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GUY OF WARWICK IN IBERIA: ENGLAND, PORTUGAL, AND THE BACKGROUND TO *TIRANT LO BLANCH*

Despite its prominence in the history of Catalan literature, many questions about Joanot Martorell's vast chivalric novel *Tirant lo Blanch* remain unanswered.[1] Some of the most intriguing relate to the text's linguistic lineage. Prefatory material included in the first printing of the work at Valencia in 1490 states that *Tirant* was the second of two translations made by the author: the first from English into Portuguese and the second from Portuguese into the Valencian dialect of Catalan.[2] These claims have aroused a good deal of scepticism. After all, although translation between Iberian vernaculars was not uncommon in the period, no such text now survives in Portuguese.[3] Furthermore, translation from Middle English beyond the insular world is very rare indeed in the Middle Ages.[4] For the most part, scholars of *Tirant* have considered a French source much more likely than an English-language one. There is, of course, no surviving text in English, or in any other language for that matter, that features a hero called 'Tirant'. However, the opening section of Martorell's text tells, in much amplified, but still recognizable, form, the very English story of *Sir Guy of Warwick*.[5] Apart from this romance, none of Martorell's other major sources were available in English, and most of them were demonstrably Catalan.[6] If the allusion to an English-language source is to be taken seriously, it seems likely that it refers to the opening part of the text only.

Most versions of *Guy of Warwick* fall into two distinct narrative sections. In the first part of the narrative, Guy falls in love with Felice, the daughter of the Earl of Warwick, and travels all over Europe performing great deeds in order to win her hand. The second part of the story is more overtly pious: shortly after his marriage, Guy is struck with sorrow for his sins and he leaves his pregnant wife to become a pilgrim. He returns to England years later and defeats Colbrond, the gigantic champion of the invading Danes, before retiring to live the life of a hermit and reuniting with Felice on his deathbed. *Tirant lo Blanch* focuses on the later events of Guy's life. The Valencian text opens by celebrating one Guillem de Varoich (William of Warwick), 'pare de cavalleria' (father of chivalry), and noting briefly that he won fame by his deeds across Europe.[7] The text then recounts Guillem's contrition, his departure from his wife to visit the Holy Land,

his return to England, his battle with the giant, and his retirement to eremetic life. At this point, at the end of chapter 27 in the incunable, Martorell leaves the established narrative of *Guy of Warwick* behind. The eponymous Tirant enters the story, visiting Guillem in his hermitage and asking the old knight to instruct him in the ways of chivalry. Guillem then offers an elaborate account of chivalric ethics, based largely on Ramon Llull, and receives further visits from Tirant and his companions who report their deeds and experiences in England to him. Guillem is not mentioned again after chapter 97 (there are 487 chapters of varying lengths in the incunable) and there is no account of his death.

In revisiting the question of the text's Portuguese and English connections, this article considers *Tirant*'s relationship to versions of *Guy of Warwick* with which it has not, hitherto, been systematically compared: the accounts of *Guy of Warwick* in French and English that circulated in the insular world and a Latin epitome of *Guy of Warwick* from fifteenth-century Portugal. Analysis of the latter text suggests it could have been made from a similar version of the *Guy* narrative to that on which the opening of *Tirant* was based. However, comparing Martorell's work with the Middle English versions of *Guy of Warwick* offers the most striking results. His writing preserves two significant episodes that do not occur in any French-language version of *Guy of Warwick* and appear only in the Middle English 'E-version' of the text.

The evolution of 'Tirant lo Blanch'

The fullest account of the background to *Tirant* appears in a dedication that precedes the first printed edition. It addresses Ferdinand (1433–70), the second son of Duarte, King of Portugal:

