

Alonso de Cardona: “Trovaba en verso castellano e escribía bien”

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Some years ago I suggested that the anonymous author of *Questión de amor* (Valencia, 1513) was a member of the powerful Cardona family and further, given the prominence of poetry within this work, that he was likely to be the poet Alonso de Cardona who is represented by numerous entries in the *Cancionero General* of 1511. This was not an *a priori* assumption based on evidence external to *Questión de amor*, but a deduction made after examining the text carefully for the possibility of embedded clues which might point to the author’s identity (Andrachuk 1994a and 1994b). In the *Prólogo* and in the *Argumento y declaración de toda la obra* which follows immediately, the author sets out his reasons for anonymity and also explicitly states the simple method used to disguise the names of his characters. Because the process of determining the identities of the courtiers is a major ludic element of the work he makes the clues to these identities obvious to even the casual reader. But I believe that the author, “un gentilhomme que se halló en todo“(1),¹ has also embedded clues to his own identity, but at a much deeper level. The author states that he purposely hides his name within the text (“calla y encubre su nombre” 2); with regard to other characters his procedure is less obscure (“muda y finge” 2). The identities of characters other than Vasquirán are easily unveiled by simply following his instructions: “para quien querrá ser curioso y saber la verdad, las primeras letras de los nombres fengidos son las primeras de los verdaderos...y por los colores y atauíos...y por las primeras letras de las inuenciones, se puede también conocer quién (sic) son los seruidores y las damas a quien siruen” (3). The verbal phrase “calla y encubre” used by the author to describe his encryption procedure is important. While his name is never explicitly mentioned (it is *callado*), the verb “encubre” suggests that the author’s identity is indeed to be found if it can only be *uncovered* or *discovered* by a reader prepared to look deeply into the text. It became clear as I examined the presence of the protagonist Vasquirán at different points in the text that there were clues encrypted on various levels –clues which, taken together, pointed to the name of *Cardona*. Although the reasons for this conclusion have been detailed at length elsewhere (Andrachuk 1994a and b, and 2006, xvii-xxxii) I would now like to revisit and enlarge on some aspects of that investigation and to present new information regarding the author.

The attribution of *Questión de amor* to Alonso de Cardona has been noted by other researchers, none of whom has yet challenged, denied or effectively refuted any of the reasons presented for ascribing the work to him. It is my purpose here to deepen and

¹ The author is represented in the text by Vasquirán; the connection between the authorial voice and this character is universally accepted. Antonio Cortijo Ocaña (242), for example, says: “El autor es el relator-testigo Vasquirán”. All citations from *Questión de amor* are from my edition, 2006.

extend the investigation into the presence of the Cardona family within this text, to look at their textual connection with the character Vasquirán which represents the authorial voice, to examine pertinent aspects of their genealogy and history and finally, to make a more definitive identification of the author. The clues to the author's identity found within the work are varied in nature, some suggestive of sound similarities while others are clues of visual description and of textual placement within the work itself. *Qüestión de amor* is, after all, a text which is intended to encourage the reader to decipher the embedded signals –although most readers will content themselves with the obvious.² While some time has elapsed since the first discovery of these clues to authorship, I remain convinced that there is a very strong likelihood that Alonso de Cardona wrote *Qüestión de amor* and, in fact, further research has only strengthened this conviction.

The Cardona family was one of the most important and powerful Aragonese families (“un dels linatges més poderosos del regne d’Aragó” in the words of Martí de Riquer [III, 22]); they had a significant presence not only in Spain but also in the Aragonese possessions in Italy. With regard to *Qüestión de amor* we find one of them as a central yet background figure: Ramón Folch de Cardona, Viceroy of Naples from 1508. It is the milieu of the Neapolitan court which provides the social and historical context for the entire work and while the physical appearances of the Viceroy within the text are few, they are significant. While the first part of the story takes place among the balls, hunts and jousts of the court, the focus of the second part is the battle of Ravenna between the forces of the French, led by Gaston de Foix and those of the Holy league, led by the Viceroy Ramón de Cardona. While the battle itself is not described except in the dream of Vasquirán, the preparations for this battle and its resultant devastation of the court are emphatically presented. As the battle preparations begin there is a sudden shift in the narrative from the fictitious to the

² The author distinguishes between two sets of readers –those who will interpret the text on a superficial level– “los que leyeren sin leer” and those who will read more deeply. See Andrachuk 2006, 3, n.6. Françoise Vigier does comment on one set of clues I gave –the curious clue found in the names and presence at certain points in the text of the marquises Carliner, Carlerín and Carliano, characters which I have found to be associated in the text with Vasquirán. Vigier, like Perugini (50, n.52) suggests that these are all variations on one name referring to Carlos de Aragón, Marqués de Gerace, which “répondent plutôt à des intentions ludiques”, although she provides no further explanation of how the ludic aspect of the novel might be enhanced by the use of these variants (106). It is not the identity of these three characters that is of prime concern in my interpretation; more important is what the common first syllable of the names suggests by sound to the “lecteur avisé”. There have been two other serious attributions –one to the “Vázquez” who is author of *Dechado de amor* (Perea Rodríguez 249: “el desconocido Vázquez”; he is possibly one Juan Vázquez de Ávila, as favoured by Vigier 445). The other attribution is to Joan Ram Escrivà de Romaní (Perugini 19). Neither of these suggestions stems from specific evidence in the work itself and therefore, in my opinion, they are less likely in view of the author's statements regarding the encryption of identities –including his own. But if the *Dechado de amor* is deemed to be linked to *Qüestión de amor*, could “Vázquez”, like the partially homophonous “Vasquirán” be another pseudonym of the real author of *Qüestión de amor*, rather than the author's real name?

historical in the naming of persons and events, as though the author were telling the reader that the time for frivolity and excess has passed –or rather, should have passed.³

Ramón Folch de Cardona is connected directly with Vasquirán at several points in the narrative. The first instance occurs immediately after Vasquirán arrives in Noplesano (Naples). His initial social contacts are significant in establishing Vasquirán's place within the society of the Neapolitan court, a point that would not be lost on his intended readership. Thus his visit to the residence of two of the *grandes dames* of Naples, the Duquesa de Meliano, that is, the Duchess of Milan, Isabel de Aragona, widow of Gian Galeazzo Sforza, and her daughter Belisena, that is, Bona Sforza, is not simply the correct thing to do. It also provides the author with an opportunity to identify the social status of Vasquirán within a highly structured society.⁴ The greeting given him by the Duchess makes clear the social position of Vasquirán as well as the long-standing relationship he has had with this family for she speaks in terms which go beyond the merely formulaic, referring to “el valer y virtud y criança tuya” as well as “ell amor y voluntad que al duque mi señor...y a mi casa siempre te conocí tener” (121 and 122). A similar familiarity, affection and affirmation of social standing is shown to Vasquirán immediately afterwards as he visits the viceregal residence of Castel Nuovo where he meets informally with the highest representatives of both state and Church: the Viceroy Ramón de Cardona, the Cardenal de Brujas (Luis de Borja, Archbishop of Valencia) and the Cardenal de Felernisa (Francisco de Remolines, Archbishop of Sorrento)⁵ “los quales con mucho amor le recibieron” (123). These two visits serve as definite indicators of the social rank of Vasquirán and of the real person this character represents. Lest the reader miss the significance of these encounters the author very quickly reinforces the message: Vasquirán, his friend Flamiano, and the Cardenal de Brujas (“vn notable cauallero y mancebo y tan inclinado a las cosas de cauallería” [135]) together make another visit to the palace of the Viceroy where they are received “con mucho plazer” (136) and where all four closet themselves in the Viceroy's private chambers to plan the *tela de justa real*. Thus we see that Vasquirán (and the person he represents) is fully accepted

³ The significance of this shift from fiction to reality has been explored more fully elsewhere (Andrachuk 1997). The very detailed description of the Viceroy's lavish spending on appearance and comfort in his preparations for war forms the core of the social commentary in this work and may be related to the author's anonymity.

