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# The Hand of Luis Pedrol in Madrid, BNE, MS 2985

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Abstract: This note identifies the hand of Luis Pedrol in Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, Col·leccions, Autògrafs, II, A, 14 with two of the scripts of Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, MS 2985.

Keywords: Luis Pedrol, Ausiàs March, Ferran Folch de Cardona, Carles Amorós.

**A**rxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, Col·leccions, Autògrafs, II, A, 14 is a petition to obtain, on behalf of Luis Pedrol, a three-year printing license to publish the complete works of Ausiàs March in the territories of His Majesty. The text is written on paper. It was folded longitudinally. The Admiral of Naples endorses it on the verso (i.e., the outer side of the folded document). According to the ACA catalogue in the Portal de Archivos Españoles database (PARES), the document's dimensions are 14.7 x 21.5 cm. Remnants of red sealing wax can be observed on it. The document was restored on March 17, 1982. Yet a few words are still difficult to read because of the poor state of the paper. The

petition claims that Luis Pedrol had labored to gather all of Ausiàs March's works, that March's poems had never before been printed, and that they remained scattered in many places and full of errors due to the mistakes of the copyists. Pedrol wanted to have March's poetry printed in its due form (Appendix 1, and Figures 1 and 2).<sup>1</sup>

Joaquim Rubió i Ors was the first scholar to refer to, and publish, the document (1882: 83, 94–95), which had been located by Manuel de Bofarull, the archivist of the Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó. Since the document claims that March's works were still unpublished, Rubió i Ors thought that the license could refer to a projected but not necessarily fulfilled edition. According to Rubió i Ors, if the edition had indeed been completed and lost, it should have been finished prior to Joan Navarro's partial edition, printed in Valencia in 1539, which includes Baltasar de Romani's Castilian translation of March's poems (March 1539, also known as edition *a*).

In his critical edition of March's poetry, Amadeu Pagès published another edition of the document, one that had been revised by Eduardo González Hurtebisbe, archivist at the ACA (1912-1914, I: 25–26, n. 2). Pagès refers to the document as Legajo 1465 of a "Colección de cartas y memoriales sin fecha," belonging to the file of "Documentos curiosos" that Manuel de Bofarull had put together. Pagès identified Pedrol's work as Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, MS 2985 (MS *D*). This would indeed be the printer's copy of the edition to which the document refers (Barcelona: Carles Amorós, 1543; edition *b*), because the petition specifies that the project was to publish "todas las obras," which March 1539—also, or primarily, a translation—did not contain (1912-1914, I: 26–27).

Josep Maria Madurell and Jordi Rubió i Balaguer reedited and annotated Pedrol's petition (1955: 830–31). They found the document in ACA's Fons de Reserva, within Bofarull's "Colección de cartas y me-

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moriales sin fecha.” Madurell and Rubió also published additional documents showing that Pedrol had been acting on behalf of the Admiral of Naples, Ferran Folch de Cardona, to have Paolo Giovio’s *Comentarios de las cosas del turco* printed. The book in fact came out of Carles Amorós’s printing shop in Barcelona in 1543 (Madurell and Rubió 1955: 828–29, 833–35). According to Rubió i Balaguer, Pedrol acted as a secretary of the Admiral of Naples and a cultural agent of sorts and, in spite of the document being very explicit about the kind of work Pedrol had carried out, he would not have been materially responsible for establishing the text of the edition (Madurell and Rubió 1955: 831).

Later studies on the manuscript tend to acknowledge Pagès’s suggestion that Pedrol had been the compiler of the manuscript, but do not always consider his scribal responsibility over the text. At times these studies even side with Madurell and Rubió regarding Pedrol’s lack of material involvement in the production of the manuscript (Massó i Torrents 1913-1914: 61, Bohigas 2000: 67, Archer 1997, II: 14–15, Beltran 2006: 157, López Casas 2010: 1198, Martos 2011: 21–23).

