí on equal terms; Romeu Llull is singled out as *germà* of a literary brotherhood. Torroella's prose writing displays his gusto for love theory, as well as for classical learning —for example, the epistle on *honos*, *virtus*, and Cupid addressed to Romeu Llull and the *Razonamiento de Demóstenes a Alaxandre*.[i] My aim is to assess the influence of Ausiàs March in Torroella's production, given the familiarity that developed with March's poetry within Torroella's milieu, paving the way for a Petrarchan reading of March in the late fifteenth century.

Although born in Catalonia, Pere Torroella was educated as a member of the household of John, King of Navarre (from 1425) and of Aragon (1458-79). He is first documented in 1438 as *escudero* of Charles of Viana, heir to John, soon after which he saw military action at the battle of Medina del Campo (1441). His deeds were by custom recalled when King John granted him a

privilege in Bellcaire of Empordà (1458). He outlived his lord by some years —payments to Torroella were recorded in Barcelona in 1482 (Ferrer 1989: 46).[ii]

Torroella's production spans at least four decades. He composed a prose *Complaynta* on the death (1448) of Agnes de Clèves, Charles's wife, and addressed a *consolatoria* to the widow of the Aragonese knight Martín de Ansa, with whom Torroella had shared a friendship over ten years of their 'floreciente edat' (C, fol. 114^{r}) and who was still alive in 1449.[iii] At the opposite end we may place his *Resposta* to a question by Romeu Llull, who joined the Barcelona royal circle in 1479 after spending his youth in Naples (Turró 1987: 18). The young Francesc Alegre also replied to Lull; sometime before, he referred to the 'magnífich mossèn Torroella' in his *Sermó d'amor* addressed to King John (Cátedra 1989: 206), who died in January 1479.[iv] All this suggests that Torroella figured in the foreground of the literary milieu which was established in Barcelona after the end of the Civil War (1472).

Before this last period Torroella's movements shed further light on his work. He remained for several years in the Navarrese entourage of John and his son Charles, though it should be remembered that King John often held his court away from Navarre, most commonly at Saragossa, since he was regent for his brother King Alfonso the Magnanimous in Aragon and Valencia (from 1436) and later in Catalonia (1454).[v] In 1456-58 Torroella is documented at the Neapolitan court as majordomo of John of Aragon, an illegitimate son of King John's. Giovanni Pontano, the *praeceptor* of this John of Aragon, twice paid tribute to Torroella, regarding him as a poet of repute for his praise of Alfonso (Mele 1938: 89). At Naples Torroella must have penned his eulogy of Lucrezia d'Alagno and Alfonso and, perhaps, his *Razonamiento de Demóstenes*. Both texts are uniquely preserved in a manuscript of Neapolitan provenance (BNP, esp. 305).

The Navarro-Aragonese context accounts for Torroella's *Complaynta* and *consolatoria*, as well as for some of his *cancionero* production: *Herberay des Essarts* contains a dozen of his poems, two of which make topical reference to the poet's 'iouentut' (Aubrun 1951: 166-67). In addition, we may set in that context the relationship between Torroella and Hugo de Urríes, a prominent official in the service of King John. Whatever Urríes's role in the background to *Herberay*, he must be behind the presence of the prose *Leyes de amor*, which contains pointed connections with Urríes's poetry and is attributable to Torroella (Cátedra 1989: 181).[vi] The *Leyes* is clearly a reply to a 'pregunta' from 'mossen Ugo' (Aubrun 1951: 26) and is evidence of Torroella's expertise in a theory of love which had been anticipated by March, as will come clear. A number of parallels between the *Leyes* and Torroella's letter writing in Catalan (cf. Ferrer 1989: 277-99) serve to establish that he was instrumental in disseminating such doctrine.[vii]

More evidence of such a role is supplied by Torroella's letters to Urrea and Rocabertí, both of whom also featured prominently in the entourage of King John.[viii] From the onset of the conflict between John and Charles, and subsequently during the war, Rocabertí and Urrea remained on the King's side. For his part, Torroella was close to the prince and, after Charles's death in Barcelona (1461) and the outbreak of war, he did not join the King's party until 1464. It is from this year that the relationship with Rocabertí has been established (Turró, in press). The correspondence with Urrea can hardly have been produced from 1456, the year when Torroella is first documented at Naples.[ix] An early dating would suit Torroella's reference to the Marquis of Santillana as 'Ényego Lopes' (C, fol 111^{r}; the title of marquis was granted in 1445). As we shall see, both Torroella and Urrea quote March in their letters; Rocabertí provided a paramount example of Ausiasmarchism in his *Glòria d'Amor* (Heaton 1916). A *penchant* for debating on love theory, together with an admiration for March, went hand in

hand in Torroella's circles.