> E com la dita història e actes del dit Tirant sien en llengua anglesa, e a vostra il·lustre senyoria sia estat grat voler-me pregar la giràs en lengua portoguesa, opinant, per jo ésser estat algun temps en l'illa d'Anglaterra, degués millor saber aquella llengua que altri … m'atreviré expondre, no solament de llengua anglesa en portoguesa, mas encara de portoguesa en vulgar valenciana, per ço que la nació d'on jo só natural se'n puixa alegrar e molt ajudar per los tants e tan insignes actes com hi són; suplicant vostra virtuosíssima senyoria accepteu com de servidor afectat la present obra – car si defalliments alguns hi són, certament, senyor, n'és en part causa la dita llengua anglesa, de la qual en algunes partides és impossible poder bé girar los vocables …[8]
>
> (As the account of Tirant's exploits was written in the English tongue, your lordship had pleased to ask me to translate it into Portuguese, arguing that since I have spent some time in England I should know the language better than others do … I will dare to translate the story of Tirant, not only from English into Portuguese, but from Portuguese into Valencian vernacular, so that my native country can enjoy

> and benefit from the many notable deeds that are contained in this account. I beg your virtuous lordship to accept this work as coming from your affectionate servant; if there are faults in it, you can be sure, sir, they are partly caused by the English tongue, whose terms, in certain places, are impossible to translate well.)[9]

The references to a Portuguese version and an ultimate source in English are certainly emphatic and the undoubted rarity of competence in English in this milieu is readily acknowledged.[10] However, a certain amount of ground needs to be cleared before testing the claims of the dedication more fully. There are some difficulties with taking the dedication at face value. *Tirant* is a particularly derivative work, even by medieval standards, drawing on multiple sources and adapting them to varying degrees. The dedication is no exception to this. It has long been recognized that much of the dedication to *Tirant* is copied from an earlier Catalan work, *Los dotze treballs d'Hèrcules* by Enric de Villena.[11] Could the dedication's claims about the text's evolution simply be copied from another source? After all, Martorell died in early 1465 and the text of *Tirant* which was eventually published in 1490 appears to have been completed by one Martí Joan de Galba. Despite much debate, it is still not at all clear where Martorell's work ends and Galba's begins.[12] The dedication asserts that Martorell began work on *Tirant* in 1460 and the colophon with which the printed text closes confirms that he died before completing the narrative. The colophon goes on to state that Galba completed the work at the request of Lady Isabel de Lloris, though he died a few months before the work was printed.[13] This account is borne out by other evidence. Galba appears to have obtained the manuscript from Martorell himself in 1464 as a pawn for a loan and court records from the following year show that Martorell's heir attempted to recover twenty-seven gatherings of pages from Galba, but failed to do so. [14] Apart from the three surviving copies of the incunable, a fragment of a manuscript of *Tirant* has been discovered among the papers of the Lloris family.[15] Could the dedication have been produced or revised by Galba? And, if so, how reliable is it as an account of the evolution of the work?

The question of whether the dedication is entirely copied from *Los dotze treballs* can be answered quite readily. Despite all the similarities between Villena's text and that of *Tirant*, the dedication's statements regarding the double translation and the identity of its dedicatee are not paralleled in Villena's work and seem to be original to *Tirant*. The author of the dedication appears to have used Villena's prose as a template and then adapted it to his own circumstances. In addition, his adaptations were not at all conventional. While medieval authors might well invent sources for their work, these were usually sources in 'prestige' languages, like Latin or French; Portuguese and, in particular, English were not languages that had any such status in this period.[16] The question that then remains is: was the author of these statements in the dedication Martorell? There are two reasons

why it seems plausible that he was. The first is the identity of the dedicatee: Ferdinand died in 1470, long before *Tirant* was published. Although Galba might well have worked on the text before 1470, the association with Ferdinand places the dedication much closer to the period of Martorell's work on the text than to Galba's. A further seeming oddity of the dedication may also point to Martorell's authorship. Why is the work described as being ultimately from an English source, when only the first twenty-seven chapters could possibly be from English? Curt Wittlin has suggested that the dedication in the incunable was not originally composed for *Tirant*, but, rather, that it was written for an earlier, stand-alone, translation of *Guy of Warwick*.[17] Such a text does exist: a short work known as *Guillem de Varoich* which survives in Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, MS 7811, fols 164–71.[18]

