

Juan de Cardona, *Tratado notable de amor*, and the Moncada Connection

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The intriguing similarities between the late sentimental romances *Qüestión de amor* (1513) and *Tratado notable de amor* (c.1545-47) have been explored in some detail by Antonio Cortijo Ocaña (264-72) who noted a number of correspondences in theme, detail and style. But the relationship between these two works is not simply the fruit of their shared literary genre; it is, I believe, the purposeful expression of a familial tie between the authors. Particularly with regard to the *sentimental romance* the importance of establishing both the name and the identity of the author (for these are not always the same thing) has consistently formed a significant part of the body of criticism. Whether we speak of *Siervo libre de amor* by Juan Rodríguez del Padrón, *Cárcel de amor* by Diego de San Pedro, *Grimate y Gradissa* by Juan de Flores, or *Triste deleytación* by “F.A.d.C.”, the question of authorship has always gone beyond merely knowing or learning the name of the author; the facts and context of his life deepen and enrich our understanding of the work and its literary and social significance.¹

In the case of *Tratado notable de amor* the name of the author is not in doubt, but since the publication of Juan Fernández Jiménez’s edition of this work (1982) there has been virtually no further discussion of the identity of the declared author, Juan de Cardona.² Fernández Jiménez’s careful reading of the text allowed him to date its composition within the period between 1545 and the first quarter of 1547 (17). This precise dating also permitted him to challenge Jole Scudieri Ruggieri’s tentative identification of the author as being the Juan de Cardona who “potrebbe esser stato quegli che intervenne alla battaglia di Ravenna” (1963, 53). This person, as Fernández Jiménez rightly notes, is the *Conde de Avellino* who died in 1512 of wounds suffered in the cataclysmic battle of Ravenna.³ He cannot, therefore, be the author of this work.

¹ It is true to say that where the fewest details of the identity of the author are known, our appreciation of the work and its meaning are hampered. The case of *Triste deleytación* is illustrative. The author is known by initials alone and while Martí de Riquer (1956) suggests that the autor was Fray Artal de Claramunt, the lack of further information about this person has frustrated further investigation. See Regula Rohland de Langbehn: “Del mencionado fraile, de otra parte, no se conservan obras con las que se podría comparar el texto que editamos, ni se sabe de una actividad literaria suya. Dejaremos por tanto la cuestión del autor en el lugar en que la dejó Riquer” (XVII).

² The title page of the unique manuscript declares the author to be Juan de Cardona. Juan Fernández Jiménez’s edition presents it in part as “TRATADO LLAMADO NOTABLE DE AMOR compuesto por don Juan de Cardona a pedimento de la señora doña Potenciana de Moncada” (63).

³ For further information on Juan de Cardona, Conde de Avellino, see Andrachuk 2011, 544-55. Others, including Rubió y Balaguer upon whom Fernández Jiménez bases some of his conclusions (*Els Cardona i les lletres*) have also confused the author of this work with the Conde de Avellino. See Juan Fernández Jiménez 1982, 13-14.

A much more likely candidate according to Fernández Jiménez is another Juan de Cardona: Juan de Cardona y Requesens, son of Antonio de Cardona y Henríquez, viceroy of Sardinia from 1535 to 1549 and of María de Requesens, (and therefore, grandson of Juan Ramón Folch IV de Cardona). Fernández Jiménez cites Cesáreo Fernández Duro's statement that this Juan de Cardona died in "1609, cumplidos noventa años de edad" (22, citing *Armada española* II, 33, note 2) therefore putting his age at an appropriate 25 to 27 years when the *Tratado notable* was written. The difficulties of genealogical and biographical research on members of the Cardona family are easily shown using as an example this one member of the family. The *Diccionari Biogràfic* (vol. IV Apèndix, 548) also gives his date of death as 1609 (but says that his father was "*Joan, virrei de Sardenya*" (emphasis mine) and adds "morí sense successió directa").⁴ Yet Fernández Jiménez states that, while the attribution is not certain, Juan de Cardona y Requesens "es un excelente candidato a su autoría, sobre todo teniendo en cuenta que *ninguno de sus homónimos presenta estas características*" (23, emphasis mine). The essential characteristics of the author for Fernández Jiménez are only two; first, the obvious one: that any Juan de Cardona considered as a candidate for authorship must have been alive during the period 1545-47 and second, that the author must have a connection to Italy; he bases this on the statement of the authorial voice that his protagonist Cristerno is "de nación griego y yo de Italia" (68).⁵ I believe that the attribution to Juan de Cardona y Requesens to the exclusion of other candidates, while quite plausible, was based to some extent on incorrect information, as I shall show. Furthermore, one of the excluded candidates can not only fulfill the essential criteria presented by Fernández Jiménez but is also one whose candidacy is strengthened both by his family history and by other factors directly relevant to the *Tratado notable*.

⁴ The dates of birth and death are not, however, universally accepted. *www.Grandes de España*, for example, gives his place and date of death as Barcelona, 1572. Furthermore, the *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* states that this same "Giovanni Cardona" "nacque da antica famiglia catalane probabilmente intorno al 1530 da Antonio, viceré di Sardegna dal 1534 (sic) al 1549 (v. 19, 792). If this date of birth, c.1530, is correct then Juan de Cardona would be only 15 to 17 years old when *Tratado notable* was written. This is most unlikely given the complexity and maturity of the work.