⁴ The text is quite explicit about his intentions: “acordó de yr a besar las manos a la señora duquesa de Meliano y ha Belisena, y después al visorey y al cardenal de Brujas...que sus estados y la razón lo requerría” (120).

⁵ There are sound elements in the text at this point (as there are elsewhere in the text) which I believe are designed to suggest the identity of Vasquirán as a Cardona. One of these is the gratuitous mention of the Marqués Carlerín who accompanied Flamiano to greet his friend Vasquirán as he arrived in Naples and who now accompanies him to visit the Duchess, remaining behind while Vasquirán goes on to visit the Viceroy, Ramón de Cardona, and where he meets also the Cardenal de Brujas and the Cardenal de Felernisa. This is just one element in the accumulation of clues which together lead to the identification of the author.

as a member of the courtly elite, on intimate and relaxed terms with those at the highest level of society –truly, a person “que se halló en todo” (1).

The most extraordinary connection in the text between the Viceroy Ramón de Cardona, and Vasquirán is one which, as far as I am aware, has not received the attention it merits. At the gala evening celebration following the joust Vasquirán appears wearing the very clothes that the Viceroy wore earlier that same day: “Sacó Vasquirán la ropa de carmesí qu’el visrey auía sacado aquel día...porque era conocida que no era suya” (154). This is a most unusual occurrence in a society which ascribes meaning to every aspect of behaviour and appearance; the readers of *Questión de amor* would most certainly search for a meaning in this act. For Vasquirán to choose deliberately to wear the clothing of another instead of new clothing, and for the Viceroy to lend his own clothing to another in circumstances in which appearance was everything, can only be seen to be highly symbolic.⁶ The colours of clothing referred normally to the colours of the family of the wearer, or of the family of the lady served by the wearer, or they symbolized some aspect of the mood of the wearer. Vasquirán, however, serves no lady other than his beloved but deceased Violina. The colours he wears now are not the colours of a lady he serves for he has made clear by the *letra* even now that he is in mourning –yet he does not wear black⁷ and that fact alone would attract the interest of observers and readers.

I believe that the clues embedded earlier in the text have all been a prelude to this single and most obvious clue: Vasquirán is wearing the clothing of the Viceroy (the principal colour of which was *carmesí*) precisely because the author intends him to be identified intimately with the Viceroy; the Viceroy’s colours are his colours and the

⁶ Masters often gave their used clothing to servants as a reward for service; this was an expected practice of *largesse*. In fact, Vasquirán made just such a gift to the servant Felisel: “Dióle vn jubón de brocado que con aquel atauío Vasquirán se auía vestido” (32). But if the same act were to take place between those of similar rank it would almost certainly be interpreted as condescension. There is no suggestion whatever of such an attitude in Vasquirán’s wearing of the Viceroy’s clothing; therefore we must seek a different interpretation. Clothing, and the commissioning of new clothing, is a major element in this book and Vasquirán, no less than the other characters, has shown an interest in fashion, and more importantly, an acute awareness of the symbolic importance of clothing and of colours, a fact exemplified in his apparel and the decoration of his house after the death of Violina. See Felisel’s report of Vasquirán’s house and his personal appearance (18-23).

⁷ “Siendo ell alegría agena/al que no tiene placer, / más triste le haze ser” (154). He does, however, maintain the signs of mourning at the *tela* in the black colour of his clothing and that of his attendants (148). The Cardona arms always include three golden thistles (“cardos”) on a red (“carmesí”) background. Despite the identification of the authorial voice with the character Vasquirán, we must not automatically accept the novelistic portrayal of events in Vasquirán’s life as accurately representing those in the life of the author. In other words, it is not to be assumed that the author was in mourning, that he was unmarried, or that he ever entered into a debate of this nature with his friend Jerónimo de Fenollet (Flamiano); these are all constructs necessary to the sentimental romance. The reality of the author’s life may have been very different.

Viceroy's family is his family. This clue, added to the others in the first part of *Questión de amor* strongly suggests that the authorial voice is the voice of a Cardona.⁸

In other words, the author has provided the astute reader⁹ with the clues necessary to determine his identity –although these clues must be examined in the context of the work as a whole, taking into account both the frivolous atmosphere of the first part which incorporates some fictitious elements (the most obvious of these being the debate between Flamiano and Vasquirán) as well as the explicitly historical second part. In the latter “no ovo más ni ha avido un punto menos de lo que fue y cómo passó. Assí que los agudos y discretos miren de aquí adelante los nombres verdaderos y tornen atrás, que allí los hallarán” (158). Indeed, as Françoise Vigier remarks, at this point in the text “l’auteur anonyme invite ici à une relecture à rebours, dans le but d’identifier les personnages de la fiction” (325, n.692). Among those “personnages” we must count Vasquirán. But we have seen that the clues to the identity of Vasquirán, that is, the author, are embedded on a deeper level than those of the other characters, and must be deciphered using more sophisticated means, not simply a matching of first letters of names. The astute reader will be open to other nuances in the text –one of which we have just seen– Vasquirán’s wearing of the Cardona colours and indeed, the very clothing of the Viceroy, his kinsman.

The clues in the second part are subtle and serve to confirm rather than establish the identity of the author as a Cardona. As he begins to describe the preparations for the battle of Ravenna (11 April, 1512), a battle which effectively decimated the court of Naples and which put an end to the society described in *Questión de amor*, the author mentions as presages of the coming disaster the deaths of two important persons within three weeks of one another: those of the Condesa de Avellino (on October 24, 1511) and Luis de Borja (on October 5, 1511). We have already noted the close relationship of the latter with both Vasquirán and with the Viceroy. The former was Juana de Villamarín, wife of Juan de Cardona, Conde de Avellino and Viceroy of Calabria (whose identity is lightly masked in the first part of the work as the “Conde de Avertino”).

Her husband Juan de Cardona and Juan’s brother Antonio de Cardona, Marqués de la Pádula, are listed among the *capitanes de gente de armas* in the description of the preparations for the battle at Ravenna (166). One might argue that the presence of these Cardonas is historically undeniable and that therefore their mention here is

⁸ A fuller analysis of the clues is found in Andrachuk 2006 (xvii-xxxii). The author has made a similar use of colour symbolism to identify Flamiano. Jerónimo de Fenollet, accepted as the real identity of the character Flamiano, appears in the list of nobles preparing for the encounter at Ravenna wearing the same colours and *divisa* used earlier by Flamiano. See Vigier 345, n.780 and Andrachuk 2006, 170, n.369. I intend to show later in this paper that the author is indeed related to Ramón de Cardona.