When I studied both MS *D* and Carles Amorós’s first edition of March’s works, I used the shelfmark references in Pagès and Madurell and Rubió’s works to try to locate Pedrol’s petition in the ACA. I was not successful. In my published work on both the MS and the edition, I proved that *D* had indeed been used as the printer’s copy of March 1543 (Lloret 2008, 2013: 129–44); I described the manuscript (Lloret 2012, rev. in 2013: 145–56) and further documented Pedrol as a close relationship of Folch de Cardona in 1541 and 1542 (Lloret 2013: 113, n. 37). The traces of compilatory work that my study found in MS *D* demonstrate that Pedrol’s application was truthful in this respect and that his possible involvement in the material production of the MS was compatible with his managerial work on behalf of Folch de Cardona (Lloret 2013: 144).

I have recently located Pedrol’s petition among the digitized autographs of the ACA, that is, under a very different shelfmark than the one provided by Pagès or Madurell and Rubió. A comparison with MS *D* shows that Pedrol’s script coincides with Hands B and C of my codicological analysis of MS 2985, a Humanistic cursive of the first decades of

the sixteenth century (Lloret 2012, 2013: 129–44). Both Hands B and C reviewed, and made amendments to, the scribal work of Hand A, which had copied most of the manuscript. The two hands added three poems (124, 127, 128), included missing stanzas and rubrics to poems 92 and 107, and wrote a note on the margin to justify cancelling 40*bis*—one of the poems that Hand A had copied twice. Hand C also compiled a table of contents (Lloret 2013: 139–42). I am calling these hands A, B, and C, as in my prior work, for the sake of coherence and ease of reference, but all studies of MS *D* since Archer (1997, II: 14) have identified three scribal hands to which essentially overlapping, though not identical, parts of the text have been attributed (Beltran 2006: 155–56, López Casas 2010: 1182–83, Lloret 2013: 139–43). Pagès, however, only distinguished between two, the hand that copied most of the manuscript—my Hand A—and the hand that I am today identifying as Pedrol’s own—Hands B and C (1912–1914, I: 21–22). Given the paleographical similarities between Hands B and C, I noted that both could reflect the work of a single scribe intervening in the MS at different times (2013: 140).

The portion of the text that most clearly reveals the essential equivalence of Hands B and C is the stanza added by Hand C to folio 156r (Figure 4). Lines 1–6 and 8–10 of the added text feature the sharper strokes and mostly unjoined letters that are typical of Hand C. Line 7, however, shows the more cursive, character-linking, and rounder execution of Hand B, which is also apparent in Pedrol’s petition. This stanza of folio 156r also contains clear examples of the capital *A* and *M* that we find in the petition (cf. the first words of lines 1 and 10 of the added text). Notice, too, how the single-line upstroke *l* alternates with a variant loop-shaped *l* that is also joined to the preceding and following characters. The table of contents of the MS (Figure 3), which features a slightly more upright and less cursive script, includes the characteristic ligature of *at* (incipit “Qui no es trist de mos dictats no cur”) that we find in Pedrol’s petition (“correctas”) and the capital *Q* with a slanted descendant circling a few letters to the right of the capital. Compare, furthermore, the variety of word-ending *es* of the stanza added to f. 196r (Figure 5) with those of the petition (“las obras de” vs. “desenamore,” “sennorios de” vs. “corre,” “a fin que” vs. “delitable”), character *y* (in lines 4 and 5

of the added stanza) and the long single *s* (lines 1, 2, and 8 of the added stanza). It is, nonetheless, in the copy of poems 127 and 128 (Figures 6 and 7) where the aspect of Hand B is clearly as cursive and rounded, and the letters joined, as in the petition. The loop-shaped *l* also appears in the copy of these poems with a higher frequency, as well as the long *ss* joined to the following and preceding characters (e.g., “impressas” vs. “en passar temps”) and the wide, balloon-shaped, abbreviation of *n* (e.g., “sennorios” vs. “dannat”).

In establishing Pedrol’s identity behind the hands of both documents, it is worth noting that Pagès (1912-1914, I: 26) seems to have assumed that Pedrol would have been responsible for the compilatory work carried out by Hand A in most of the MS—not necessarily by Hands B and C (“El manuscrit *D* respon bé a lo que diu en Luis Pedrol del seu treball. Es el més complet de tots, adhuc si ·s deixen córrer les poesies que hi han sigut afegides per una segona mà”). The fact that Pedrol could also be behind scribal Hand A is not out of the question. However, it is the paleographical identity of Pedrol’s petition with Hands B and C of MS *D* what proves his material work, as a copyist and editor, on the manuscript. In some respects, it also makes less relevant the distinction between those two hands that earlier studies of the manuscript have noted.