⁵ Although declared to be "de nación griego", Cristerno is nevertheless also stated to be "príncipe de la Romania, a quien el Turco le avía tomado casi su estado" (75). Cristerno appears to be a purely fictional character. His relationship to a "Carlos Estense" –identified by Fernández Jiménez [75, n.40] as possibly of the de Este family– is still to be established. As Cristerno and Carlos Estense are presented as inseparable ["lo que poseyan ambos era todo común; así en los trabajos de Cristerno syenpre Carlos Estense le fue compañero"], so the fictional Cristerno and the authorial *yo* are as "nacidos...aun de una madre, o, por mejor decir, una ánima en dos cuerpos" (68). Of this, Fernández Jiménez notes: "es una indicación bastante expresa de su identificación con el protagonista" (38). The author's statements suggest something of a *doppelgänger* nature to these relationships. At the same time these statements undermine the validity of accepting as fact that Cristerno can be both Prince of Romania and Greek and, by extension, possibly even the statement that the author is "de Ytalia", for Cristerno and the author are described as being more than siblings ("una ánima en dos cuerpos"). Fernández Jiménez goes further, believing that the tone and substance of the introduction "viene a ser una confirmación de su estado de enamorado y como tal, (que) va a narrarnos sus propios amores" (38-39).

In a series of articles on the authorship of the earlier sentimental romance *Qüestión de amor* (1513), I suggested first that the anonymous author was a member of the aristocratic Cardona family (1994a) basing this attribution on a series of clues deeply imbedded within the text itself –in other words, evidence *interior* to the work. Furthermore, I suggested that the author was the poet Alonso de Cardona whose work was found in the *Cancionero General* of 1511 (1994b and 2006). Finally, using evidence *exterior* to the work I determined that the poet and author of *Qüestión de amor* Alonso de Cardona was Alonso Folch de Cardona y Fajardo, hereditary *Almirante de Aragón* and lord of Guadalest (2011). Since the publication of the results of this research yet another fact has come to light which, when added to all other evidence, makes the case for his authorship even more convincing. The authorial voice of *Qüestión* is that of the character Vasquirán whose beloved Violina has died immediately before the action of the work begins, that is, in 1508.⁶ If to prove authorship it is necessary or desirable to find correspondences of the author's life in that of Vasquirán (beyond those found within the text which identify Vasquirán-author as a Cardona), we can now add this fact: 1508 was also the year of the death of Isabel Ruiz de Liori, the wife of Alonso Folch de Cardona y Fajardo.⁷ Thus both Vasquirán, the authorial voice, and the author himself exist in parallel states of mourning, the former for the death of Violina, the latter for the death of Isabel Ruiz de Liori. The weight of evidence for Alonso de Cardona's authorship of *Qüestión de amor* now appears conclusive.

Alonso de Cardona's marriage to Isabel Ruiz de Liori is germane to the question of the identity of the Juan de Cardona who is the author of *Tratado notable*. The second of their sons, Juan Folch de Cardona y Ruiz de Liori, fulfills the criteria for authorship laid down by Fernández Jiménez both with respect to dating and to an Italian connection, as we shall see. If Alonso Folch de Cardona y Fajardo is, as I believe, the author of *Qüestión de amor* and if his son is the Juan de Cardona who is the author of *Tratado notable de amor*, then the similarities noted by Cortijo Ocaña are not merely coincidental or literary in their intention.

Juan Fernández Jiménez rightly notes the difficulty of coming to a firm identification of the author, given that the name *Juan* is common among the Cardonas; in fact, in the period after he did his research the difficulty has increased. Despite the greater accessibility of genealogical sources now available in print and on the web the scholar using them must wade into a morass of direct contradictions, duplications, omissions and frank errors copied from one source to another, and of identifications

⁶ “Las cosas en este tratado escritas fueron o se siguieron o escriuieron en la nobilíssima ciudad y reino de Nápoles en *el año quinientos y ocho*, quinientos y nueue, y diez, y onze, que fue la mayor parte, y quinientos y doze, que fue la fin de todo ello” (158, emphasis mine).

⁷ Documents of the Archivo Real de Valencia (ARV) cited by Enrique Martínez Ibáñez and Albert Fort Navarro 23, detail the provisions of her will, signed on August 2, 1507 (ARV Procesos de Madrid. Letra S, num.306, pp.335-47) and the date of her death in 1508 (ARV RA Procesos, parte 3a, num 2790. All further references to the ARV will be taken from Martínez Ibáñez and Fort Navarro.

often made without references being supplied. I believe that with respect to Juan de Cardona, Fernández Jiménez and his primary source Rubió y Balaguer (1957) may have been victims of such difficulties. But relevant and trustworthy information concerning the Cardona lords of Guadalest can be found from a source other than genealogies: in the files of the Archivo del Reino de Valencia there is incontestable information which clarifies much of the genealogical confusion around this person.

While he briefly considers several candidates named Juan de Cardona, Fernández Jiménez names two whom he rejects, basing his judgement on details found principally in Rubió y Balaguer (41). I believe that their case merits re-examination because the rejection is built on confusion and error. It is worth citing Fernández Jiménez at length as he considers possible candidates:

En la rama valenciana de los Cardona, la de los marqueses de Guadalest, hay otros dos Juan de Cardona: uno fue señor de Betxi (sic)⁸ y comendador de Santiago, y el otro, sobrino del primero, fue marqués de Guadalest y Almirante de Aragón. Los dos murieron en 1577, el segundo ajusticiado por haber secuestrado a dos monjas. (20)

This last claim is intriguing, to be sure, but there are reasons to question the veracity of these statements.⁹ He rejects both these persons immediately primarily because they belong to the Valencian branch of the Cardonas, rather than the Sicilian branch –the rationale for this rejection being, as we have seen, that the author of *Tratado notable* identifies his protagonist Cristerno as being Greek and himself (the authorial *yo*, assumed to be Juan de Cardona) as “de Ytalia”. I shall return to this point later; the more immediate point is the specific identification of these “otros dos Juan de Cardona”. There are only two individuals of the Valencian branch of the Cardona family who were named Juan de Cardona and alive during the period of composition of *Tratado notable* (1545-47); the description provided by Fernández Jiménez is accurate about neither.