⁹ The author’s comments in the *Argumento y declaración de toda la obra* on the ludic aspect of his work differentiate between those who will read at a superficial level, and by implication, those who will read more deeply. When he speaks of the former as those “que leyeren sin leer” he is making reference to both the primary and secondary meanings of leer, the latter being “comprender y penetrar el interior” (*Diccionario de Autoridades* IV, 377).

without deeper significance but I believe that the accumulation of facts suggests otherwise. Let us add one other and very subtle point. In Vasquirán's dream of the battle of Ravenna he sees a boat filled with the Spanish casualties; the first person he sees is integral to the narrative: it is his friend and rival in the debate, Flamiano (Jerónimo de Fenollet): "Conocí que en la proa de la barca venía Flamiano con muchas heridas en el rostro y en la persona" (183). But if we accept that the placement of certain names in the text has particular significance,¹⁰ then the next person mentioned may be important: "Vi junto con él, a su costado, el conde d'Auertino, de la misma manera d'él herido" (183). We note two things here: first, immediately after the mention of Flamiano, co-protagonist of the work, the author has placed a member of the Cardona family, Juan de Cardona ("junto con él") –despite the fact that he could have chosen any one of the many characters of *Questión de amor* killed or badly injured at Ravenna. Second, he refers to Juan de Cardona in a way which draws attention to him by using the titular pseudonym "de Avertino" which is, strictly speaking, proper to the first part. The author has stated earlier that in this second part of the work he will refer to the characters by their real names and titles: "Agora mudaremos el estilo o forma de la obra. Esto será que agora todos los caualleros y damas, assí de título como los otros, nombraremos *por sus propios nombres* en las cosas acaescidas después de esta fiesta fasta la dolorosa batalla de Ravena, donde la mayor parte d'estos señores y caualleros fueron muertos o presos" (158, emphasis mine).

Yet, contrary to this definitively stated procedure, he refers to Juan de Cardona by the title used in the fictive first part. The astute reader, having been told to expect to find the real title ("Conde d'Auellino", which indeed had already been used in this second part [160 and 161]) would be alerted to this as yet another clue. Although it may be argued that the context is that of a dream (and therefore that it is fiction rather than reality, thus permitting the use of a fictitious rather than real name), the effect is that the careful reader, having paid attention to the accumulation of clues, is once again led to focus on a member of the Cardona family.¹¹

To summarize to this point: we have in *Questión de amor* at least three significant male members of the Cardona family:¹² the Viceroy Ramón Folch de Cardona, the

¹⁰ This point has been made with regard to other characters associated with Vasquirán: Carlerín, Carlino and Carliner as well as the Prior de Mariana (Pedro de Acuña, Prior of Messina), the Marqués de Villatonda (Giovanni Francesco d'Acquaviva d'Aragona, Marqués de Bitonto) and the Prior de Albano (Jerónimo Centelles, Prior of Rome). See Andrachuk 2006, xxii-xxvi.

¹¹ The second and third casualties mentioned are treated in the same way, referred to by their fictive rather than real titles: "el prior de Mariana y el prior d'Albano" (183); they too are characters closely associated with Vasquirán in the first part of the story. Each time Vasquirán appears involved in a mock-bellucose setting (the jousts, the hunt, the *juego de cañas*) he is found in the company of these two prelates.

¹² Vigier (91) counts both Antonio and Juan, like Pedro de Cardona, Conde de Golisano, as members of "la branche sicilienne de la famille" but we shall see that likely both are of Valencian origin. Juan, Conde de Avellino is descended from the Bellpuig lineage, as is Ramón Folch de Cardona, Viceroy of

Conde de Avellino, Juan de Cardona, and his brother the Marqués de la Pádula, Antonio de Cardona. All of these are associated in the text with the authorial voice (Vasquirán) either structurally or thematically in a prominent way which (together with other clues) suggests a very strong emphasis on the Cardona family and which thus points to the author as a member of that family. Given both the quality and the importance of poetry within *Qüestión de amor* I have suggested that the most likely candidate for authorship is the poet Alonso de Cardona. Indeed, we might say that the poetry in and of itself is a significant clue to authorship. Although almost nothing is known of Alonso de Cardona *the poet*, there is useful information regarding Alonso de Cardona *the statesman*. I have chosen to approach the problem obliquely, investigating further the Cardonas named in *Qüestión de amor* and then examining what is known of Alonso de Cardona the statesman as a means of moving forward.

The genealogy of the large Cardona family is not a straightforward one, as we shall see. Despite the existence of new web-based resources¹³ as well as traditional genealogical tools, the investigator is confronted at every stage by difficulties: inconsistencies, dead ends, direct contradictions, omissions, duplications, and incorrect chronologies –all forming a tangled skein of information. In an attempt to unravel the thread we must give priority to contemporary and near-contemporary sources as being more likely to be authoritative in determining family connections. We begin with Antonio and Juan de Cardona.

We know that Juan de Cardona, Conde de Avellino, is the brother of Antonio de Cardona, Marqués de la Pádula because this is explicitly and unequivocally stated in the contemporary evidence of our text: the death of Juana de Villamarín, “Condesa d’Auellino, muger del noble don Juan de Cardona, conde d’Auellino, visorey de la prouincia de Calabria” (160) is mourned by her brother-in-law Antonio de Cardona: “El marqués de la Pádula no hizo ningún atavío por el luto que lleuaua de su cuñada...Su hermano Juan no lleuó otra cosa sino paño negro por el luto de su muger” (166). But there is another contemporary source, Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo, who speaks of his own acquaintance with four Cardona brothers: “Quatro hermanos tan valientes e tan copiosos de esfuerço, tan valerosos e ilustres...(y) como ombre que a todos quatro los vi muchas veces... el segundo fue don Antonio de Cardona, Marqués de la Pádula, gran varón por su persona y esfuerço...el quarto e menor de los susodichos fue el muy valiente cauallero don Johan de Cardona, muy estimada lança en su tiempo”¹⁴ (1974, II, 649). He speaks further of Juan de Cardona joining his

Naples (*Diccionari Biogràfic* I, 443). The confusion stems from the fact that the geographical honours or titles did not always follow a specific branch of the family. The *Diccionari Biogràfic* in its listing for Antonio states: “aquest personatge fou nominat marquès de la Pádula, per bé que aquest títol sembla haver estat, ja de temps, vinculat als Cardona de Sicília” (I, 430).

¹³ Among them *Grandes de España* (www.grandesesp.org.uk) administered by Nicholas Hobbs, and *GeneAll* (www.geneall.net).