Both love theory and the reading of March were similarly present in Torroella's poetry in Catalan, as well as in his correspondence with the Barcelona merchant Francesc Ferrer.[x] Torroella's work cannot be divided on the basis of the language of composition alone. He chose the vernacular proper to each addressee and followed in all likelihood the dominant language in a given court —therefore Spanish (to use an all-embracing term) in Navarre, Aragon, and Naples. But there was no divide in terms of literary taste within the fluid milieu of the Trastámara circles he moved in. Languages were channels rather than barriers, which explains the consistency of Torroella's work. His lord Charles of Viana once exchanged a bilingual *quaestio* on love with the Valencian writer Joan Roís de Corella (Miquel y Planas 1913: 149-61). Torroella had plenty to share with his pen-friends, in that they all belonged to that courtly milieu (Ferrer from a distance, perhaps, as a member of the satellite group of notaries and merchants). In such common ground there was room for the spread of *cancionero* lyrics as a model for Catalan poetry. For instance, in his letter to Rocabertí Torroella quotes one Catalan 'cansó dies ha per mi fete' (B, fol. 63^{v}) that follows the style of a *canción* (Cocozzella 1985-86: 198). Urrea's quote from March shows that there also existed a literary influence in the opposite direction. It is to Torroella's output that we must turn first in order to assess the reading of March in the Eastern Trastámara courts.

The influence of Ausiàs March (1397-1459) on Torroella and a number of poets has long been acknowledged, yet is often disregarded as superficial.[xi] This influence is pervasive throughout Torroella's writing. The image of torture inflicted simultaneously by two worms is a good example. March wrote c. 1427: 'car és un verm qui romp la mia pensa / altre lo cor, qui may cessen de rompre' (13, ll. 21-22). Torroella echoes this motif in 'Tant mon voler': 'un corch nos rou dintre la pensa' (Bach y Rita 1930: 100), and

applies it to full effect in a letter to Urrea: 'dentro del qual ruyendo el gusano de la consciencia, carcomiendo sus entranyas y el centro del coraçón penetrando' (C, fol. 113^{r}). A poetical version of the same topic occurs as 'E con sobrado dolor / mis entranyas derroyendo / dentro [e]l corazón abriendo / llagas' (Aubrun 1951: 172). Those penitential worms lay at the core of March's poem, increasing as it were the torment of Tityus, always interpreted in Christian terms as a lustful sinner whose liver or heart is endlessly devoured. March's image added to a hellish scenario, with echoes from Dante's *Inferno* and Seneca's tragedies (Badia 1993: 186-91). Readers of March were aware of this literary context, so characteristic of sentimental fiction, which he was the first to introduce into Catalan verse. Rocabertí provides a variant in imagining the lovers' hell: 'A'lguns lurs fets e vida depravada / Cremen lur cor e roseguen lur pensa' (VI, ll. 930-31; Heaton 1916: 80).

A number of such images populate Torroella's writing with wandering, alienated lovers, frightful sights, and the like.[xii] Spiritual imagery, such as March's gown of love, also found its way into Torroella's verse.[xiii] This repertoire, often in line with the Italian tradition, was nearly always phrased with Marchian resonances. The reading of March, however, offered more than memorable lines. It gave the poetical texture associated with a *caposcuola* whose poetry is committed to memory, thereby becoming a source of formulae and a lexicon, a repository to draw upon. The following lines may illustrate Torroella's glossing technique: 'Los frets [e]strems que'l temporal [e]sforça / Ab neus (h)e glas (h)e vents trasmuntanals / Vexan mas carns' (Bach y Rita 1930: 183). They are reminiscent of March's, 'Yo són aquell qui·n lo temps de tempesta / [...] vaig sobre neu, descalç, ab nua testa' (68, ll. 17-20). In both poems the cold and (to increasing effect) stormy weather, however vexing, does not discourage the lover from his plea. Torroella picks up 'glas' from March's 'lo temps de la glaça' (68, l. 3),

adds a Marchian word ('estrems'), and makes the wind blow as in the most daunting tempest of the ever constant March ('vent tremuntenal', 46, l. 6).