Let us begin with the lineage of the Guadalest Cardonas. The lordship of Guadalest, raised to a marquisate in 1542, was held at the end of the 15th century by the Cardona family in the person of Don Juan Folch de Cardona (+1502), second lord of Guadalest and *Almirante de Aragón*, and before him by his father Hugo Folch de Cardona, 11th *Barón de Bellpuig*. Married to María Fajardo de Quesada in 1466, Don Juan Folch de Cardona was the brother of Beatriz Folch de Cardona, to whom we shall

⁸ The Catalan spelling is correctly *Betxí*; in modern Spanish the name is rendered *Bechí* and in older texts *Betchí*. I will continue the practice of Fernández Jiménez, but with the accent supplied.

⁹ The suspect nature of this claim can be illustrated by the fact that it is repeated by William Monter in his *Frontiers of Heresy*. Speaking of Sancho de Cardona, *Almirante de Aragón* and son of Alonso, he says: “The Admiral’s family, who had escaped Valencian justice before his disgrace at the hands of the Inquisition, suffered afterwards: his son and successor was executed in 1577 for raping some nuns” (133). The sons of Sancho were Cristóbal (*infra*) and Luis. He had no son named Juan. See also note 16 below.

return, and of Ramón Folch de Cardona, 12th *Barón de Bellpuig*.¹⁰ The lordship of Guadalest remained in the Cardona family until 1699 when Isidro Tomás de Cardona Sotomayor, the last *Marqués*, died without issue.¹¹

The elder son and principal heir of Don Juan Folch de Cardona and María Fajardo was Alonso Folch de Cardona y Fajardo, who became on the death of his father the third lord of Guadalest, of Confrides and of Ondara, and *Almirante de Aragón*, a position of significant social and political responsibility. He is mentioned in contemporary chronicles as a steadfast supporter of the monarchy throughout period of the *germanista* insurrections (1519-23). The other children of Juan de Cardona and María Fajardo were Blanca and a second son, Juan de Cardona; all three, Alonso, Blanca and Juan (but no other children) are mentioned in the will of their father, made in 1479 (ARV Procesos de Madrid, Letra S, núm.30, pp 310-22). Alonso married Isabel Ruiz de Lihori, daughter of Juan (or Giovanni) Ruiz de Lihori y de Mura, *Visconte di Gagliano* in Sicily.¹² In her own right she held Bechí, Ribarroja, Gorga, Valle de Seta and Valle de Travadell, all of which now passed into the hands of the Guadalest lineage. Alonso and Isabel had three daughters, María and Catalina (both married successively to Juan de Coloma, Conde de Albaida), and the third daughter, Juana. Alonso de Cardona and Isabel Ruiz de Liori had, in addition, two sons. The elder of these was Sancho Folch de Cardona y Ruiz de Lihori, (who would be granted the title of *Marqués de Guadalest* by Carlos I in 1542 and who as the elder son would also inherit the title of *Almirante de Aragón*).¹³ The younger son of Alonso and Isabel

¹⁰ The latter was the father of Antonio Folch de Cardona who married Castellana de Requesens; Antonio, in turn, was the father of Ramón Folch de Cardona, 16th Barón de Bellpuig and Viceroy of Naples, a major character in *Qüestión de amor*.

¹¹ See Rafael de Uhagón, *Marqués de Laurencín 354*: The lordship of Guadalest came to the Cardona family through Juan's father Hugo Folch de Cardona, who inherited it from his mother, Juana de Aragón, along with other large holdings including the villages of Confrides and Ondara. See Andrachuk 2011, 554-55.

¹² The Ruiz de Lihori family dates its history in Italy from the late 14th century with the intervention of Don Gil Ruiz de Liori and his son Sancho in the pacification of Sicily. Sancho was the Chamberlain of Martín el Humano and in 1409 named *Visconte di Gagliano* and *Ammiraglio di Sicilia*. The origin of the Ruiz de Lihori family is traced by the Sociedad Jurídica Nobiliaria (www.sjnobiliaria.com/liori/htm): "el abolengo de los Liori había comenzado a una con la Reconquista valenciana. Entre los numerosos ricoshombres de mesnada que desde el reino de Aragón...siguieron a don Jaime, hallábanse ya don Hurtado de Liori y su hijo don Rodrigo...; casa que...iría obteniendo, entre otros, los altos cargos y sonados títulos de Marqueses de Laurencia, Almirantes y Gobernadores de Aragón, Almirantes de Sicilia, Vizcondes de Gayano (sic for Gagliano), Marqueses de Guadaleste..." Further, the name "Liori" is given by this source as Italian in origin "Viene del latín 'Ligorius' pero con el tiempo perdió la gutural 'g', transformándose de *Ligori* en *Liori*. Luego...vino a escribirse *Lihory*". See also A. Costa "Vicende di un cavaliere aragonese in Sicilia".

¹³ The names of these children and the details of their inheritance are found in the will of their mother Isabel (ARV Procesos de Madrid, letra S, núm. 306, pp. 335-47). Sancho married María de Colón, granddaughter of Cristóbal Colón. The son of Sancho and María, Cristóbal Folch de Cardona y Colón, would later inherit the titles of *Almirante de Aragón* and second *Marqués de Guadalest*.

was Juan Folch de Cardona y Ruiz de Lihori, who married Luisa de Borja Lanzol (Esquerdo II, 134).¹⁴

Both chronology and lineage suggest that it is this Juan de Cardona of whom Fernández Jiménez speaks (albeit in error): “...y el otro, sobrino del primero, fue marqués de Guadalest y Almirante de Aragón” (20). Judging by the definitive information in the Archivo Real de Valencia, this statement is wrong, as is the description of the putative uncle of the same name as: “señor de Betxi y comendador de Santiago” (20), said to have died on the same day as his supposed nephew.¹⁵ While clearly not impossible, it would be a remarkable coincidence that there should be two such closely related persons of the same name who both die in 1577. Juan de Cardona’s date of death is generally given as 1583.¹⁶