There are some points where *Guillem* differs from the opening section of *Tirant* and it is incomplete at the end, but the differences are very slight and it is recognizably another version of the same narrative, featuring many of the additions to *Guy of Warwick* that also appear in *Tirant*.[19] The text of *Guillem* in this manuscript does not have a formal dedication or prologue, but it is prefaced by the statement that the text was taken from a book in the collection of the King of England: 'Aquest és un tractat d'orde de cavalleria, tret d'un llibre qui fon del rei d'Anglaterra e de França' ('This is a treatise on the order of chivalry, drawn from a book that belonged to the King of England and France').[20] Although no author is mentioned, the manuscript in which it survives offers tantalizing connections to Martorell and to *Tirant*.[21] There are now 537 folios in the codex which appears to have been copied in Catalan in Valencia, in the second half of the fifteenth and in the early sixteenth centuries.[22] The manuscript is composed of ten gatherings of varying lengths and features a number of different scribal hands. Many of the contents are *lletres de batalla* – challenges to combat issued between knights. Some of these are fictitious and some are historical. Most of these letters bear dates from the first half of the fifteenth century, but some also post-date Martorell's death. *Guillem de Varoich* appears in a portion of the codex where there is a particular concentration of material relating to Martorell and his family. Immediately preceding the text is a *lletra de batalla* from his brother-in-law, the poet Ausiàs March (fols 163$^{r–v}$). A letter from Martorell's brother Galceran follows the text of *Guillem* (fols 171^{r}–175^{r}). *Lletres de batalla* from Joanot appear after this on fols 175^{r}–195^{r}. A further letter from Galceran appears on fol. 237^{v} of the manuscript and another letter from Joanot at fols 301^{r}–303^{v}. The codex also features a number of further texts which seem to have been sources for *Tirant*, including a translation of a letter by Petrarch.[23] All this is highly suggestive of a connection between at least parts of this codex and Martorell, but it is impossible to establish how direct it was.[24]

Furthermore, the Anglo-Portuguese background described in the 1490

dedication conforms to what we know about Martorell's life and to the wider political-cultural context in which he was working. It is clear that Martorell spent 'algun temps en l'illa d'Anglaterra' – he visited England at least once in 1438–9. The trip seems to have been prompted by a dispute with another knight, Joan de Montpalau, who had seduced Martorell's sister and then broken a promise of marriage.[25] Martorell managed to secure Henry VI as a judge in the duel he proposed, and urged Montpalau to come to England. Martorell appears to have gained the ear of the king quite quickly and Robert B. Tate has suggested that this was most likely due to the influence of the Valencian humanist Vicenç Climent at court.[26] Climent may also have introduced him to other significant contacts, both English and Portuguese. For instance, Climent had connections to Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick. As Tate outlines, a connection to Beauchamp seems particularly significant, given the earl's intense interest in the legend of Guy of Warwick.[27] It seems that Martorell also made Portuguese connections during his time in England. From his surviving letters it is clear that Martorell knew John Holland, the Earl of Huntington, again, probably through Climent.[28] At the time, the earl was married to Beatriz, the illegitimate daughter of King João I of Portugal and half-aunt of Ferdinand, to whom *Tirant* is dedicated. We also know that Martorell was in Portugal at least once, before 1443. As Vicenç Beltran i Pepió has recently shown, the geopolitics of Martorell's work reflect Portuguese interests in the period and are a particularly close match for Ferdinand's own military career.[29] It is unclear how Martorell might have encountered Ferdinand – the latter would only have been a child in 1443, but Martorell may have visited Portugal again at a later point.[30] In addition, Ferdinand was in Catalonia between 1464 and 1465, though this seems rather late to have provided patronage for a text begun in 1460.[31]