March was also a source of doctrine. He wrote poetry *cum glossa*, as it were, both discoursing on the nature of love and endowing his literary persona with the capacity to comment on the activity of his own *anima* in the fashion of a natural and moral philosopher, and even of a theologian (Cabré, in press). Many of the issues minutely debated by Torroella and his fellow writers are remarkably akin to the doctrinal heritage that informs March's poetry. The opening of poem 3, to take a straightforward example, sums up the gradual unfolding of passions after beauty has made its visual impact: 'Alt e amor, d'on gran desig s'engendra, / sper, vinent per tots aquests graons, / me són delits, mas dóna'm passions / la por del mal' (ll. 1-4). Modern readers might regard this passage as commonplace. For Torroella it encompassed a number of fine points, which he could expand upon and hence define love. His letter to Rocabertí, for instance, resolves the question as to whether love or hope comes first (B, fols 62^{r}-63^{v}), whereas his letter to Ferrer focuses on *grat* (ie. the updated equivalent of *alt*) and the conditions that allow it to be called love. For *grat* is the 'pus pròpia part de amor', in that it means the approval of sense data and brings about *delit* ('pleasure'), though requiring the increasing effect of desire and hope to be complete: 'dels tres, en unitat convertits, pren nom aquell déu qui'ls enamorats adoren' (B, fol. 62^{v}). These three stages are 'per la semblant graduació figurats', like the steps ('graons') of March's allegorical ladder, but 'quasi en un instant' they all contribute to the existence of love and protect it against fear —indeed, as March says, all three 'són delits'. Thus 'Alt e amor' should be carefully distinguished: the second involves a continuous *cogitatio* which keeps feeding that first impression or 'primero grado', as Torroella calls it in his *Leyes* (Aubrun 1951: 25). Love is to be named after the greatest *grat*, 'nodrit ab pensaments delitosos',

which acts imperiously over free will: 'com simplement se diu grat, pregua mas no força' (Ferrer 1989: 283-84).

Torroella's *précis* on love is the counterpart to the opening section of 'Tant mon voler' (Bach y Rita 1930: 100-03). In this long poem, however, scholastic technicalities (which I have omitted in my description) give way to poetic quotations, thereby showing the repertory of *loci* Torroella thought worthy of comment. First Jaume March, Ausiàs's uncle, outlines the process: sight, pleasure, desire, and finally that 'voler / qui per son nom és nomenat amor'. Later on Lluís de Vilarrasa, a follower of Ausiàs, steps in to illustrate how the initial pleasure is increased via imagination: 'l'imaginar m'a fet semblar millor / tot ço d'on l'alt ha pres començament; / e creixent l'alt, doble's l'imaginar'. The opening stanza of March's poem 3 rounds off the process bringing in hope and fear. This poetic tradition anticipated, and sanctioned, the theoretical vein of Torroella's epistles.

As defined on such theoretical basis (drawing on natural philosophy), love would be accidental, dependent on a mental *forma* kept alive in the *phantasia* by being thought over. Nothing would distinguish it from, say, entertaining the pleasing prospect of a square meal throughout a starving journey. Indeed, if love were only triggered by the desire of possessing something beautiful, it should not be called 'amor, mas pus pròpiament furor' (Ferrer 1989: 284). To deal with this problem, which otherwise would preclude any pretence of true love, the post-troubadour tradition often capitalized on the influence of the stars to justify an all-powerful love and strove to introduce an element of virtue, such as Aristotle's true friendship. To prove March's influence, it should suffice to say that Torroella presents perfect love as resulting from three *grats*, three pleasures as well as three degrees of duration (Ferrer 1989: 285), the first coming from beauty, as we have seen. The third one (virtue) renders the compound everlasting, exactly as in March's three-strand rope of virtuous