As we consider the two individuals rejected by Fernández Jiménez the first issue is this: did Juan de Cardona y Ruiz de Lihori, named erroneously as *Almirante de*

¹⁴ I have found one source (*Geneanet.org*) which lists Juan Folch de Cardona as “señor de Bechí” and as having died in 1577 –but without further detail, citing as its source “CSL 2171”. (The most generally accepted date of his death is 1583). This source cannot be trustworthy, as the last “señor de Bechí” was Alonso, his father. The title, when passed to his heir Sancho was elevated to that of *marqués*, and in any case Juan cannot reliably be shown to have held Bechí. Similarly I have found just one source, *Geneall.net*, which does name Juan de Cardona, rather than his brother Sancho as *Almirante*. The title of *Almirante de Aragón* was a traditional one in the Cardona family, first granted in 1364 to Hugo Folch de Cardona, lord of Guadalest and grandfather of Alonso de Cardona. The seat of the *Almirantes* was the Palacio de los Almirantes de Aragón (also known as the *Palacio de los Marqueses de Guadalest* and also as the *Palacio de los Cardona*) which remains as one of the best-preserved examples of Valencian gothic architecture; it is found at C/Palau 14 in the Barrio Sen-Xerea.

¹⁵ Fernández Jiménez is in error here on every detail: it was not Juan de Cardona who was *Marqués de Guadalest* and *Almirante de Aragón* but his brother Sancho. Possibly misled by other scholars, he has conflated and confused various facts, misled perhaps by his principal source, Rubió y Balaguer. It is this scholar who states erroneously that Juan de Cardona inherited the title of *Almirante* and that further, Juan was “home de passions incontrolades que fou condemnat a mort i executat en 1577 per haver raptat dues monges...son germà, Cristòfal morí assassinat i sense fills l’any 1593” (126). It was Juan’s brother Sancho, son of Alonso de Cardona, who inherited his father’s title of *Almirante*. Further, Sancho and Juan had no brother, and certainly not one named Cristóbal; but Sancho, married to María Colón de Toledo, granddaughter of Christopher Columbus, had a son named Cristóbal. I have been able to find only one detailed reference to the story of the nuns and the order of execution in 1577 (not carried out) but it is in itself suspect as the author, Carlos Fontes, does not name his sources. He has as his goal that of proving that Columbus was Portuguese. In speaking of the descendents of Columbus he makes reference to María Colón de Toledo (whom he calls “María Ruiz de Colón”) married to “Juan de Cardona” whom he identifies as “Almirante de Aragón”. Having now confused María’s name, as well as her true husband Sancho, *Almirante* and Marqués de Guadalest, with his brother Juan, he proceeds to say: “Em 1577, o almirante Juan de Cardona, mandou raptar duas monjas de um convento de Valência. O seu objectivo era eliminar candidatas concorrentes. Foi mandado executar, o que não se concretizou...Em 1483 (sic) em pleno centro de Valência é morto nun combate com outro bando de criminosos.” (<http://Colombo.do.sapo.pt/indexPTColomboItal12.html>).

¹⁶ *Grandes de España*, <http://grandesp.org.uk/historia/gzas/cardonacde.htm>, based on Jacobo Wilhelm Imhof, *Genealogiae viginti illustrium in Hispania familiarum*, Nuremberg, 1712, and *Geneall.es*, based on *Historia Genealógica da Casa Real Portuguesa*, Coimbra: Atlántida-Liveria Editora, 2ª. ed. 1946, vol.X, 262.

Aragón, have a paternal uncle also named Juan de Cardona and if so, was this uncle lord of Betxí? The father of Juan de Cardona of the lords of Guadalest was, as we have seen, the poet (and *Almirante de Aragón*) Alonso de Cardona (Andrachuk 2011); as noted above, Alonso indeed did have a brother named Juan, mentioned in the will and testament of his father Juan as heir to his lands in Navarra. Martínez Ibáñez and Fort Navarro summarise this part of the will: “A Joan Cardona, el seu fill, les terres de Navarra, que són les valls de Caparoso, Caseda i la terra d’Avezqua i les rendes de la vall de Salazar. Però l’hereu ha de pagar tots els deutes corresponents” (23). He was left nothing else; by this will Alonso was named the principal heir (“S’anomena hereu universal al seu fill N’Alonso” [23]) while his brother Juan de Cardona was left only the specific Navarrese holdings detailed in the will. Furthermore, Juan could not possibly have been given the lordship of Betxí (“uno fue señor de Betxí”) because this holding was not in the gift of his father.

The lordship of Betxí had been held not by the Cardona family, but by the family of Isabel Ruiz de Lihori from 1396 onwards; it only passed into the Cardona family with the marriage of Alonso to Isabel, daughter of Juan Ruiz de Lihori, *Visconde di Gagliano*: “Desde entonces (i.e. the marriage) la baronía de Betchí quedó unida a los señores de Guadalest. Durante el siglo XVI el señorío de Betchí (fue) representado por Sancho Cardona y Ruiz de Lihori” (www.ajuntamentdebetxí.com). It is not credible that the lordship of Betxí, *which only came to Alonso through his wife*, would have been transferred to his brother, especially as Alonso had a direct heir.¹⁷ Further, there is irrefutable proof that Sancho, not his uncle Juan, held the lordship of Betxí as late as 1568: in that year Sancho and his son Cristóbal ceded the income from Betxí, Guadalest and Confrides (but not the title to those holdings) for a period covering the years 1569 to 1571 to Francisco de Aragón, *Duque de Segorbe y Cardona*, to cover a significant debt (ARV RA Procesos, parte 1ª, letra S, núm.299, Martínez Ibáñez and Fort Navarro 27). These years covered the period of Sancho’s incarceration and the subsequent lesser restrictions imposed by the Inquisition from 1569 onwards; in July, 1571 “se le otorgó otra conmutación, teniendo por cárcel y reclusion la dicha ciudad