¹⁴ The eldest of the brothers listed here by Fernández de Oviedo is “el Conde Golisano, vno de los más bien dispuestos caualleros de su tiempo e de más lindas gracias e partes” while the other is Hugo de Cardona who receives similar praise. The same sibling relationship of these four is supported by

kinsman the Viceroy: “sucedió que seyendo Virrey de Nápoles don Remón de Cardona, e como pariente e buen cauallero, recogido don Juan de Cardona, tuvo cargo e capitanía de cient ombres de armas...E hallóse en la batalla de Ravena, donde haziendo su oficio como quien él era, fue preso e mal herido e en la prisión murió de aquellas heridas”¹⁵ (1974, II, 650). Other sources confirm the sibling relationship of Juan and Antonio although it must be said that there is little consistency in the genealogy, even that provided by recognized sources such as the *Diccionari Biogràfic*.¹⁶

There are more references to Juan de Cardona, Conde de Avellino, in other sources which both confirm and confuse. Óscar Perea Rodríguez’s recent study on the Valencian poets of the *Cancionero General* identifies the Conde de Avellino as the same Juan de Cardona whose poems figure in the *Cancionero General* and who “(halló) la muerte en la tristemente famosa batalla de Ravena [1512]” (241). The same identification is made by Juan Fernández Jiménez (299). But Perea Rodríguez also states, without references, that this Juan de Cardona is the sibling of Don Alonso de Cardona, whose poems are also represented in the *Cancionero General*: “Por lo que respecta a los Cardona, son dos los poetas de tal nombre presentes en el *Cancionero General*: los hermanos Juan y Alonso” (240).¹⁷

Thus Juan de Cardona, Conde de Avellino, is claimed by different sources to be both the brother of Antonio de Cardona, Marqués de la Pádula, and of Alonso de Cardona, poet and, in at least one case, of Ramón de Cardona (*Diccionari Biogràfic* I, 443). To add to the confusion, Nicholas Hobbs in *Grandes de España* gives the parents of Juan (and Antonio) as Artale de Cardona, Conde de Golisano, and María de Ventimiglia. In contrast, Perea Rodríguez (240) gives the parents of Juan (and Alonso) as Juan de Cardona and Catalina de Vilagarut. They cannot both be correct. In fact, both are almost certainly wrong. As we continue with Juan de Cardona we will see that he has no fewer than four sets of parents ascribed to him.

Grandes de España. The Conde de Golisano is not given a personal name in Fernández de Oviedo’s *Memorias*, but he is Pedro de Cardona who appears in *Questión de amor* as one of those joining the Viceroy’s forces before the battle of Ravenna: “De Cecilia venieron algunos caualleros. Aquí no se nombra sino el conde de Golisano...” (171). See n.12 above.

¹⁵ This information is in accord with what we find in *Questión de amor* except that its anonymous author records “con cincuenta hombres d’armas don Juan de Cardona, conde d’Auellino” and “con cien hombres d’armas el marqués de la Pádula” (161). As this account was written shortly after the death of Juan it might be given more credence.

¹⁶ The genealogical chart given in the *Diccionario Biogràfic* (I, 443) gives Juan, Conde de Avellino as brother of Ramón, Viceroy of Naples, and these two as sons of Antonio de Cardona and Castellana de Requeséns.

¹⁷ Perea Rodríguez (240) speaks of Juan as Alonso’s brother who “mantuvo en 1489 un enconado pleito con el Duque de Gandía a propósito de jurisdicción sobre algunos territorios, principalmente acerca de la jurisdicción civil y criminal de la villa de Ondara.” There was indeed a Juan de Cardona in dispute with the Duque of Gandía but it was, I believe, not the brother but the father of Alonso de Cardona whose holdings included the village of Ondara. See n.31 *infra*.

Expanding the search a bit further we find that Rafael Torrent Orri, in an article on Bernardo de Villamarín, agrees with the information in the *Diccionari Biogràfic* linking Juan and Ramón as brothers: “Juana de Vilamarí...se casó con Juan de Cardona, hermano del virrey de Nápoles, a su vez, virrey de Calabria y más tarde Conde de Avellino...(que) murió en el año 1512” (68). It would be tempting indeed to be able to conflate all these claims because if Juan is definitely the brother of Antonio and if Juan is now claimed to be the brother of Ramón, and if Juan is (as Perea Rodríguez claims) the brother of the poet Alonso de Cardona, then it follows that Alonso de Cardona is also the brother of both Antonio, Marqués de la Pádula and of Ramón, Viceroy of Naples. The implications of such a relationship for my claim of Alonso de Cardona as author of *Qüestión de amor* would be very clear. It has been argued elsewhere that this is a work of social and political commentary (Andrachuk 1997) and that the author has kept his identity hidden because of the implied criticism of the Viceroy. If we could now prove that Alonso and Ramón are siblings, or at the very least related in some way, then any criticism by Alonso of his kinsman the Viceroy (for the excessive expenditures in preparation for, and the devastating results of the battle of Ravenna –a battle in which Juan de Cardona was mortally injured) could have grave social and familial consequences –and thus require that his identity be hidden.

As attractive as the possibility of this sibling connection is, none of the information presented so far is conclusive except as regards the brothers Juan and Antonio. With respect to Ramón de Cardona’s relationship to the others we must first sift through the inconsistencies which often lead to a dead end. Perugini (26), for example, mentions the possibility that the Viceroy was the “hijo natural del rey Fernando el Católico” while Vigier (129, n.9) more reliably reports his parents as Antonio de Cardona and Castellana de Requeséns, the same parentage as listed by *GeneAll* and by the *Diccionari Biorgràfic* (1, 443); Juan Miguel Soler Salcedo (171-72) lists the parents of Ramón as Juan Ramón Folch IV and Aldonza Enríquez –as is also claimed (confusingly) in the *Diccionari Biogràfic* (I, 455). This same source also lists a certain “Alfons”: “un dels fils del duc Joan Ramón Folc VI¹⁸ i d’Aldonza Enríquez” (IV, 544) married to Aldonza Ferrer,¹⁹ thereby inferring from the

¹⁸ This is a typographical error for “IV”. The entry continues to state that this Alfons “Es casà amb Aldonça Ferrer. Apareix documentada la seva participació en un torneig...celebrat a Barcelona el 12 de juny de 1514.” As an example of the inconsistencies in reputable modern genealogical sources, Charles Cawley in *Foundation for Medieval Genealogy* (<http://fmg.ac/Projects/MedLands/Catalan%20NOBILITY.htm>) lists Juan Ramón Folch de Cardona and Aldonza Enríquez y Quiñones as having just one child, Fernando (21).

¹⁹ Of this Alfonso, Aybar Ramírez says “Si se confirma, además, que Alonso es esposo de Aldonza Terrer (sic), hijo, por tanto, de Joan Folch de Cardona y Aldonza Enríquez, sería tío del escritor del *Tratado notable*, de Juan de Cardona” (57, n.5). This possibility cannot be entirely rejected for although virtually nothing further is known about this Cardona, if this information is correct then he would also be the brother of Aldonza, married to Miguel Jiménez de Urrea, brother of the author of *Penitencia de amor*. See *infra* n.39. Alonso (and its Catalan equivalent Alfons) and Alfonso were common variants

information given earlier in the text (I, 455) that Ramón and “Alfons” are brothers –but the information on the latter is scarce and there is nothing to identify him specifically as the Alonso de Cardona we seek. One might be forgiven for wanting to abandon this maddeningly confusing quest. Yet there is one initial fact which might lead us to a tenable theory: the author of *Questión de amor* must be both an accomplished poet and prose writer. The only Alonso de Cardona who can reliably be identified as a poet is the one whom Perea Rodríguez (240) names as both *Almirante de Aragón* and the poet of the *Cancionero General*.²⁰ It is to this person that we must now turn our attention.