love (87, ll. 91-98; cf. 73, ll. 57-60). Expressions such as 'extremo grado' ('alt estrem', 'alt grau' in March, 73, ll. 37 and 45) are buoys signalling the underlying theory, as in 'O duenya por quien virtut' (Aubrun 1951: 166; cf. 'alt grau' in Ferrer 1989: 285). The same goes for words such as 'disposition', 'inclination', 'complexion', and 'quality', though they usually fall within the area of influence of the second *grat*, which is caused by natural affinity between two people born under a similar configuration of heavenly bodies (Ferrer 1989: 284-85, Aubrun 1951: 24, and 70 to see it at work in Urríes's 'Dezir del casado'). March claimed to be a star-born lover ('per vós amar fon lo meu naximent', 58, l. 30). His verse offered an exemplary account of this natural dimension of loving, which could make the lover, as Torroella affirms, an easy prey to Venusian love (Ferrer 1989: 279).

Neither March nor Torroella brought the love phenomenon down to natural determinism: intellectual apprehension of virtue held the upper hand to accomplish perfection in love. (But here I am not concerned with the third strand of the rope, nor with the kind of love that could be epitomized by Dante's 'Voi ch 'ntendendo il terzo ciel movete'; I am also leaving out Torroella's tongue-in-cheek remarks about procreation.) Nevertheless they both stressed that, as far as the human constitution is concerned, the stars exerted a forceful influence, and that everything in the Aristotelian natural world followed the aphorism 'like to like'. For Torroella, pleasure in general depends on 'la calitat de les coses hi la inclinació del recebent'; the second *grat* arises from a natural correspondence: 'conformitat de qualitats' (Ferrer 1989: 283-84). We learn from March that, since 'cascú sa qualitat requer', he should not be blamed for behaving under the influence of 'les potestats del cel' (75, ll. 11-14).

The key word is *qualitat*: 'complexió és qualitat, entenent-ho a dir de la proporció de les quatre qualitats dels elements, ço és calda, humida,

freda e secca, les quals, si són axí mesurades que la una no sobrepuje l'altra, fan perfeta complexió' (Kiviharju 1995: 110).[xiv] The temperament and disposition of any human being depended on a dominant quality (the perfect proportion, on earth, was only found in Christ) and this *complexio* was due to the heavenly bodies: 'tenen domini sobre tota la influència a inclinar aquella cosa que se engenra o naix en aquella hora ésser tal de *qualitat* com és la proprietat de la planeta o signe que llavors regna' (Kiviharju 1995: 122; my emphasis). Hence March could write about the dry quality of his melancholy pain (94, l. 15), wondering why it was unnaturally sweet, and the inborn quality of the subtle lover (7, l. 12). Proper love is 'forçat' (34, l. 24), as Torroella also stated (Ferrer 1989: 284); when this love aspires to the maximum, including the intellect, 'l'enteniment e calitat s'acorden / amar a vós en qui és llur semblança' (34, ll. 37-38).[xv]

It was this kind of literary doctrine, in clear conflict with the doctrine of free-will, which prompted the clerical reaction exemplified in *Arcipreste de Talavera* (1438; Cátedra 1989: 79) —although its survey of temperament according to 'calidades e complisiones', and that of similar previous works, was probably feeding rather than inhibiting this literary trend. Its roots should be sought on earlier ground. All the writers connected with Torroella were familiar with *qualitas* and the love theory which came to be associated with this term. In writing on these matters they had literary models to fall back on. March had been composing from the mid 1420s and his uncle Jaume (d. 1410), in the stanza quoted by Torroella, judged that his 'estrem voler' was caused by spiritual perfection, 'pus calitat veig estar en lo mig': because that perfect proportion (*complexio equalis*) meant 'qualitas in medio' (Avicenna 1517: fol. 2^{r}) and Jaume March perceived her beloved as a 'cors glorifficat' (March 1994: 194).