¹⁷ The passing of honours from one sibling to another was not entirely unknown but it occurred when death intervened and there were no direct heirs. Alonso’s direct and principal heir at his death in 1535 was his elder son, Sancho. The fact that Sancho held the title of *Almirante* as well as the lordship of Betxí is documented by another unimpeachable source: the documents of the Inquisition in the *Proceso* against don Sancho de Cardona, *Almirante de Aragón* (Mercedes García Arenal, *Los moriscos*). Betxí is listed in the formal accusation as one of Sancho’s holdings populated by *moriscos* and as being his normal domicile in Holy Week so that he could avoid making the yearly required confession and communion: “Cuando venía el tiempo de la Semana Santa se iba a un lugar suyo que se dice Bechí” (139) and further: “Pues aun en Bechí que es del dicho don Sancho y donde suele residir más que en los otros lugares suyos” (149). Further, there is no doubt whatever that it was Sancho, not Juan, who inherited the title of *Almirante de Aragón*, as is confirmed by multiple contemporary sources. Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo, for example, clearly identifies Sancho de Cardona and not his brother Juan, as *Almirante*. Speaking of Sancho as the son of Alonso he says: “su hijo e sucesor en su casa e estado don Sancho de Cardona, almirante del reino de Valencia (sic) y marqués de Guadaleste, el qual es digno de tal padre [Alonso] y a él muy semejante.” (*Batallas y quinquagenas*, 142).

(Valencia) y sus arrabales y (que) no entrase en alguno de sus lugares” (García Arenal 142-43). The majority of the inhabitants of Sancho’s holdings were *moriscos*. Many had abandoned their homes and work in light of the restrictions placed on *moriscos* by the state and the result of this was a severe reduction in the income Sancho derived from these holdings, thus explaining the precarious financial situation of the lord of Guadalest (Martínez Ibáñez and Fort Navarro 25). Quite apart from any natural sympathy he might have had for his tenants, it was in his interest to provide an atmosphere which would encourage them to remain. He was formally accused on January 31, 1569 (after years of investigation) by the Inquisitional *Promotor fiscal* of (among other things) permitting and encouraging the *moriscos* on his lands to live in their Muslim faith and customs (including by rebuilding a derelict mosque in Adzaneta) and of himself not living in a Christian manner befitting his noble lineage and rank: “acuso a don Sancho de Cardona, Almirante de Aragón, vecino de esta ciudad de Valencia, que está presente, el cual siendo cristiano cavallero y de sangre illustre y persona que tenía obligación a dar muy particular exemplo de cristiandad...enseña, sigue y guarda con la grande afficción que ha tenido a favorecer a la reprobada secta de Mahoma, sus ritos y ceremonias...” (García Arenal 144-45).

To summarize: Fernández Jiménez’s description of “estos homónimos”, that is Juan (Alonso’s brother) as the lord of Betxí, the other his nephew as “marqués de Guadalest y almirante de Aragón” (20), is both confused and confusing. To clarify, it was Sancho, not his brother Juan whose rank was raised from lord (“baron”) to *Marqués de Guadalest* in 1542; as principal heir of his father Alonso, Sancho (not Juan) was also lord of Betxí and *Almirante de Aragón* until his death on August 23, 1573; at that point his son Cristóbal inherited his titles (Martínez Ibáñez and Fort Navarro 2000, 26).¹⁸ His brother Juan (presumably named as the nephew in Fernández Jiménez’s description) held no such titles. Given the lack of accuracy regarding Juan de Cardona thus far, we must suspect the accuracy of the final statement that “los dos murieron en 1577, el segundo ajusticiado por haber secuestrado a dos monjas” (20). This detail is taken from Rubió y Balaguer (41) with the rest of the information being “entresacada de las genealogías consultadas” (20, n.24). While I believe his conclusion to be incorrect I sympathise completely with the confusion that can result from this maddening genealogical search.

The second reason given for the rejection of Juan de Cardona of the lords of Guadalest is the Valencian origin of his family: “el Juan de Cardona que escribió el *Tratado notable de amor* ha de venir, pues, de una de las ramas de los Cardona afincadas en Italia” (20). He therefore suggests the author to be Juan de Cardona y de Requesens, son of Antonio de Cardona y Henríquez and of María de Requesens, not because he was born in Italy but because his father fought in the wars in Italy and was Viceroy of Sardinia from 1535 to 1549. If, then, birth in Italy is not the requirement

¹⁸ Cristóbal, 2nd *Marqués de Guadalest*, died in 1583 with no direct descendents. The hereditary titles of *Marqués* and of *Almirante* pass to his sister María as 3rd *Marquesa* and *Almirantesa*, and upon her death, to her nephew Felipe, son of Juan de Cardona y Ruiz de Liori, as the 4th *Marqués de Guadalest*.

for the statement of the authorial voice: “y yo de Ytalia” (68), we might be permitted to examine a claim for Juan de Cardona y Ruiz de Lihori as also fulfilling meaning of this statement.

The Cardona family had ties with Italy not only in the fact of birth for many of its members but also in its participation in the political and governmental affairs of Italy. It was quite normal for Aragonese and Valencian nobles to spend significant periods of their life in the Italian territories. This was not seen as a “foreign” sojourn so much as an extension of their peninsular life. Indeed, Juan de Cardona y Requesens, favoured by Fernández Jiménez, also shared his active life between Italy and Spain, being named Viceroy of Navarre in 1595. The most cursory reading of *Questión de amor*, whose action takes place in Naples in the early years of the 16th century, will result in a list of names of principal Valencian and Aragonese families, among others Fenollet, Centelles, Borja, Carroz, Quiñones, Villaragut, Villamarín, Requesens, and of course, Cardona. All of these (and others) interacted with the Italian nobles on an equal basis; in the words of the author of *Questión de amor* “todos estos caualleros mancebos, y damas, y muchos otros príncipes y señores se hallauan en tanta suma y manera de contentamiento y fraternidad, los vnos con los otros, assí los españoles vnos con otros, como los mismos naturales de la tierra con ellos...” (158¹⁹).