Alonso de Cardona, poet and courtier

Among the poets of the *Cancionero General* fully a third are of the upper nobility (Boase 3) and many are noted members of the Valencian aristocracy.²¹ Estela Pérez Bosch reminds us that “muchos de los autores que hoy estudiamos como poetas fueron más conocidos por desempeñar otros cargos, y la mayoría no constan como poetas en la nómina de la corte” (2). The simple mention of his name in the rubrics to his poems in the *Cancionero General* (“Canción de don Alonso de Cardona”, “Glosa de don Alonso de Cardona”...) would be sufficient to indicate his identity in a very full sense for contemporary readers familiar with the court and with current events, obviating the need of fuller identification: “tuvieron que ser tan familiarmente conocidos que no se siente la necesidad de dar mayores datos” (Pérez Bosch 5). Because the composition of poetry was seen as just one of the expected attributes of a courtier, little attention would be given to Alonso de Cardona as *poet*; much more noteworthy would be the events of his social, military and political life as courtier, noble and as *Almirante de Aragón*. For his contemporaries these roles were much more important in forming their estimation of him. His role as poet was conventional and subordinate to the more

for the same name during this period, and on occasion both Alonso and Alfonso are used to name the same person. *GeneAll.net* gives the form “Alfonso” for our subject. As an example of the contemporary alternation of the forms Alonso/Alfonso, Emilia Salvador esteban remarks regarding Alfonso Sánchez, “Lugarteniente de Tesorero General”: “En la documentación valenciana su nombre aparece indistintamente como Alfonso o Alonso” (712).

²⁰ The identification of the poet Alonso de Cardona as *Almirante de Aragón* had been made earlier by Martí Grajales (223). Perea Rodríguez errs in calling him *Almirante de Valencia*, perhaps influenced by the same error in Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo. All other sources give the title as *Almirante de Aragón*. For the chronology of the Admirals see the Marqués de Laurencín 354-56.

²¹ Perea Rodríguez is instructive on this point: “Bastantes de los poetas valencianos presentes en el *Cancionero General* son miembros de la nobleza del reino, o en última instancia, personas bien relacionadas con las altas esferas de la ciudad” (229). The connection between the Valencian nobility and the arts is well known. The court at Valencia of the Duke of Calabria (from 1526) was a continuation in many ways of the court of Naples, insofar as that was possible after the decimation at the battle of Ravenna. Among the courtier-poets at Valencia (a group which included many figures who had been in Naples and indeed who figure in *Questión de amor*) we find Alonso de Cardona. See Marino 8.

individualizing aspects of his life, much as for us a public figure who writes is still predominantly a *public figure*, not a writer.²²

Alonso de Cardona is the author of some twenty-two compositions included in the *Cancionero General*, the majority of which explore typical *cancionero* themes.²³ While we can be certain of his presence at the viceregal court of Germaine de Foix and her husband the Duke of Calabria at Valencia in the third decade of the 16th century and, conversely, of his absence from a *certamen poético* in Valencia in November of 1511, little more is definitely known about the life of Alonso de Cardona as poet.²⁴

Some details of the life of Alonso de Cardona as courtier are, however, recorded. There are a number of references to his participation in the siege of Perpignan in 1503. Both Ferrando Francés (400) and Aybar Ramírez (57, n.5) note that Alonso de Cardona was in the company of King Ferdinand at the siege in early August, 1503. Among his companions in this enterprise are Francisco Fenollet and Serafín de Centelles y Cardona, Conde de Oliva, both of whom are connected to characters in *Qüestión de amor*, the former being the brother of Jerónimo de Fenollet, alter ego of Flamiano, and the latter being either his cousin or uncle.²⁵ Ventura Pascual y Beltrán (252) cites from Fr. Diago's *Apuntamientos*: "1503: A la jornada de Perpiñán acudieron muchos Valencianos cavalleros ricamente adereçados, con muchas cadenas de oro, y pocos sin dos o tres cauallos cada qual; don Alonso de Cardona que después fue Almirante de Aragón...don Seraphin Centelles, Conde de Oliva, don Cherubín Centelles su hermano...don Francisco Fenollet..."²⁶ A more specific reference to the

²² Again, the comments of Pérez Bosch are apposite: "El poeta que compone poesía para ser recitada en la corte es el mismo que se encarga de otros asuntos cotidianos de tipo administrativo, político, jurídico" (4).

²³ In Andrachuk 1994b I explored the poetry of Alonso de Cardona vis-à-vis that which forms part of *Qüestión de amor* (427-34) and remarked that "there are important thematic similarities between Cardona's verse and the poetry of *Qüestión de amor*, especially the poetry in the authorial voice of Vasquirán, which go beyond the expected coincidences of *cancionero* verse" (434). But I also stated that "nothing is known about Alonso de Cardona beyond the fact that he is the poet of the *Cancionero General* compositions" (434). It now seems possible to move forward with the knowledge that the poet is the same person as the *Almirante de Aragón*.

²⁴ Ferrando Francés 679. His mention of the "notòria absença total dels poets aristocrats valencians com Serafí de Centelles" as well as Alonso de Cardona, clearly implies the expected presence and the importance of these poets. The fact that Francisco de Fenollet (brother of Jerónimo de Fenollet), was present at this *certamen* and acted in an official capacity is another element in the connection between social, artistic and political spheres of Valencia and the court of Naples depicted in *Qüestión de amor*.

²⁵ Vigier says that Serafín de Centelles is "oncle maternel de Jerónimo de Fenollet" (27-28) while an 18th century source, Fray Vicente Ximeno (cited in Perea Rodríguez 229) says "Francesc...era primo del Conde de Oliva".

²⁶ The identification of this Alonso de Cardona as eventual *Almirante de Aragón* is of importance. Pascual y Beltrán (249) cites from Mossén Francés Joan's *Libre de noticias de la ciutat de Valencia* on the Fenollet brothers, Francisco and Jerónimo: "...el uno llamado don Francisco, el cual fue paje del Rey Católico...y el otro que se llamó don Jerónimo, el cual fue capitán de un estandarte de hombres de armas en la jornada de Ravena, año 1512." The companionship of the Fenollet brothers with Alonso de

connection between these same courtiers and the King is made by Mossen Francés Joan in his *Libre de noticias de la ciutat de Valencia*: “Y a 12 partim pera Perpiñá y après tots los altres Valencians excepto lo Compte de Oliva, Don Serafí de Centelles y son germá don Cherubí Centelles y lo Compte de Almenara y don Alonso de Cardona, que partiren ab sa Magestat” (Pascual y Beltrán 248). Serafín de Centelles y Cardona was well-known as a patron of letters; he was in fact the stimulus behind the *Cancionero General*. Vigier (28), following Joan Oleza, makes the tentative but entirely plausible suggestion that the Conde de Oliva may also have been involved in the publication of the *princeps* of *Qüestión de amor* at Valencia in 1513. I would entirely agree and go further on the basis of my investigations: I believe that, if my theory regarding authorship is correct, given the intimate and familial connections between the Conde de Oliva and the Cardonas, and his documented association with Alonso de Cardona, it would be surprising if he were *not* in some way responsible.²⁷

There is more to be learned of Alonso de Cardona in a first-hand description of him as courtier by Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo. In Dialogue XLII between Sereno and el Alcayde in *Batalla I*, *Quinquagena II*, Fernández de Oviedo describes Alonso de Cardona at length in terms which could come directly out of *Qüestión de amor* or *el Cortesano*:

Sereno: Entre los caballeros mancebos que un tiempo vi en Valencia, a ninguno vi mejor dispuesto ni más agraciado que don Alonso de Cardona, de muchas gracias y valeroso, el qual fue almirante de aquel reyno y uno de los más bien quistos y amados caballeros que en su tiempo ovo en aquella ciudad...