## Appendices

### *Appendix 1*

#### *Edition*

Edition of Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, Col·leccions, Autògrafs, II, A, 14. Punctuation, accentuation, and word separation have been modernized. u/v and i/j/y have been regularized. Abbreviations have been expanded. Illegible parts have been marked with [...].

[recto]

Sacra, Cesárea y Católica Majestad,

Luis Pedrol de muchos días a esta parte á procurado de aver a su mano y juntar todas las obras de Ausiàs March, poeta catalán, que en muchas partes derramadas y casi perdidas se hallavan nunca hasta agora impresas, y aquellas corregir de muchos vicios que, por descuido de los escriptores, en ellas avía, a fin que assí correctas, juntas y reduzidas a su devida forma se imprimiessen y la memoria de tan digno varón jamás se perdiesse, y porque en ello á sostenido muchas vigalias, costas y trabajos. Suplica, por tanto, a Vuestra Majestad sea de su merced concederle privilegio que las pueda hazer imprimir y que nadie en los reinos y señoríos de Vuestra Majestad, sin su expreso consentimiento, las imprima ni a ellos se traigan vendibles de otras partes dentro de tres años so las penas en los tales privilegios sólitas y acostumbradas, que en ello el dicho Luis Pedrol recibirá merced muy singular de Vuestra Majestad, *Quam Deus* etc.

[verso]

[same hand as recto] Luis Pedrol  
Suplícalo el Almirante de Nápoles

[different hand] Súplica por privilegio para poder imprimir las obras de Ausiàs March, poeta catalán, que las ha recopilado y emendado con grand trabajo por tres años, que otro no las pueda vender en los reinos de Su Majestad.

[different hand] Fiat [...] con que se vea primero por alguna persona que [...] rey [...] [signature]

*Appendix 2*

*Figures*





Taula de totes les obres son en lo present llibre.		L	I
<b>A</b>			
Axi com cell qui lo somnis delia acartes 4		Aixane apare lesfil deli trobados aor 3	xxxij
Ale e amor dou gran deliu sengendra aor 6		Lo jorn ha por de perdre sa color aor 3	xxxij
Axi com cell qui desija vianda acartes 7		Lamia por dalguna causa mon aor 3	xxxij
Amor sedol combicament yo no muira aor 7		Los ignorans amores fo exemples aor 3	xxxij
Alguns passats donaren si amore acartes 7	xiix	Le xela fore lo seu variat torn acartes	lvij
Als vos me pot amor beneficiar a carres 3	xlviij	Lo temps estal que tot ani mal brui aor	xcj
Amalestrany es la pena estranya acartes	xlvi	Lo biscahi quis troba en Alemanyaaor	cxviij
Abtal dolor com les ferit sarranca aor 3	xlviij	Lo me per mon no mutat gan ulera aor	cxviij
Aquelles mas que yames perdonaren aor	lix	Lo tri es poch co per que trebaltam aor	cxvii
Als fets com an tot quate sem dem aor 3	lxxix	Lo so ates don so volguet fugir acartes	cl
Axi com cell quis von prop de la mort aor 3	lxxviij	La vidua breu el atri se moitalonga 3	clxij
Algu no pot hanc ren si poder acartes 3	xcviij	Lo cinguen peu del molo ab girona 3	clxxxv
Aquelles mas que perchu table dolor acartes 3	cviij	<b>M</b>	
Aquell ateny tot quate atenyer vol aor 3	cxviiij	Molt he tardae en descobri mastalaz	v
Axi com cell qui pareix de ja terra aor 3	clj	Mal venturo no deu cercar venura 3	xxij
Ab molta rao me defenamoit aor 3	cxviiij	Molt homens veig chamar se desnomat	xxviij
Adenysiau vos mon delia acartes 3	cxviiij	Ma voluntat amant vos se amena aor	l
Ami a cordia vndia a carres 3	cxviiij	Malament vin qui desit per de viure	l
<b>B</b>			
Bem marauell com la yre nos atre a carres	xlviij	Mes voluntats en gran parte desfordats	lxxxviij
<b>C</b>			
Coligentes gens ab alegria se fies acartes	xiij	Maleye lo jorn quem sench donat vida	clxxxv
Callen aquells qui clamor han per la aor	xxij	Molt me parbo que pens del altre mo	cxv
Cell qui daltre veu amy e plaze acartes	xxxviij	Mon bon senyor pens que par la vengsa	cxviiij
Coratge meu apende e for me late aor xxxix		Mentre clamor senti sa passio acartes	cxviiij
Clamar nos deu qui mal certa e troba 3	xlviij	<b>N</b>	
Certo ferit no desija la font acartes 3	lvij	No sech lo temps mon pensance simoble	xxij
Clar e me late ates los amadors acartes	xcv	Nos marauell algu pe que mon anyor 3	lvij
Cobreix no puch la dolor qui m turmenta	clj	No pot mostrar se mo menys precat 3	lxxviij
Cert es demit que nomen calsera mpre 3	clxxxv	No gualt auane ne memb de lo passat	lxxxv
<b>D</b>			
Donat sius am nom gnahecau amor aor 3	clxix	No sapsat en demanar me cer aor 3	xcviij
<b>E</b>			
En aquell temps senti clamor delia aor 3	lvij	Namproxaixi com asprete wylet 3	xcv
Entre amor son posat e fortuna acartes 3	cviij	No pens algu quem allanch en parals	cl
Entre los vills y les ordes acartes 3	clxxxviiij	Nom elam dalguna me mala la culpa	clxlv
<b>F</b>			
Fanta siant amor ami de scobre a carres	xlviij	No cal dny par qens vills por ho treure	clxxxv
<b>G H</b>			
Non es lo loci hem ma pensa reposa aor 3	lxxviij	<b>O</b>	
<b>I</b>			
Ia tots mos canes me plan metzen oblit 3	viiij	Oy oy tots los quibe amats acartes	clxv
Ia no esper que sia amat acartes 3	xi	O moze qui est de mols mals medicina	clxxv
Imtes lo temps que non goyis omplie 3	xv	O vos me gquins qui foret era ja tu aor	clxxxv
<b>P</b>			
		O fore dolor yre prech a misericordia	clxxxv
		O quate es foll qui tem lo forcat cas 3	clxxxv
		<b>P</b>	
		Prenmen axi com al parat qui passat	