The translation of a work from England and focusing on an English knight in Portugal in this period is eminently plausible. If readers anywhere in Iberia were going to evince interest in an English literary work, it was likely to be in Aviz Portugal. Particularly close ties developed between England and Portugal at the end of the Middle Ages, around and after the Treaty of Windsor in 1386. John of Gaunt's daughter Philippa married João I in 1387. As Joyce Coleman has outlined, Philippa maintained close ties to England throughout her life, and 'imported English liturgy, exempla, alabasters, architecture, and purses, spreading anglophilia across many levels of Portuguese society'.[32] Indeed, we have another example of translation from English into Portuguese and thence into another Iberian vernacular in the form of John Gower's *Confessio Amantis*.[33] This text was translated in Portugal in the early part of the fifteenth century and was then translated from Portuguese into Castilian some decades later.[34] It seems likely that other texts, primarily in French, also travelled from England to Portugal in Philippa's time.[35] Although political relations were not always completely

straightforward, the Portuguese and English royal families enjoyed a close relationship throughout the fifteenth century. The most comprehensive account of these ties has been produced by Tiago Viúla de Faria, who shows that in this period 'the scope of Anglicized aspects in the court … was vast, covering many areas of courtly life and media of expression'.[36] João and his four successors were admitted to the Order of the Garter, making Portugal by far the best-represented foreign power in the order before 1500.[37] Intriguingly, *Tirant* furnishes us with our earliest account of the Garter ceremony and incorporates material from the statutes of the order.[38] Bibliographical connections also appear to have continued after Philippa's time. In the mid-1400s a copy of the Ordinal of the English Chapel Royal was ordered by the King of Portugal and, in 1451, we have records of the confiscation of Wycliffite texts which had been circulating in Lisbon.[39] England also seems to have occupied a prominent place in the imaginations of Portuguese writers in the period. It is the location of the adventures described in *Os Doze de Inglaterra* (The Twelve of England) – a work set in the reign of João I and featuring both John of Gaunt and Philippa of Lancaster. Like Tirant, the hero of the popular *Amadís de Gaula* – a work which now survives in Castilian, but which seems to have originated in Portuguese – begins his knightly career in Britain.[40]

For all the ambiguities surrounding *Tirant*'s authorship and composition, there is good reason to take the dedication's account of the Anglo-Portuguese background to the text seriously. The dedication seems to have been written by Martorell himself and is likely, as Wittlin has suggested, to have been composed for a stand-alone adaptation of *Guy of Warwick*, rather than for *Tirant* as a whole. The independent survival of *Guillem de Varoich* in a manuscript with close connections to Martorell suggests that the parts of *Tirant* derived from *Guy of Warwick* were Martorell's own work and do not form part of Galba's interventions. In addition, our knowledge of Martorell's own life and of Anglo-Portuguese cultural interactions in this period support the claims of the dedication: Martorell did travel to England and he spent time in Portugal where the Aviz dynasty were particularly invested in English cultural products. To test the claims of the 1490 dedication further, this article will now turn to two neglected contexts; firstly, the specific versions of *Guy of Warwick* that Martorell might have encountered in England and, secondly, evidence for interest in the story of Guy in Aviz Portugal.

Tirant *and the Middle English* Guy of Warwick *tradition*

Guy of Warwick seems to have been one of the best-known narratives in medieval England – several versions of the romance survive in Anglo-Norman, continental French, and English, and episodes from Guy's life were incorporated

into chronicles and into works of pious instruction such as the *Speculum Gy de Warwycke* and the *Gesta Romanorum*.[41] Although the work does not appear to have been as well known outside of England as, say, *Boeve de Haumtone*, a fifteenth-century German text, *Gydo und Thyrus*, is clearly derived from the account of Guy given in both the continental and Anglo-Latin versions of the *Gesta Romanorum*.[42] An Irish translation was made from a Middle English version in the fifteenth century and the dukes of Burgundy appear to have owned two French copies of the work.[43] It does not seem at all improbable that such a popular work might have had an appeal in Iberia, but what has been considered unlikely is the idea that Martorell worked from an English-language version of the text specifically. After all, it would be surprising if Martorell had the level of fluency in English required to translate from Middle English and, certainly, an Anglo-Norman or French version would have been more intelligible to a Catalan speaker. *Tirant*'s modern editor, Martí de Riquer, thought it more likely that this part of *Tirant* was derived from *Le Rommant de Guy de Warwik et de Herolt d'Ardenne*, a French prose text surviving in two fifteenth-century manuscripts.[44] His view has been very influential. After all, *Le Rommant de Guy de Warwik* is the only version of *Guy of Warwick* known to have been in the hands of the English royal family and the Madrid text of *Guillem* claims that its source was one of the King of England's books. *Le Rommant de Guy de Warwik* is included in the Talbot-Shrewsbury Book (London, British Library, Royal MS 15 E VI) presented to Margaret of Anjou around the time of her marriage to Henry VI in 1445. However, identifying not only this work, but this particular manuscript, as Martorell's source poses some chronological problems. The only firm evidence we have for Martorell's presence in England places him there in 1438–9.[45] However, the Talbot-Shrewsbury Book cannot have been in the royal library at this point, since Margaret was not engaged to Henry VI until 1444. Martorell may, of course, have visited England again at a later point, but there is no evidence of this.[46] It is worth examining some other possible sources.