El Alcayde: ...demás de ser gentil hombre e bien proporcionado e de lindo gesto, era muy bien hablado e de graciosa conversación; e tan comedido e bien criado e lindo cortesano que no había más que pedir...Fue gran danzador; tañía e jugaba muy bien...jugaba de muchas armas; era un gentil justador, e era de vivas e grandes fuerzas; *trovaba en verso castellano e escribía bien*. (2000, 141-42; emphasis mine)

The importance of the last statement cannot be ignored in the context of this study. The use of the verbs *trovar* and *escribir* clearly differentiates these two activities. Not only did the courtier and eventual *Almirante* Alonso de Cardona include among his

Cardona finds its echo in the relationship between Vasquirán (the voice of Alonso de Cardona) and Flamiano (Jerónimo de Fenollet) whose death resultant from the action at Ravenna is described in *Qüestión de amor*.

²⁷ Vigier says: “Par ailleurs, il n’est pas exclu que Serafí de Centelles...ait joué quelque rôle dans la publication de la fiction anonyme». See also Oleza (159), and Perea Rodríguez (232-36 at 235) who comments on the influence (“el estímulo intelectual”) of Centelles on the poetry of his cousin Francisco Fenollet. Of Serafín de Centelles Perea Rodríguez (232) comments: “representa el arquetipo de noble culto y letrado del Reino de Valencia.”

courtly accomplishments the art of writing poetry, but he was also known as a skilled prose writer. While we have evidence of his poetry in the compositions of the *Cancionero General*, we have no declared examples of his prose writing unless we accept as his the *prosimetrum* work *Qüestión de amor*.

Alonso de Cardona, *Almirante de Aragón*

There are numerous historical references to Alonso de Cardona, *Almirante de Aragón*, during the period of Charles I. It is this military and administrative rank which we can use as a guide in identifying his genealogy and which will also help in furthering our search for the author of *Qüestión de amor*. We have already seen the instance of the siege of Perpignan (1503) in which Alonso de Cardona, eventual *Almirante*, is mentioned as being in the company of the same nobles as Alonso de Cardona, poet. There are further sources which confirm these associations. A private diary now known as the *Diario turolense* was written by Juan Gaspar Sánchez Muñoz over a span of decades in the 16th century and published in 1895 in the *Boletín de la Real Academia de Historia*. In this work we find not only the expected recording of family matters, household maintenance, and private reflections, but also observations on historical events which the author found noteworthy. The horrific casualties of the battle of Ravenna, for example, are recorded thus: “A xj de abril de 1512 la gente del papa y la gente del rey de España que favorecía al papa dieron una cruel batalla sobre la ciudat de Ravena contra los franceses, día de Pascua de la Resurrección...mataron de franceses 12,000 hombres, de manera que en la dicha batalla murieron sobre 20,000 hombres” (20). The first specific mention of Alonso de Cardona in this text comes in the entry for July 1521 which speaks of the violent uprising of the *agermanados*,²⁸ and of a strategy meeting at which the royalist leaders are gathered: “Juntáronse más con el virrey y los más caballeros del reino de Valencia, adonde fueron...don Alonso de Cardona, Almirante de Aragón, y don Juan de Vorja, Duque de Gandía, y don Serafín de Centelles, Conde de Oliva” (40). Alonso de Cardona had been among the few nobles who in 1519 sided with the king in his early disputes with the Valencian aristocracy over the licensing of the *germanías* or guilds. In fact, the part played by Alonso de Cardona in support of the king was not an incidental one. By 1521 the major part of the nobility was siding with the king and it was Alonso de Cardona who hosted a meeting of the highest nobles to formulate their plans (this is perhaps the same meeting which Juan Gaspar Muñoz records). Pascual Madoz reports: “En 1521, celebró en (Gandía) una reunión el Almirante de Aragón D. Alonso de Cardona, a la que acudió el virrey de Valencia D. Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, y resolvieron convocar a todos los caballeros del reino y facultar al señor de Rocafull, para formar

²⁸ The revolt of the artisan guilds (*germanías*) in the region of Valencia lasted from 1519 to 1523 and broadly corresponded to the revolt of the *comuneros* in Castile, both uprisings reflecting dissatisfaction with the early reign of Charles I, although the specific causes were different. The most active year of rebellion in the area of Valencia was 1521.

un cuerpo de mil infantes y algunos caballos (sic) que hiciese la guerra a los comuneros” (302).²⁹

One of the most important sources regarding Alonso de Cardona as *Almirante de Aragón* is the article by the Marqués de Laurencín on the chronology of the Admirals –and here we begin to make progress. Under the section on Alonso de Cardona we learn that he was “hijo de D. Juan Folch de Cardona y Navarra, II Señor de Guadalest, Mayordomo Mayor del Príncipe Don Carlos de Viana su primo, ...y de Doña María de Fajardo y Quesada, hermana del Conde de Cartagena D. Pedro (de Fajardo), Adelantado Mayor de Murcia” (354).

The fact that Alonso de Cardona, *Almirante de Aragón*, was at that time counted in the highest ranks of nobility is not only a matter of family ties; it is confirmed by his active role in society. Enrique García Hernán writes of Juan de Borja, Duque de Gandía, preparing the way for his young son Francisco de Borja as he begins his training as courtier in 1521: “Juan de Borja escribió al gran canciller Gattinaria, al tesorero general, al Almirante de Aragón don Alonso de Cardona, al Duque de Alba...Así pues, a pesar de su corta edad, su padre le había preparado muy bien el terreno para ser perfectamente aceptado y reconocido *por los de su misma nobleza*” (191, emphasis mine). The connection between Alonso de Cardona and the Borjas is not only one of rank. In 1502 Don Juan de Cardona and his son Alonso sold to the Duquesa de Gandía, María Enríquez de Borja, a tract of land known as the Real de Gandía as a means of relieving debts incurred.³⁰ This land, occupied by communities of *mudéjares*, had been given to Hugo Folch de Cardona, son of Juan Ramón Folch de Cardona and Juana de Aragón in 1407 by his grandfather Alfonso de Aragón, along with other holdings including the villages of Confrides and Ondara. Hugo also inherited other tracts of land including, from his mother, the Vall de Guadalest. Of

²⁹ An account of the complicated history of the *germanías* can be found in Antonio Carrasco Rodríguez; he also mentions this meeting in Gandía and the importance of Alonso de Cardona: “una reunión en Gandía con los nobles y caballeros del reino que habían de luchar contra los agermanados...y para facultar la tarea, D. Diego Hurtado de Mendoza mandó al Almirante de Aragón D. Alonso de Cardona para que, ejerciendo toda su influencia (obtuviera) del Marqués de los Vélez ayuda para la defensa de la citada fortaleza” (223). Further evidence of the involvement of Alonso de Cardona in these matters is found in Luis de Qúas whose near-contemporary account lists the major participants in the king’s forces, including the Conde de Oliva, Francisco Fenollet and “don Alfonso (sic), Almirante de Aragón, éste con su bandera, cajas de guerra y caballo”(89). There is further mention in Miguel García (152) which puts Alonso de Cardona in the company of the Conde de Concentayna: “mientras que el conde de Concentayna y don Alonso de Cardona fueron hacia Segorbe...” On the occasion of the death of the Condesa de Concentayna Alonso de Cardona wrote “Ya mi alma entristecida”, a *glosa* on a poem by Geroni Vich, which appears in the *Cancionero General*. There can be no doubt that the poet of the *Cancionero General* and the *Almirante de Aragón* are one and the same person.