Such extreme statements take us back to the third strand of March's rope of love (perhaps to prove how closely the three were entwined). For my

present purposes it is worth recalling that Jaume March was one of the earlier Catalan poets to praise the 'gentil cor' (1994: 188), and that Ausiàs believed that heavenly influence should operate inside 'cors gentils', which are always obedient to 'Na Venus stela' (20, ll. 31-32). Some sort of *gentilezza* made its way into Catalan verse and was coupled with the theory outlined here. In that same poem March wondered why the like-to-like principle did not work with him (20, ll. 25-26). This is precisely the question Urríes asked of Torroella, who being himself endowed with 'Vn gentil cor digna d'ésser amat' (Bach y Rita 1930: 189), presented a summary of his doctrine in the *Leyes*: the rules of the science of love and the exceptions. As well as an admirer of March's sentimental poetry, Torroella was his best pupil. He also emulated the authority of his master: 'regles n'é dat e art / als amadors freturants de saber' (71, ll. 27-28).

In the name of this art, Torroella debated with don Pedro de Urrea in a series of seven consecutive epistles (the three by Urrea still unpublished) extant in only one manuscript (C, fols 97^{r}-113^{v}). The most likely addressee is Pedro (Ximénez) de Urrea *junior*, son of Pedro *maior* and Teresa de Híjar, and the younger halfbrother of Lope de Urrea, the viceroy of Sicily. In 1436 Pedro jr was already lord of the *tenencia* of Alcalatén (in Valencia but under Aragonese *fuero*), whereas his father retained the title of Viscount of Rueda (a town near Urrea de Jalón). Torroella names his addressee 'mi buen senyor d'Urrea' (fol. 97^{r}), but I am inclined to believe that Pedro *maior* (probably too old to be Torroella's correspondent) would have been referred to as Viscount. Pedro jr is recorded from 1448 to 1468 in the entourage of King John, as captain, counsellor and eventually as viceroy of Valencia; we lose track of him after 1469.[xvi] His correspondence with Torroella gives another insight into the reception of March.

These epistles pose a practical question: which of two ladies suffers the greater pain, both equally loving and being loved but meeting different

obstacles. One finds in her virtue an enemy within; the other has to contend with others who keep her apart from her lover. Torroella has been consulted and passes on the 'dudas' for Urrea to judge, but they soon take sides, Torrella playing the *sed contra*. Although rooted in the age-old *jeu-parti* and Capellanus' *De amore*, this particular procedure, somewhat mimetic of university debate, falls within the genre as reshaped in Boccaccio's *questioni d'amore* (Bruni 1990: 115-35). Torroella's problem can be found in this part of the *Filocolo*.[xvii] But the point now is that Boccaccio used *disputatio* on love casuistry as a framework for story-telling (some *questioni* take the form of *novelle* anticipating the *Decameron*) and for psychological drama. The science of love and sentimental fiction merged to perfection, and Queen Fiammetta only once suspended the laws of love and the 'piú tosto festeggevole ragionare che atto di questionare' to address a philosophical issue (Bruni 1990: 117). For Torroella, the debate ought to abandon Urrea's 'scientes argumentos' and employ the language of 'guaya sciencia'; otherwise 'sería occasión nuestras cartas dexar los plazibles razonamientos que a l'amor se requieren y en las qüestiones de philosophía emplear nuestros desires' (fol. 105^{v}). We are in the realm of pleasurable love, where the ladies act out some aspects of the 'leyes' for the debaters to discuss and narrate, while indulging in a sentimental description of the ladies' torment (including the

tragic worms of March and other elements that are found in Torroella's poetry). Torroella pleads the case of the lover who wages war on herself and 'con odio mortal se persigue' (fol. 102^{v}), like March, Petrarch, and so many characters in Ovid and Boccaccio. It is this context rather than the scholastic content which defines the genre of these epistolary *dubbii d'amore*, still fashionable in the court of Ferdinand of Naples and his son Alfonso of Aragon (Cherchi & de Robertis 1990: 257).

Every science has its doctors. Torroella quotes first Juan Rodríguez

del Padrón. Together with Juan de Mena and Santillana, Rodríguez del Padrón had the status as a master of *cancionero* poetry and was a pioneer in bringing sentimental fiction into Spanish letters. The master on the Catalan side was March. Such equivalent authority is perhaps better demonstrated by illustration: the passage selected by Torroella is a simile from Padrón's *Siete gozos* which is akin to the similes favoured by March.[xviii] Urrea replies with a quote from March (88, ll. 45-48; fol. 110^{v}), and then Torroella quotes March in his turn (70, ll. 2-3; fol. 112^{r}), after a list of 'nuestros doctores': Petrarch, March, Santillana, Arnaut Daniel, Mena, Oton de Grandson, and Pau de Bellviure (fol. 111^{r}). The question now is why Petrarch features at the top of this list.[xix] The answer may well cast light on the fifteenth-century reading of March.