Figure 3: Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, MS 2985, table of contents.



Vostre virtut sens endeu esperança  
 basta que mort ab ardiment sampsenga'  
 ab molt delit mas nontant que se stenga'  
 tolre dolor mas a donar temprança'  
 Talgne delit la dolor sobre pyja  
 De que sateny gran delit a sa hora  
 don la rima tem / el a riu a gre plora'  
 tot ele nor de lemo semya

Car le sperit es prompt el amor pendre  
 mas lo compost nos pot a tant estendre'

Aço apar als homens gran miracle  
 que la virtut tant lo cor enfortesca'  
 que la sabor de fel se torna bryca'  
 iome faene asi mactix obfructe'  
 per mi apare el reguer de mors huyca'  
 per a lera un correne en uers aquella  
 aquest contrast tot ordiment a peilla  
 a duna rita fins veure qual veng luyca'  
 I silon veng l amor es auilada' // Mata la carn q li es subjugada'

Dret natural es quel om la mort tema  
 aximateix ha rahons contra quella' <sup>17 mayo</sup>  
 tot quant que mor a dolor saparella'  
 Car se veu comp / edon de la pus esprema  
 La part del hom / que la mort de hyoreia'  
 porta dolor per la raho Insalua  
 per le sperit qui nomor se delita  
 en fer uinnast / o por les cosa leia

Sens esperar profit dalgma cosa  
 de mer amor per la virtut dins cosa.

Figure 4: Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, MS 2985, f. 156r.