At first glance there are a dizzying array of texts from which Martorell could have derived information about Guy of Warwick. Both *Guillem* and *Tirant* focus on the Colbrond episode – a narrative sequence that had taken on a life of its own in England, partly because it was the episode in Guy's legend that was most closely intertwined with known historical figures. It was the part of the narrative that appeared most frequently in chronicles. It fleshed out the account of Athelstan's reign in works by Pierre de Langtoft and his English translator Robert Mannying, in the *Short Metrical Chronicle*, and in Henry Knighton's chronicle.[47] It was also the focus of John Lydgate's *Gy de Warwyck*, based on Gerald of Cornwall's Latin account of similar scope. However, these versions can be discounted as possible sources for Martorell. The Valencian texts provide much more detail than these do and feature narrative details that only appear in longer 'romance' versions of the

story. In all, there are eight versions of the romance of *Guy of Warwick*. Two are in Anglo-Norman verse: the earlier designated α and the later (which reworks the first version) β. There are also five independent Middle English verse translations, classified as versions A–E, by Alison Wiggins.[48] In addition, there is the French prose *Rommant*, which appears to be based on an Anglo-Norman text. All of these works, except for β, have been edited.[49]

In situating Martorell's work in relation to the various insular versions of *Guy of Warwick*, I have tried to identify details in the Valencian texts which are paralleled in either the French or English versions alone. In addition, I have tried to establish whether Martorell's work can be associated with any one of these eight romance versions of *Guy of Warwick,* in particular. The painstaking work of Alison Wiggins is invaluable in this regard. Wiggins identifies a range of details in the Middle English works which represent changes or additions to the Anglo-Norman versions.[50] What Wiggins designates as the 'E-version' of the Middle English text bears particularly close comparison with the Valencian works. The E-version appear to be the latest Middle English version of *Guy* and now survives wholly or partially in two fifteenth-century manuscripts: Cambridge, University Library, MS Ff. 2.38 (henceforth CUL) and Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College, MS 107/176 (henceforth Caius).[51] CUL is generally a more instructive guide to the E-version than Caius, since the latter is, in fact, 'spliced together from the A and E redactions'.[52] A fifteenth-century Irish prose translation of *Guy of Warwick*, *Stair Gui*, also seems have been derived from the Middle English E-version.[53] Wiggins's work on the E-version has recently been refined in light of the unpublished Anglo-Norman β text in an important article by Giselle Gos.[54] Gos shows that certain details previously considered innovations in the Middle English text were, in fact, present in the longer Anglo-Norman version. However, two significant narrative details that both Wiggins and Gos have identified as unique to the Middle English E-version of *Guy of Warwick* also appear in *Tirant lo Blanch*.

The first of these details relates to Guy's armour. Only in the E-version does Guy wear his own armour into battle with the giant. When Guy, still disguised as a pilgrim, agrees to fight Colbrond no armour can be found to suit him. At this point, the pilgrim asks for the armour of Guy of Warwick, long presumed dead. This is immediately dispatched by Felice, who had kept it safely during her husband's absence:

> The kynge comawndyd and that anon
> To hys armerars euerychone,
> That they schulde purvey armewre
> Of the beste and moost sewre
> For hys champyon, the pylgryme,
> In peyne of lyfe, lyth and lymme.