³⁰ José Luis Pastor Zapata explains the nature of the debts, called “censales”: “el recurso constante y progresivo de la nobleza local a empréstitos...respaldados generalmente por las comunidades sobre las que (la nobleza) ejerce el señorío;...algunos señoríos y sus titulares se vieron cargados...de deudas generadas por el capital y los intereses de los censales en un proceso que condujo...a la venta o transferencia de la propiedad feudal” (738).

these and other holdings Pastor Zapata remarks: “este conjunto territorial convertirá a la rama valenciana de los Cardona en una de las más influyentes familias del área del sur de Valencia durante los siglos XV y XVI” (743).³¹ The sale of the Real de Gandía is a key element in determining the lineage and identity of Alonso de Cardona. Pastor Zapata, remarking on the continued economic problems faced by the owners of this property, comments: “el problema de las deudas censales en la baronía del Real se perfiló en todas sus implicaciones en la primera mitad del siglo XV...Don Juan y Don Alonso, herederos de Hugo de Cardona, contemplaron y contribuyeron, con sus abusivas peticiones, al continuo deterioro de su solvencia económica” (745). It is the enormous debts which cause them to sell the property to María Enríquez de Borja. Pastor Zapata remarks on having a “documento especialmente valioso” (751) for his study of the Real de Gandía –but this document is also of particular interest to us here because it records the sale of the property (signed February 1, 1502) “entre los vendedores, don Juan de Cardona y doña María Fajardo y *el hijo de ambos Don Alonso*, y la compradora, la duquesa de Gandía, doña María Enríquez de Borja” (751, emphasis mine). As Pastor Zapata documents, this was neither the first nor the last connection between the Cardonas and the Borjas.

For the sake of clarity, it is this Alonso, descended from Hugo Folch de Cardona, eleventh Barón de Bellpuig,³² who later became lord of Guadalest and *Almirante de Aragón*.³³ As a descendant of Hugo, Alonso is related directly to Ramón Folch de Cardona, Viceroy of Naples. Hugo had two sons: Ramón, married to Catalina de

³¹ The fact that Ondara was held by Juan Folch de Cardona, lord of Guadalest, and that there was a long history of dispute between Juan Folch de Cardona and the Duque de Gandía and later, his widow María throws doubt on Perea Rodríguez’s assertions regarding the relationship between the *Cancionero General* poets Juan and Alonso de Cardona; see n.17 *infra*. I believe that he may have confused Juan, the father of Alonso Folch de Cardona and Juan, the poet who may or may not have been the Conde de Avellino but almost certainly was not the *brother* of Alonso.

³² The hereditary title of *Almirante*, given first in 1364 to Hugo Folch de Cardona, was inherited by Hugo’s grandson Alonso and passed to his heirs. The mother of Alonso de Cardona, *Almirante* and lord of Guadalest, is acknowledged by almost every source as being María de Fajardo, sister of Don Pedro Fajardo, *Adelantado Mayor del Reino de Murcia*, but *Grandes de España*, based on Jacobo Wilhelm Imhof (*Genealogiae viginti illustrium in Hispania familiarum*, Norimburgo, 1712) in one listing gives the mother of “Alfonso (sic) de Cardona, señor de Guadalest, Almirante de Aragón” as Juana de Gandía –possibly a confusion with María Enríquez de Borja, Duquesa de Gandía (<http://grandesp.org.uk/historia/gzas/cardonacde.htm>). Yet in another listing it does give the mother of Al(f)onso, “barón de Guadalest, Almirante de Aragón” as María de Fajardo (<http://grandesp.org.uk/historia/gzas/cardonadq.htm>). Several sources, give Ramón Folch de Cardona, sixteenth Barón de Bellpuig, Viceroy of Naples, son of Antonio Folch de Cardona and Castellana de Requeséns, as descendant of Hugo. It is worthy of note that the arms of the Cardona lords of Guadalest include those of the Cardona lords of Bellpuig: the normal three golden thistles on a red field, described as “en campo de gules tres cardos de oro puestos en triángulo” (www.Famorca.es). These same thistles on a field of red are used by Marqués de la Pádula (*Grandes de España*).

³³ The identification of the lord of Guadalest as *Almirante de Aragón* is supported by numerous other sources including Ángel González Palencia: “El Almirante de Aragón era don Alonso Folch de Cardona y Fajardo” (125).

Centelles: their son Antonio, married to Castellana de Requeséns, is the father of Ramón, the Viceroy. The second son of Hugo and Blanca de Navarra is Juan Folch de Cardona, married to María de Fajardo; their son is Alonso, lord of Guadalest and *Almirante de Aragón*. Thus Alonso de Cardona y Fajardo is the first cousin-once-removed of the Viceroy Ramón de Cardona, a fact that has importance related to *Questión de amor*.

The investigations of Pastor Zapata show that “ya en 1525, el duque don Juan de Borja había demandado al Almirante Alonso de Cardona ante la corte del gobernador de Valencia porque no había ‘quitado’ (amortizado) los censales...según lo estipulado en el acuerdo de 1502” (756). Further, he speaks of the son of Alonso, don Sancho Folch de Cardona, who in 1535, “fallecido ya el padre, inició de nuevo el proceso de reclamación del real” (756). We can now move further: this same Alonso de Cardona, son of Juan Folch de Cardona, lord of Guadalest, and María de Fajardo, married Isabel Ruiz de Lihori³⁴ daughter of Juan Ruiz de Lihori, Visconte de Gagliano in Sicily. They had at least two male children: Juan Folch de Cardona “hijo del Almirante de Aragón, Don Alonso Folch de Cardona, Marqués de Guadalest y Doña Isabel de Liori”³⁵ (Esquerdo II, 132) and Sancho, who would in turn become Marqués de Guadalest. Sancho married the granddaughter of Christopher Columbus, María Colón de Toledo, daughter of Diego Colón, I Duque de Vergara. Juan Francisco Pardo Molero, who also identifies Alonso as “Almirante de Aragón” (24) describes Sancho as: “...el hijo del Almirante de Aragón, Sancho de Cardona, joven orgulloso y de carácter que había combatido en Espadán” (234).³⁶

Let us summarize what our investigations have shown: Alonso Folch de Cardona, the poet of the *Cancionero General* is *Almirante de Aragón* and lord of Guadalest. He is not only connected through marriage, friendship, political and military ties, and poetic endeavour with many of the individuals and families mentioned in *Questión de amor* including the Centelles, the Fenollets, and the Borjas; he is also directly related

³⁴ Esquerdo (I, 119) speaks of the marriage of Don Juan Batista de Coloma who “casó dos veces; la primera con Doña María de Cardona, hija de Don Alonso de Cardona, Almirante de Aragón, y Doña Isabel de Liori (sic), señores de Guadalest...”