Juan Folch de Cardona y Ruiz de Lihori was the grandson of Juan Ruiz de Lihori, *Visconte di Gagliano*. The Ruiz de Lihori family were lords of Paterno in Italy as well as lords of Betxí in Spain. Little is known specifically of Isabel Ruiz de Lihori apart from her marriage to Alonso, the year of her death (1508), and the names of her children –these known through the provisions of her will and testament of August 2, 1507 (Martínez Ibáñez and Fort Navarro 23). But we also know that her father held significant properties in Italy as Visconte di Gagliano and lord of Paterno, Capizzi, Motta, Mistretta, and Reitano as well as other holdings. Isabel Ruiz de Liori was a direct descendant of Sancho Ruiz de Lihori, first viscount of Gagliano (1408) and her family still had a significant presence in Sicily.²⁰ It would therefore be natural that her son Juan might identify closely with Italy and thus justify a semi-fictional identification of himself as “yo de Ytalia” with a very minimum of authorial license. Fernández Jiménez’s rejection of this Juan de Cardona as being “Valencian” as opposed to Italian may be too definitive.

¹⁹ *Questión de amor*, ed. Gregory Peter Andrachuk 2006.

²⁰ The name of Liori or Lihori was often spelled in Italy as Licori, Liquori, or Lichorio –all referring to the same family. Antonino Mango di Casalgerardo in *Nobiliario di Sicilia*, under “Lichorio o Liquori o Liori: Un Girolamo di Lichorio, di Noto, con privilegio del 7 agosto di 1517, ottene il titolo di regio cavaliere.” A similar importance is given to the Ruiz family under “Rois o Ruis: Pare che sia originaria di Spagna. Godette di nobiltà in Palermo.” It is worth noting here that in *Questión de amor*, Vasquirán takes his beloved from Valdeana (Valencia) to Felernisa (which represents Palermo: “ciudad de Felernisa...qu’es en la dicha ínsola la mayor entre muchas” 6). If Vasquirán represents Alonso de Cardona and Violina his wife Isabel Ruiz de Liori then the connection is clear.

The Moncada Connection

There are other factors present in the work which reinforce the eligibility of Juan de Cardona y Ruiz de Lihori as the principal candidate for authorship.

The *Prólogo* of *Tratado notable de amor* is a letter addressed to the “señora doña Potenciana de Moncada”, a person as yet unidentified. A thorough search of the genealogical tools available has revealed no person of that name in the Moncada family and it is possible, even likely, that the name Potenciana is an *apodo* which suggests her importance or “potency” or a device to deliberately obscure her identity.²¹

The lady Potenciana de Moncada, as the “destinataria externa” (Parrilla, 2009, 198), sits outside the fictive space of the *Tratado notable*; she does not figure as a character of the book but is addressed both in the *Prólogo* and in the very brief *carta* which ends the work. In both cases she is referred to as *vuessa merced*. The characters of the *Tratado notable* proper are presented in a list which precedes the *Prólogo*; they are identified in a manner which exemplifies the interweaving of the historical and the fictive for while some of these characters have potentially verifiable identities (“Anastasia es Ana Núñez”), in certain cases the identification requires and assumes an intimate knowledge of a particular social circle (“Florismena es dona Francisca”). Others are only vaguely referenced (“Ariana es hermana de Ysiana”; “Ysiana ya se ve quién es”), either because they are completely fictive or because of some impulse to hide their identity. Our distance both chronological and social from the milieu in which and for which this novel was written makes the further identification of the characters nearly impossible. As Fernandez Jiménez notes, “esta clave no nos ayuda en absoluto” (24, n.30).²²

The *Prólogo* does, however, yield some useful information. First, the *Tratado notable* is written at the behest of Potenciana de Moncada, a fact which suggests some direct contact between the lady and the author. The author begins: “Pídeme vuessa merced que le diga si en estos tiempos de agora ha tenido lugar el amor en los hombres...” (65). Indeed, it seems that he has often been present with the lady Potenciana de Moncada at the table of “la señora marquesa” where the discussions centred around lofty topics: “Y venido a la demanda de vuessa merced, pienso que debe ser questión que la señora marquesa aya movido al comer, como su ecelencia

²¹ María Fernanda Aybar Ramírez suggests in her doctoral thesis (1994, 495) that this person is Ana de Cardona, daughter of Fernando Folch de Cardona, second *Duque de Cardona*, and his wife Francisca Manrique de Lara, married to Juan de Moncada y Tolfa, first *Conde de Aytona*. But see notes 23 and 25 below.

²² Carmen Parrilla suggest that this list may not be part of the original text and that its presence in this unique manuscript may represent “una utilización interesada de la narración con finalidad críptica para ser acogida en algún círculo femenino castellano” (2009, 198). Unless another copy of the *Tratado notable de amor* is found which does not contain this list, this will remain only conjecture. It is equally likely that the author has included this list because the work is indeed destined for a specific readership for whom the names as presented will have significance. See also Cortijo Ocaña (267) who suggests that this list of *dramatis personae* is yet another connection with *Questión de amor*.

siempre tiene de costumbre de tratar de algún argumento de filosofía o theología, como en su mesa se tiene sienpre de costumbre...” (67). The identity of the “marquesa” is so far undetermined but if our author is indeed Juan de Cardona y Ruiz de Liori then a very likely candidate is his sister-in-law, María Colón de Toledo, granddaughter of Christopher Columbus and wife of Sancho de Cardona; she was therefore *Marquesa de Guadalest*, a title granted in 1542, only a few years before the composition of *Tratado notable*.