Ynto euery place they sende and gone
Bute mete armowre fond þey none.
When Gye sye, ther cowde non be fownde,
To þe kynge he went in that stownde.
'Syr,' he seyde, 'be goddys myght,
Y harde sey, ther was a knight
Some tyme dwelling in Warwyk towne
Large and longe from fote to crowne,
And, but hys armowre wyll serue me,
Y trowe, in Ynglonde none ther bee;
Wherefore y rede yow, by my lyfe,
Sende for hyt to Gyes wyfe … [55]

The account of the disguised Guy wearing his own armour into battle is also found in the Irish translation and in both *Guillem* and *Tirant*.[56] In *Tirant* we have the following account:

> [Guillem] prestament demanà que li portassen unes armes que li vinguessen bé. Portaren-li'n moltes, emperò de totes quantes li'n portaren no n'hi hagué nengunes que li vinguessen bé al plaer seu.
> – Per la mia fe – dix lo Rey ermità – per açò no restarà la batalla, encara que hi sabés entrar en camisa. E prec-vos senyors – dix lo Rey ermità – vos plàcia voler anar a la Comtessa, e pregau-la molt carament que per la sua molta virtut e bondat me vulla prestar les armes de son marit En Guillem de Varoic, aquelles ab què ell acostumava entrar en les batalles.[57]
>
> ([Guillem] quickly called for armour to be brought which fitted him well. He was presented with many arms, but none were to his liking.
> 'By my faith', said the hermit king, 'this will not stop my battle, even if I have to go there in my shirtsleeves. I pray you, gentlemen, go to the countess and beseech her very humbly, by her virtue and goodness, to lend me the armour of her husband, William of Warwick, which he wore into battle.')[58]

No surviving French-language romance of *Guy* includes this detail. It seems to originate in the Middle English E-version.

Another potentially significant detail in Martorell's text is his treatment of Guy and Felice's ring. In all versions of *Guy of Warwick*, the hero sends a ring to Felice as a token of recognition when he is lying on his deathbed. In the two Anglo-Norman versions, the French prose text, and four of the Middle English versions this is a whole ring. Curiously, no reference to the ring appears in *Guillem*, but there is a good deal of detail in *Tirant lo Blanch*. Before he leaves his wife, Guillem has a ring made that could be split in two:

> E havia fet fer un anell d'or ab les armes sues e de la Comtessa, lo qual anell era fet ab tal artifici, que es departia pel mig restant cascuna part anell sancer, e, ab la meitat de les armes de cascú, com era ajustat, se mostraven totes les armes.[59]

> (He also had had a gold ring made which bore his own coat of arms and that of the countess. The ring was created with such cunning that it could be parted in two down the centre, and each piece would still be a whole ring bearing its proper half of the arms. When the two halves were joined, the arms came together as before.)[60]

Later in the text, Guillem sends his half of the ring to his wife. She takes her own half and finds that it fits the part that he has sent her perfectly.[61] The idea that the ring was split in two seems to have been a late addition to the legend and a half-ring, rather than a whole ring, only features in one version of *Guy of Warwick*, the Middle English E-version.[62] Martha Driver has observed that the motif of the half-ring appears in the CUL text, though in rather garbled form.[63] In Guy's leave-taking there is no mention of the ring being divided in half, but, at the close of the text, he urges his page to take '[t]hys halfe rynge' to Felice (line 10583). The text's original editor, Julius Zupitza, omitted 'halfe' from the line, believing it was a scribal error; however, the manuscript's reading is clearly correct. It is the only thing that would make sense of Felice's lament on visiting the dying Guy:

> 'Thes be þe hondys,' sche seyde thoo,
> 'That the rynges breke atwoo.' (lines 10679–80)

The suggestion appears to be that Guy has broken the ring with his hands. [64] This is borne out by the fuller account of the ring which appears in the Irish translation: this text depicts the knight breaking his ring and giving Felice one half when he leaves her:[65]

> 'Beir leth in faindi-so let' ar-si; & ro glac Gyi in fainne, & ro gerr é, & ro fagaibh leth in fainne aici; & do rug fein in leth ele leis de. & adubairt Gyi: 'Na créid co fuighir-sa bás no co fagair mo leth-sa don fhainne'[66]
>
> ('Take half of this ring with thee', said she; and Guy took the ring, and broke it, and left half of the ring with her and took the other half himself. And Guy said: 'Do not believe that I have met death until thou get my half of the ring.')[67]