Petrarch was not yet known as the author who carefully organized a book for the reader to meditate on as a moral autobiography. Nor was March yet subject to that Petrarchan reading, which had certainly taken place by 1506 (Cabré & Turró 1995: 129). Both of them were prestigious masters of sentimental love, both readable in terms of Dante's *Commedia* and the *stilnuovo* tradition, with the added dimension of tragic love. March himself considered that the greatest example of the triumph of love over death was 'segons lo Dant ystòria recompta' (45, ll. 89-90). In one poem (101, ll. 9-16) he quoted a passage from the *Triumphus Cupidinis* and coupled it with another one by Alain Chartier (Riquer 1955). In a similar fashion Torroella included both Petrarch and Grandson in his list, for all these authorities attested to the amazing effects of Love's ruling —a list of paradoxes, such as 'irosa paç', 'amigable guerra', and 'dolorosa alegría', follows (fol. 111^{r}). This recalls the success of 'Pace non trovo e non ho da far guerra', known long since to Catalan poets and to Torroella in particular (Riquer 1964: 166), though clichéd writing makes this sort of influence hard to prove. We may also remember the 'Dura legge d'Amor!' which presided over the

Triumphus Cupidinis and had to be obeyed because it came 'di cielo in terra, universale, antiqua' (*TC*, III, ll. 148-50).[xx] This is the same heavenly ruling that exerted an influence on March 'fermant ses leys en temps passat posades' (49, l. 18) and which created the laws that Torroella discussed with Urrea, Urríes, and Ferrer. This courtly reading would align Petrarch with March in the era of pre-Petrarchism.

But Petrarch already came first in the canon of Torroella's generation. The debt to the *Trionfi* is more explicit in Rocabertí's allegorical *Glòria d'amor*. In a passage with obvious Dantean echoes, the author meets four poets: Petrarch and three unnamed Frenchmen —Chartier, Grandson, and Machaut, according to Pagès (1936: 100). The poet 'de Florença' defeats them in a debate on the science of love, for he had 'un bon desig qui d'amor fon estable' and proved them not to have held 'ferm lur pensament' when tested by pain (VI, ll. 760-64).[xxi] In other words, while the French complained about love (Chartier's *Belle Dame sans merci* is quoted in the *Glòria*), Petrarch's endurance epitomized the survival of love after Laura's death. His words were often adapted by Rocabertí and, rephrased in the style of March, illustrated the lover's suffering. For instance, 'come uom ch'è infermo e di tal cosa ingordo / ch'è dolce al gusto, a la salute è rea' (*TC*, III, ll. 107-08) became 'Si co·l malalt les coses avorreix / Qui dant salut, ell ama les nocives' (V, ll. 457-58), since Rocabertí had in mind numerous passages by March, such as 'sí co·l malalt qui per un plasent mos / tot son menjar en dolor se nodreix' (1, ll. 31-32) and 'yo am mon dan e mon bé avorresch' (99, l. 53).[xxii]

This pain was due to Cupidean love: 'Ei nacque d'ozio e di lascivia umana, / nudrito di pensier dolci soavi, / fatto signor e dio da gente vana' (*TC*, I, ll. 82-84), as Rocabertí acknowledged: 'son neximent, / vengut de grat, nudrit fantasiant, / senyor fent-se de molta folla gent' (V, ll. 469-71). However, Petrarch (and March and his followers) left room for the

everlasting *grat* within poetical fiction. In the second *Triumphus*, Cupid yielded to *pudicitia*, 'ch'accende in cor gentil oneste voglie' (*TP*, l. 182). Likewise, Rocabertí's guide, *Coneixença*, delivers a long speech postulating the kind of love that 'dura molt si ab virtut ressona' and is proper to the person 'gentil, d'angel participant' (VI, ll. 870-905). This speech contained the basic elements of Torroella's theory and was crammed with Marchian material. In one of his poems on the death of his wife, once love has been purged of desire, March stated: 'En cor gentil Amor per mort no passa' (92, l. 11). Such ideal of virtuous love established an association between March and Petrarch that must have paved the way for the Petrarchan interpretation of March's poetry in moral terms.