Towards the end of the *Prólogo* we find another reference to “la señora marquesa” in a somewhat ambiguous statement whose verbal object is not entirely clear as there is no antecedent for “la” unless it refers to the lady Potenciana: “al tiempo que la señora marquesa la ynbió en Flandes a bisitar a María, rreyna de Ungría que governava el estado de Flandes” (68-69).

In the very brief letter at the end of the work, addressed once again to “doña Potenciana de Moncada” there is mention of another noblewoman: “He contado a vuessa merced los amores del cavallero Cristerno con la Ynfanta Ysiana para que conozca vuessa merced y vea la señora duquesa y sus damas cómo en los tiempos de agora...” (170, emphasis mine).²³ As the *Prólogo* and this final letter form a sort of frame for the work and as Potenciana de Moncada seems to be a familiar of both the *marquesa* and the *duquesa*, we might question whether there is an error here, or whether the *duquesa* and the *marquesa* in fact represent the same person. If the *marquesa* is indeed Juan de Cardona’s sister-in-law María Colón de Toledo, *Marquesa de Guadalest*, then she might also be referred to as *duquesa* because she inherited the title of *Duquesa de Veragua* from her parents, and she passed the ducal title to her son Cristóbal de Cardona y Colón (see n.29 below). Both the *marquesa* and the *duquesa* are mentioned as being interested in the *qüestión*, that is the existence of exemplary love in the contemporary world: “el amar verdaderamente algún gentilhombre a la dama que amase” (67) and “...cómo en los tiempos de agora avido (sic) personas que en amar no sólo fuesen yguales a los pasados, pero aun les an hecho ventaja, como se ve por este cavallero” (170).

The Moncada family is one which figured among the great noble lineages of Aragon. The dedication of *Tratado notable* to a member of that family, and indeed the intimacy suggested by the mention of dinners shared at the table of the unidentified *marquesa*, should lead us to explore this area as a means of determining more precisely the authorship of this work. Let us assume for the sake of argument that Juan de Cardona, son of the *Almirante* Alonso de Cardona and brother of Sancho, *Marqués*

²³ Although it is clear that “vuessa merced” and “la señora duquesa” are here different persons, Aybar Ramírez (1994, 495) confuses the two. She identifies the lady Potenciana as Ana de Cardona y Manrique who was the fourth daughter of Fernando Folch de Cardona, second *duque de Cardona*. On this basis she identifies Ana de Cardona as being the *duquesa*: “Juan de Moncada y Tolfa..., primer conde de Aytona...casó con Giovanna La Grua y después con Ana de Cardona, probablemente la ‘señora duquesa’”. This cannot be true because Ana de Cardona did not inherit the ducal title from her father.

de Guadalest, is the author of this work. Can we find any significant connection between his family and the Moncada family that would support the intimacy laid out in the *Prólogo*? The answer is most definitely affirmative. The genealogy of the Cardona lords of Guadalest makes the connection with the Moncada family immediately obvious. Alonso de Cardona, lord of Guadalest, *Almirante de Aragón*, married Isabel Ruiz de Liori; we have already dealt with her paternal family, the Ruiz de Liori. It is her maternal lineage which is now of interest because her mother was Beatriz de Moncada, first wife of her father Don Juan Ruiz de Liori, *Visconte di Gagliano*. Authoritative confirmation of this connection is found in the work of the Sociedad Jurídica Nobiliaria which deals with legal matters pertaining to the Spanish aristocracy (<http://www.sjnobiliaria.com/liori.htm>). They present considerable information on the Ruiz de Liori family and say this, in part, of Juan Ruiz de Liori, father of Isabel: “Don Juan, apellidado ordinariamente *de Gayano*, que además de conservar y gobernar el patrimonio heredado (en Italia) fue en sucesivo matrimonios con doña Beatriz de Moncada y con doña Leonor de Cervellón tronco común de las dos ramas en que se dividió la familia: Marqueses de Guadalest, y Barones de Alcalí y San Juan de Mosquera. Los Marqueses de Guadalest tuvieron origen en el matrimonio de doña Isabel Ruiz de Liori y de Moncada, primogénita de don Juan, con el Almirante de Aragón, don Alonso de Cardona.” It is this marriage which establishes the Italian Liori Family in Spain.²⁴

The connections between the Cardona lords of Guadalest and the Moncadas are deeper yet. As we have seen, the mother of Juan de Cardona y Ruiz de Liori was Isabel Ruiz de Liori y Moncada. But the Moncada connection is not only on his mother’s side; the father of Alonso de Cardona was Juan Folch de Cardona, lord of Guadalest. Juan’s sister (and therefore Alonso’s aunt), born of the same parents, Hugo Folch de Cardona and Blanca de Navarra, granddaughter of Carlos II of Navarra, was Beatriz Folch de Cardona. Beatriz married Pedro Ramón de Moncada y Villaragut (+1510). They had three children: Ana de Moncada y Cardona, and two sons, Juan de Moncada y Cardona, lord of Aytona, and Gastón de Moncada y Cardona. Gastón in his marriage to Angela Tolfa had a son, Juan de Moncada y Tolfa, who married Ana de Cardona y Manrique de Lara. María Fernanda Aybar Ramírez, in accepting Fernández Jiménez’s identification of Juan de Cardona y Requesens as author of *Tratado notable*, suggested that Ana de Cardona y Manrique might be the “Potenciana de Moncada” to whom the work was dedicated because of the family connection between the two: “Existiría una relación familiar entre el escritor y las destinataria, la de primos carnales” (1994, 495).²⁵ I agree with this identification of Potenciana, but

²⁴ “Lihori di Sicilia: nobili aggregati ai seggi di Messina e di Palermo, documentato dal XV secolo. Danno origini al ramo nobile dei Lihori in Spagna” (cited at http://it.wikipedia.org/Ligorio#cite_note-31, from Antonella Costa, “Vicende...” no page reference given).