Tornada.  
 A deu aduysien amantat  
 mos pensaments / quim han donat delit  
 elle son a quells / mas les quart, es fallit  
 Esaxen m / vol trobe alterats,

Demanda feta per mossen Ausias march  
 a joan Moreno

Ab molta rao medixen amore'  
 car tot lo del mon trob de sagadable  
 La mia edat no veig de litable  
 e ja lo meu cor adleu lempny ore  
 Mas yom maraueil del sone affable  
 moreno joan que tinga fort torre'  
 al combat d'amor que chis lome corre  
 de vos medixau si cast / o amable

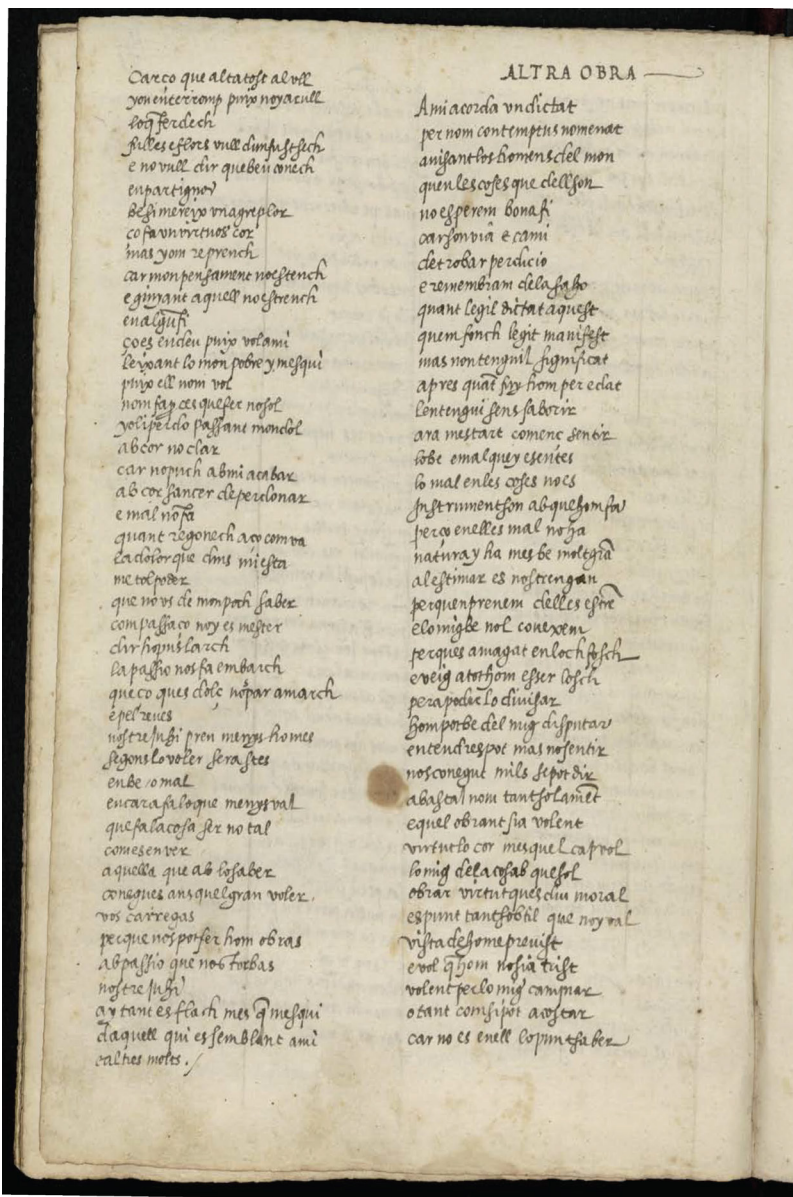
Figure 5: Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, MS 2985, f. 196r.



In d'ensia uos mondelit  
 carcor mon be es ya fualle  
 tanequane al mon  
 yom recore be de que ya fou  
 e lo plaer ma corcia hon  
 la con segni  
 mas ya nol sene com lo sene  
 e poch temps ha que yon perdi  
 lo sentimente  
 per be que nol haques presente  
 sentia un laborimene  
 molt delicau  
 quem a patria for diaie  
 aquell delie nepas semblane  
 mas p'ri ell  
 ara no sene sabor daquet  
 per que lo temps es ya molt vell  
 ques labie ras  
 e ya no pot fer q' tornas  
 hancr delie e que r'jas  
 del que v'ji  
 e no temps lo temps e ni  
 tant que no sene mes q' un fadi  
 me feli me trob  
 en sofrenca no so sob  
 ans volcia tirar les trob  
 esse de posse  
 car si algun delie ma cose  
 de se a quell me l'nye t'ist  
 malicen vull  
 car mon sentimente nol acull  
 are bre el a xi com se es fuit  
 don pas auane  
 e tots los delie nuig cercane  
 prehe algu a lere le x'vane  
 da quell's primers  
 reyonegus nom son placers  
 ans los trob tos per lo reuers  
 quane los prates