However distant from each other their works may now seem, March and Petrarch travelled together, guided by Dante and carried on the back of a love theory; both scholastic science and the Italian literary tradition merged in this updated version of courtly love. Such a reading of March, involving easy familiarity with both his style and his ideas, was handed down by Torroella and his circle to a younger generation: Llull, Alegre, Francesc Moner, and other young writers who gained further access to Petrarch's works, including the *Canzoniere*, often via their commentaries.[xxiii] This *traditio* eventually reached the Barcelona poet Joan Boscà (or Boscán), the first writer to publish a book of Petrarchan and Marchian sonnets in Spanish (1543).

It has often been claimed that Catalan poetry ran out of fresh models and died of old age, that March had no real followers. Torroella would object and perhaps point out that courts matter more than languages, at least as far as the legacy of March is concerned. It is no coincidence that the first hand that copied, sometime after 1480-90, the earliest extant manuscript of March's poetry as a *canzoniere* (Cabré & Turró 1995: 127-30) added a number of Torroella's poems (Foulché-Delbosc 1903: 335-44). From

Torroella's time onwards March was read within Trastámaran milieux both in Naples and in the Peninsula. As Riquer recalled (1964: 362), he grew so popular that Giovanni Pontano, when cracking a joke in one of his *facetiae*, thought that an archetypal Spaniard should be named 'Alopantius Ausimarchides Hiberoneus Alorchides' (1518-19: II, fol. 218^{v}). The tale of the pompous *viator* who casts an eye *in anaticulum* and wants to deprive Pyrrhiniculus of his meal seems to capture the moment of the courtly joke in this Italian version:

> —Io, signore,— disse lo spagnuolo, —mi chiamo per mio propio nome Alopanzio Ausunarchide [*sic*] Iberoneo Alorchide. —Per le phiaghe de Cristo!— soggiunse alora il guascone, —io non credo che sí picciola augella debba bastare ad un desinare a quattro cosí gran baroni, come voi m'avete nominati, e tanto meno essendo spagnuoli. Io non mi farei mai questa vergogna. Questa anitra a me, che Pirriniculo sono detto, sará assai. A voi sí gran signori bisogna che l'oste apparecchi vivande convenienti a sí magnifica grandezza. (Bandello 1934-35: II, 459; III.41).[xxiv]

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i. All Torroella's works, including some of doubtful attribution, were (poorly) edited by Bach y Rita (1930), except for a few poems (Cocozzella

1985-86) and the *Leyes de amor* (Aubrun 1951: 24-26). Manuscript sources are referred to as follows: B (Barcelona, Biblioteca Universitària, MS 151), C (Coimbra, Biblioteca da Universidade, MS 1011).

ii. Unless otherwise stated, data on Torroella's life is taken from Riquer (1964: 161-86) and Turró (in press).

iii. Ansa and Pedro de Urrea (jr) captained the troops which besieged Cuenca in 1449 (Zurita 1967-86: VI, 411-13). Ansa cannot be the Martín d'Ansa who accompanied John's envoys (Rocabertí and others) to Paris in 1474 (VIII, 25).

iv. Alegre's activity in 1472-82 has been established afresh (Turró 1994). Both *respostes* are published in Llull (in press).

v. In 1450 Torroella was *oficial de cuchillo* in the royal household; he carried out missions as royal envoy, including a brief stay at Naples in 1445.

vi. Aubrun's dating of 1461-66 for *Herberay* (1951: x) can be accepted as a *terminus ante quem* for these poems which are also present in the Modena *cancionero* (including Torroella's but not Urríes's). However, this dating may not apply in either the extant copy or in the initial prose section.

vii. Parallels include verbal coincidences: e.g. 'por agraduar el perfecto nombre de enamorado' (Aubrun 1951: 26) / 'per agraduar lo perfet nom d'enamorat' (Ferrer 1989: 280); 'Amor de subito sin otro precedente conocimiento por medio de sola vista robar la voluntades' (1951: 24) / 'sens alguna rahó precedent, sobte, en la primera vista, se amarían subiranament e seguiria la hu la voluntat de l'altre' (1989: 279).