³⁵ Esquerdo anticipates the rank of Alonso here because it was his son Sancho who was raised to the rank of *Marqués* by Charles I. In speaking of the arms of the lords of Guadalest and of Sancho in particular, the website of the village Famorca, a village once owned by the Marqués de Guadalest (www.Famorca.es) has this: “Heredó todos los antedichos territorios el hijo de este matrimonio, D. Sancho Folch de Cardona y Ruiz de Lihori, a quien Carlos I concedió el título de I Marqués de Guadalest.” Esquerdo (II, 134) says that Sancho’s brother, Juan de Cardona y Liori “hijo del Almirante de Aragón, D. Alonso de Cardona y Da. Isabel de Liori” married Luisa de Borja Lanzol. *GeneAll* has the same information regarding Juan, who would inherit his father’s title of *Almirante de Aragón*.

³⁶ Fernández de Oviedo similarly gives the details of Sancho’s marriage to María Colón de Toledo; he describes Sancho, son of Alonso de Cardona as “su hijo e sucesor en su casa e estado don Sancho de Cardona, almirante del reyno de Valencia y marqués de Guadaleste, el qual es digno de tal padre y a él muy semejante” (2000, 142). Sancho’s status and details of his marriage are confirmed by Uhagón, Marqués de Laurencín (354) who also states that Isidro Tomás de Cardona, last Marqués de Guadalest died in 1699 without heirs.

to the Viceroy, Ramón Folch de Cardona. Alonso Folch de Cardona, although younger, is in fact a first cousin-once-removed to Ramón because the father of Alonso, Juan Folch de Cardona, lord of Guadalest, is brother to Ramón Folch de Cardona, 12th Barón de Bellpuig who is the grandfather of Ramón Folch de Cardona, eventual Viceroy of Naples. Alonso de Cardona, poet and, I believe, author of *Qüestion de amor*, as cousin to Ramón, might understandably seek a certain anonymity (“dexando su nonbre encubierto” 2). Dismayed by his kinsman the Viceroy’s gross extravagance at public expense in preparing for the disastrous battle at Ravenna (an extravagance of show rather than substance which does nothing to prevent the loss of so many nobles portrayed in *Qüestión de amor*), he cuts short the detailed description: “Baste que se supo por muchas certenidades que gastó, sin lo que propio suyo tenía, veynte y dos mil ducados de oro ante que de Nápoles partiese, en solo el aparejo de su persona y casa.” (165) Little wonder then that the author hides his name “porque los detractores mejor puedan saciar las malas lenguas no sabiendo de quién detratán (sic)” (2). His may indeed be an anonymity “por cierto respecto al tiempo en que se escriuió, necesario” (2).

Finally, there are certain important ramifications to identifying this Alonso de Cardona as author. The later sentimental romance *Tratado notable de amor* has been noted as having significant similarities with *Qüestión de amor*³⁷ –a point which goes beyond the merely interesting if my theory about authorship is correct. Fernández Jiménez (1978, 299) tentatively suggests the identity of the author of *Tratado notable* based on the date of composition (between 1545 and 1547): “Pienso en don Juan de Cardona y de Requeséns, hijo de don Antonio de Cardona y Henríquez, y nieto del primer duque de Cardona” (299).³⁸ Aybar Ramírez accepts this attribution and, taking note of my suggestion of Alonso de Cardona as author of *Qüestión de amor*, connects a different Alonso with the author Juan de Cardona: “Si se confirma, además, que Alonso es esposo de Aldonza Terrer (sic), hijo, por tanto, de Joan Folch de Cardona y Aldonza Enríquez, sería tío del escritor del *Tratado notable*, de Juan de Cardona” (57, n.5). While the Alonso married to Aldonza Ferrer cannot yet be discounted definitively, the relationship between the two authors is closer than that of uncle and nephew, I believe. We have seen that the poet Alonso is the son of a different Juan Folch de Cardona and of his wife, María Fajardo. If indeed this Alonso, Alonso Folch de Cardona y Fajardo, lord of Guadalest, *Almirante de Aragón* and poet, is the author of *Qüestión de amor*, then his son Juan Folch de Cardona, who died in 1583, may well

³⁷ See Antonio Cortijo Ocaña’s thoughtful commentary on this work (264-72). Among the similarities he mentions: the name Ysiana for one of the characters, “el decorado y la mezcla de elementos ficticios e históricos...la mención a la ‘quision’ que motivó la escritura de la obra” (269), and “Como en *Qüestión* también hay descripciones pormenorizadas de saraos cortesanos” (270).

³⁸ While most genealogical sources show Antonio de Cardona y Enríquez, Barón de Samboy and Viceroy of Sardinia as married to Ana María Requeséns de Soler, he is listed by at least one of the genealogical sources (*GeneAll*, based on the *Historia genealogica de la Casa Real Portuguesa*, Antonio Caetano de Sousa, Coimbra: Atlantida-Livraria Editora, 2nd ed., 1946) as being unmarried and without issue.

be the author of *Tratado notable*; it would not be at all surprising therefore that Juan would imitate some of the techniques and characteristics of his father's (anonymous) work, and indeed that he might participate in extending the ludic aspect of his father's work by including in his own certain clues about the authorship of *Qüestión de amor*. To take just one example, the inclusion in his own work of a character named Ysiana, the woman who attempted to seduce Vasquirán, can be seen as yet another indicator of the connection between the authorial voice of *Qüestión de amor* (Vasquirán / Alonso de Cardona) and yet another Cardona (the author of *Tratado notable de amor*), his son.³⁹ While his brother Sancho inherited the title of Guadales, Juan, eventual *Almirante de Aragón*, may have combined the exercise of arms and letters as did his father.

³⁹ Antonio Cortijo Ocana (265): "Notemos de paso, detalle ignorado por la crítica, la equivalencia del nombre de la enamorada (Ysiana) con el de la duquesa (sic) a quien Vasquirán envía unas coplas en la *Qüestión*". Further he states: "la *Qüestión*, que tenía su origen y contexto de producción en la corte virreinal napolitana, insistía en otros aspectos que retoma el *Tratado notable*: el carácter de novela en clave y su ambientación histórica, que hacía de ella recipiendaria del relato histórico." Cortijo Ocaña's work suggests other avenues of exploration because he also underlines the similarities between aspects of *Qüestión de amor* and *Penitencia de amor* of Pedro Manuel Jiménez de Urrea: "...y ese mismo año (1513) salió a luz en Valencia (Diego de Gumiel) la *Qüestión de amor de dos enamorados*, obrita sentimental anónima con la que la *Penitencia* de Urrea comparte más de una característica y de la que recoge algunos préstamos textuales" (226). In the context of this article it is worth noting that there is a family connection between the Urreas and Cardonas: Aldonza Folch de Cardona, daughter of the Duque de Cardona, in 1493 married Miguel Jiménez de Urrea, II Conde de Aranda and brother of Pedro. See n. 19 above.

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