ells son aquells encert ho dich  
 mas yo quils reb' accis publich  
 que a l'greso  
 en lo sentir non la rao  
 e del temps si per d'ne fao  
 e tot son per e  
 e vench un delie de se e  
 malicen cerch ab vil despete  
 pell trobar  
 tal com lo solia ta star  
 mas ami nol veig acostar  
 si com da cans  
 cercant com me ses enganans  
 temps allargant mas yo veig v'ans  
 mes pensaments  
 doni nom cal esperiments  
 nom porten mes per ar los vens  
 en algun port  
 per que la moti nom por fer tot e  
 un pen en camí d'ire o'ore  
 per cellam t'mich  
 en passar temps la vida p'mich  
 ea quella ami no veim ch  
 per alre be  
 car de ma obra ami no ve'  
 algun delie ea co sabbe  
 mon pensament  
 que als nepas enegmene  
 sino doni auorimene  
 e menys p'ra e  
 l'entend'e nom pot delitar  
 puix res ami no pot donar  
 que del men fis  
 e yo nom trobe virtuos  
 ne de uencie tan abundos  
 quem delicat  
 en que la veritat trobas  
 e obres de virtut obias

Figure 6: Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, MS 2985, f. 197r.



Carco que alearose al vil  
 you en ecr rom puy noy a cull  
 doq se de ch  
 fides e feres vult dimpse fch  
 e no vult dir que ben onech  
 en part igno  
 de si me vxo magis plox  
 co fa vn vntos cor  
 mas yom se prech  
 car mon pensament noy french  
 e gimate a quel noy french  
 en alquy  
 coes en deu puy vlam  
 leyoant lo mon pobre y mesqui  
 puy ell nom vil  
 nom fuy ces que per nos  
 yo se celo passane mon dol  
 ab cor no clax  
 car noyuch ab mi ac bar  
 ab cor fancer de perdonax  
 e mal noya  
 quane regonech aco com va  
 ca doir que dms mis ja  
 me tol poder  
 que no vs de non pot fader  
 com passio noy es noster  
 dir hams la arch  
 la passio nos fa em bar ch  
 que co que dote no par amarch  
 e pel reus  
 noster iusti poy meys homes  
 segons lo voler sera ftes  
 ende o mal  
 enca a falogue meys val  
 que fa la cosa ser no tal  
 com es en ver  
 a que da que a lo fader  
 conques ans que gran voler  
 vos carregar  
 pe que nos por fer hom obras  
 a lo passio que nos trebas  
 noster iusti  
 a y tunc es fch mes q mesqui  
 da que qui es semblant ami  
 calhes motes.

## ALTRA OBRA

Amicorda vndictat  
 per nom contemptus nomenat  
 auisant los homens cel mon  
 quen les coses que dell son  
 no es per mi bona fi  
 carson via e cami  
 detzolar per dicio  
 e rememoram dela fcho  
 quant legit dictat a que  
 quem foch legit manifestat  
 mas non tengui significat  
 apres quat foy hom per e dia  
 contengui sens fabricar  
 ara mestrae comenc se noz  
 tobe en alquy esenes  
 lo mal en les coses noes  
 pte mteneson ab que hom fa  
 peca en elles mal noya  
 natura y ha mes be mtegra  
 a lestimax es noster gran  
 per que nrenem d'elles espre  
 elo mig be nol conexen  
 pe que amagat en loch fch  
 e veig a to hom ester lo fch  
 pe a poder lo diuisar  
 hom porde del mig despartar  
 entend respoe mas noy nre  
 nos coneque mls se por die  
 abasal non tant for la met  
 equal obrant sia volent  
 virtut lo cor mes que la pot  
 lo mig dela cosa que sol  
 obrar virtut que es diu moral  
 espime tant fchil que noy val  
 vira de home prauit  
 e vol q hom noya trise  
 volent pe lo mig campar  
 otant com foy a vnter  
 car no es enell lo puy fader

Figure 7: Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, MS 2985, f. 199v.

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