viii. This Pedro de Urrea must be the same as the one who wrote the last poem copied by the first hand in the *Cancionero de Palacio* (Álvarez Pellitero 1993: 384), which was compiled between 1437 and 1445 according to Dutton (1979: 455-56); this poem is akin to the theoretical concerns dealt with in Torroella's circles. For the identity of Urrea see n. 16 below.

ix. Torroella was also cut off from Urrea until 1464, or even longer (Torroella campaigned in North-Eastern Catalonia), and Urrea probably died in 1469. There is a chance that they met at Naples, if this Pedro de Urrea is the same as the one who was preparing to make the voyage to Naples in 1455 together with Juan de Híjar and a retinue of some 50 people (Madurell Marimón 1963: 495-96).

x. Riquer (1964: 163) dated Torroella's 'Tant mon voler' before 1445 on the grounds that Santillana is referred to as 'Ínyego Lopes'. Yet it has been suggested that this poem is modelled on Francesc Ferrer's *Conhort* (1448-49; Ferrer 1989: 88-93). The dating of 1468 for Torroella's correspondence with Ferrer (1989: 102) is not conclusive. One of Ferrer's letters refers to Torroella as 'singular bendient' (1989: 109, 294); thus it was probably written after Torroella's *Maldezir* and *Defensión de las donas*.

xi. Three poems of doubtful attribution have added some confusion to Torroella's case —one of them is a slightly modified version of three stanzas of March's poem 93, ll. 73-96 (Riquer 1964: 170; March 1952-59: I, 138-43); subsequent references will be to this edition.

xii. e.g. 'De que 'ntre'ls qui'm miren se diu / Que mon semblant no és d'om viu, / Mes d'algún mort qu'en lo mon viu / Per passar pena' (Bach y Rita 1930: 146); 'per ço no·m plau la pràtica dels vius. / D'imaginar món estat són esquius; / sí com d'om mort, de mi prenen espant' (13, ll. 11-12).

xiii. 'E vist mon trist gest vna roba / [...] D'un tall que sens força d'amor / No's pot vestir' (Bach y Rita 1930: 148); 'Amor, amor, un àbit m'é tallat / de vostre drap, vestint-me l'esperit; / en lo vestir, ample molt l'é sentit, / e fort estret, quant sobre mi·s posat' (77, ll. 25-28).

xiv. The author of this anonymous gloss is quoting a widespread definition from Avicenna's *Canon*, I.i.3.3 (1507: fol. 2^{r}).

xv. March goes on to state 'e los volers han gran desacordança' (34, l. 39), as in Torroella's complaint: 'No's pot fer, donchs, les calitats concordes, / Les volentats romanguan discordants' (Bach y Rita 1930: 186).

xvi. We can discount Pedro de Urrea, archbishop of Tarragona. Another Pedro, Lope's son, also coincided in time and place during the last years of the civil war, but he was never 'senyor d'Urrea' as far as I know. This data is mostly taken from Zurita (1967-86: VI, 39, 126, 129 to distinguish Pedro jr from his father; see also the numerous references s.v. (Ximénez) de Urrea in the index).

xvii. e.g. the second *questione* solves the *dubbio* as to which of two ladies, both being loved, suffers 'maggiore doglia', one being kept far from the lover, the other tormented by inner jealousy (IV, 23; Boccaccio 1967: 390-91).

xviii. 'conteçe lo que dize Johan Rodrigues: "como el qui es puesto a tormiento / por fuerça / su mal viene a confessar / e tornado al sentimiento, / más s'esfuerça / de lo encobrir e negar"' (fol. 108^{r}). Compare, for instance, March, 1, ll. 13-16; 51, ll. 1-4.

xix. For an outline (with bibliography) of medieval Petrarchism in Spain, see Deyermond (1992). See also Rico (1978) and n. 23 below.

xx. Hereafter I quote from Petrarch 1951.

xxi. I am quoting *cant* and line numbers from Heaton 1916.

xxii. For another example (the motif of fire in the veins) see *TA*, III, ll. 182-83, *Glòria*, II, ll. 87-88, and March 45, l. 9 and 3, ll. 5-12.

xxiii. This generation provided the missing link with Petrarchism (Llull, in press; Turró 1994: 224; Turró, in press).

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