In the Irish text Guy also sends his own half of the ring to Felice when he is on his deathbed.[68] Guy breaking the ring manually suggest that it was split into two 'c' shaped halves and this is, in fact, how the ring is depicted in the Rous Rolls.[69] In Martorell's text, by contrast, Guillem designs the ring to be split into two thinner, circular bands. The half-ring is another detail in Martorell's text which connects it to English-language versions of the *Guy* legend, rather than to the versions in Anglo-Norman or with the French prose text. The rather different account of how the ring was halved would seem to exclude a visual source, like the Rous Rolls.

Both of these details are among a series of interventions that 'represent creation of an explicit link between the romance and the local legend of Guy

that was perpetuated at Warwick'.[70] Indeed, both the detail of the half ring and Felice's care for Guy's armour have been associated with the Beauchamp earls of Warwick's interest in the legend, cultivated most extensively in the late Middle Ages.[71] Guy's armour was displayed at Warwick Castle from the early fifteenth century.[72] The conceit of the disguised Guy calling for his own old armour in the E-version and its derivatives is a rather elegant means of associating that armour with all of the most significant deeds of his career, including the celebrated fight with Colbrond. Although we cannot discount the possibility that other versions in French once existed, it seems to me that the internal evidence of *Guillem-Tirant* is strongly in favour of a Middle English source, not an Anglo-Norman or continental French one. The reference to the King of England's book in the Madrid manuscript of *Guillem* need not refer to the Talbot-Shrewsbury book. We know very little about the royal collections at this point in history and, just as the dukes of Burgundy had two French copies of *Guy of Warwick*, there is no reason to exclude the possibility that an English-language version of the work might have been in royal hands.

Tirant *and the Alcobaça epitome of* Guy of Warwick

As we have seen, apart from the statement in the *Tirant* dedication, no direct evidence of any Portuguese work by Martorell survives. However, there is evidence of interest in *Guy of Warwick* in Portugal in Martorell's lifetime. A Latin epitome of the romance, *Guido de Warwick*, is preserved in a mid-fifteenth-century hand at the very end of a largely twelfth-century homiletic collection from the Cistercian monastery at Alcobaça (Lisbon, Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, Fundo Alcobaça, MS 414, fols 252^{v}–253^{v}).[73] Although the text's editor, Aires A. Nascimento, noted its possible connection to Martorell's *Tirant*, little further work has been done on the text, and it is virtually unknown among anglophone scholars.[74] The text itself amounts to around 1,600 words of Latin prose and is highly summarized. Although it focuses on the duel with Colbrond towards the end of Guy's life, the opening quarter of the text recounts his love for Felice, his deeds performed in order to win her, and her marriage to him. Although we are told Guy had many adventures in his early life, we are given no specifics, and the regions to which he travelled are only listed briefly. The Latin account also omits some familiar elements of the story; for instance, Heraud and Tirri are never mentioned. The text does not end with Guy's death, but with the revelation of his identity to the King of England after the battle with Colbrond. However, the outline is very recognizably that of the insular legend and, in many respects, is closer to the familiar narrative than to Martorell's *Guillem* or *Tirant*. For instance, Guy's contemplation of God under a starry sky does not feature in Martorell's works, but it does appear in *Guido*. Guido remains with his wife for

forty days after their marriage (it is forty or fifty days in most versions), whereas in *Tirant* Guy's son is three months old when he leaves. *Guido* also supplies us with a range of proper names which are recognizable from the insular versions of *Guy of Warwick,* but which do not appear in the Valencian texts: the hero's wife is called 'Felix' and the giant is called 'Colibronte'. *Guido* does not identify the force that invades England, but their king's name is given as 'Ouius', which seems a plausible rendering of Anlaf/Olaf (usually *Olavus* in Latin).