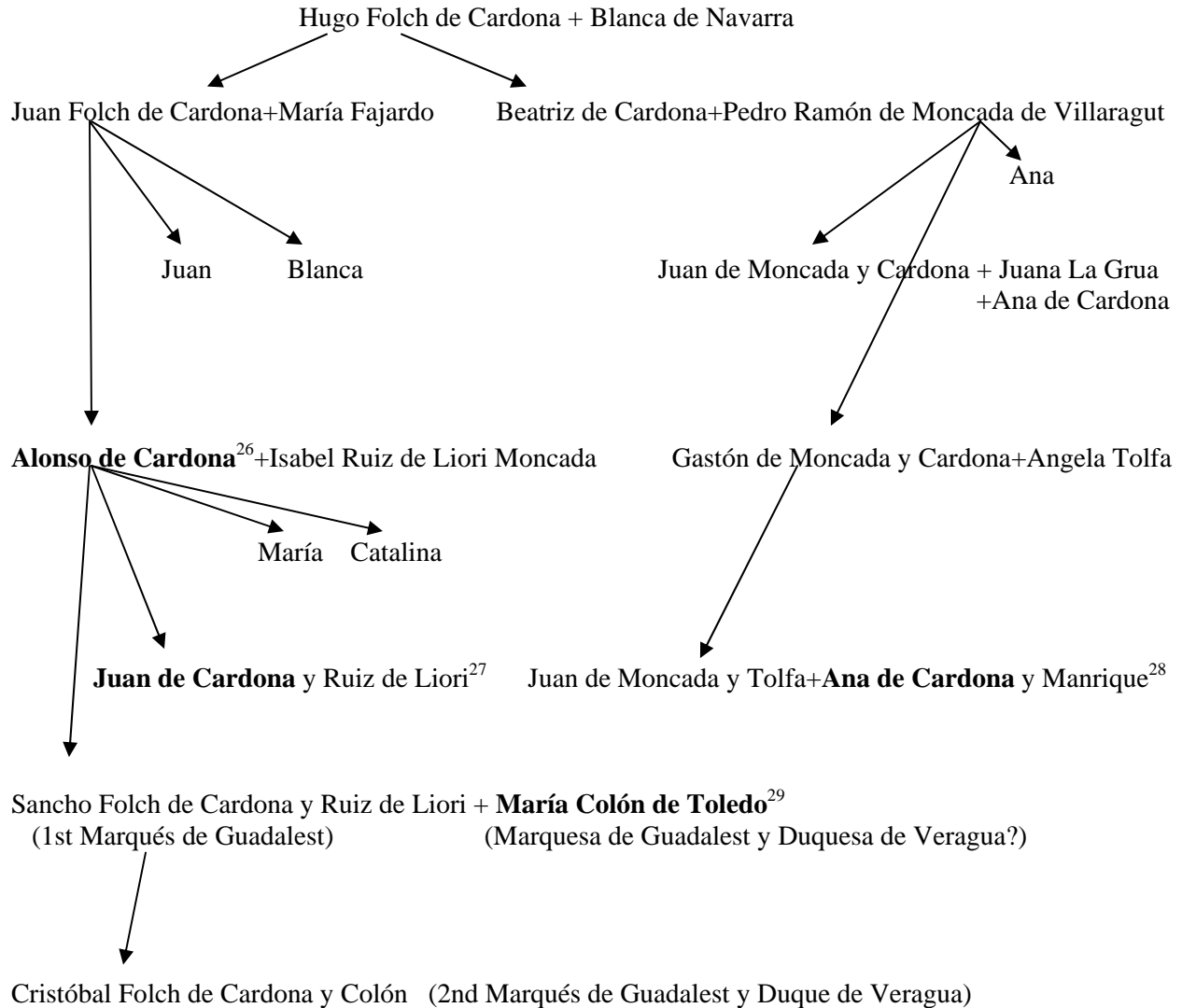
²⁵ But Aybar Ramírez confuses Ana de Cardona y Manrique de Lara with the Ana de Cardona who was the aunt of her husband when she says that the former was the second wife of Juan de Moncada y Tolfa (the first being “Giovanna La Grua” [495]). This is not so. Giovanna (or Juana) La Grua and a different

for a different reason: it is because Ana de Cardona y Manrique was also the first cousin of Juan de Cardona y Ruiz de Liori whom I believe to be author of *Tratado notable de amor*.

Juan de Cardona y Ruiz de Lihori is thus connected to the Moncada family on both his mother's and his father's side. This familial connection, the likelihood that his father Alonso was the author of *Qüestión de amor* (Andrachuk 2011), the similarities of these two works (Cortijo Ocaña), his Italian familial history through his mother and his chronology, all make Juan de Cardona y Ruiz de Lihori the most likely candidate as author of *Tratado notable de amor*.

Ana de Cardona were the successive wives of Juan de Moncada y Cardona, son of Beatriz de Cardona and Pedro Ramón Moncada y Villaragut; this Ana de Cardona was therefore aunt by marriage of Juan de Moncada y Tolfa, and thus almost certainly not the "Potenciana" of *Tratado notable*. Such confusion is demonstrative of the difficulties faced by those researching the Cardona family.

The Cardona Lords of Guadalest



²⁶ Probable author of *Questión de amor*.

²⁷ Probable autor of *Tratado notable de amor*.

²⁸ Possibly “Potenciana de Moncada” of *Tratado notable*.

²⁹ Possibly the “señora Marquesa” of *Tratado notable*. Is she also referred to as the “Duquesa” by virtue of being the daughter of the Duke and Duchess of Veragua? Her son Cristóbal inherited the title of Duque de Veragua through her. See Francisco Rafael de Uhagón, Marqués de Laurencín: “Don Cristóbal Folch de Cardona y Colón...por su madre fue Duque de Veragua, Marqués de Jamaica y Almirante de las Indias al par que lo era de Aragón” (356).

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