Only two episodes in *Guido* seem to represent significant deviations from the narrative preserved in other texts in the *Guy* tradition. The work relates how Guy's son (here unnamed) sets out to find his father when he turns 18. In Italy, he meets Guy disguised as a pilgrim and asks him to reveal his name. Guy refuses and father and son fight until the latter relents and lets the pilgrim go on his way. This episode finds its closest analogue in the encounter between Heraud and Reinbroun (described, for instance, at lines 11109–232 in the CUL text). In similar vein, *Guido* includes a short exchange between the hero and Colibronte, where the latter suggests that they drink from the river. Guido permits the giant to drink, but when he later asks for the favour to be returned he is refused. This exchange is clearly derived from a similar incident involving Amorant, the sultan's champion whom Guy fights during his journeys through the eastern Mediterranean in other versions of the romance (e.g. CUL, lines 8105–264). The placement of this exchange in the battle with Colbrond, rather than in the earlier fight with Amoraunt, is not paralleled in any surviving version of *Guy of Warwick*. It also seems likely that the Latin text preserved in the Alcobaça manuscript is a truncated or draft version of the epitome. Various narrative threads are introduced, but not resolved. For instance, the fight with his father is the last we hear of Guido's son in the text; when it concludes, he is still (presumably) wandering Europe in search of his lost parent. *Guido* also does not detail any reunion between husband and wife at the close of the work, despite anticipating such a moment by mentioning their ring.[75]

The brevity of *Guido* makes close comparison between it and other texts in the *Guy of Warwick* tradition difficult, but one feature does stand out: the account of Guy's ring. In *Guido*, Guy breaks a ring in half and gives one part to his wife on his departure. As we have seen, this detail only otherwise appears in the Middle English E-version of *Guy of Warwick* and its probable translations. In describing Guido's departure from his wife, the Latin text states: 'tunc anulus per medium diuisit et sua pars unicuique mansit' ('then he broke the ring in two, and for each one part was left').[76] The account of the half ring in *Guido* suggests that we are once again dealing with a work with connections to an English-language exemplar, close to the E-version of the text. Could there be any relationship between *Guido* and Martorell's work? The mid-fifteenth-century date assigned to *Guido* on palaeographical grounds places it in the right time

frame.[77] Alcobaça is also the 'right' place. The monastery had close links to the court and it played a significant role in the literary life of Portugal in the later Middle Ages – a number of translations were made there during the Aviz period.[78] The possibility that *Guido* was Martorell's source can probably be excluded – various details from the insular tradition of the romance (such as Felice's care of his armour) appear in *Guillem-Tirant*, but not in the Latin epitome. Two possible connections remain: that *Guido* is adapted from the work Martorell claims to have written in Portuguese or that it was made from the same version of *Guy of Warwick* used by Martorell. Of course, it is also entirely possible that the work has no relationship to the Valencian texts at all. Nonetheless, the text merits further study, not least because of its apparent connection to the Middle English E-version of *Guy of Warwick*.

Conclusion

The existence of *Guido de Warwick* seems, at the very least, to suggest an interest in the legend of *Guy of Warwick* in Portugal at precisely the period in which Martorell claims he was approached by Ferdinand to make his translation. However, this is still rather circumstantial evidence and it is difficult to draw any firm conclusions about the likelihood of Martorell having produced a version of *Guy* in Portuguese. Examination of evidence from the insular *Guy of Warwick* tradition yields much more concrete results. Comparing *Guillem* and the relevant sections of *Tirant* to the surviving insular versions of *Guy of Warwick* demonstrates that Martorell's work has particularly close affinities with the Middle English E-version of the romance. No surviving work in Anglo-Norman or in continental French bears such a close resemblance to the Valencian texts. However unlikely it might seem, there is every reason to believe that Martorell was being entirely candid when he claimed a source 'en llengua anglesa'. Literature in Middle English was not widely translated in the medieval period, particularly outside Britain and Ireland. Aside from a range of adaptations into Welsh and Irish, we have some limited evidence for translation into Old Norse-Icelandic and for a handful of translations of early printed works into Dutch.[79] The Portuguese *Confessio Amantis* has long been considered a one-off case of translation from Middle English in southern Europe; however, it seems likely that at least one further such work, a translation of *Guy of Warwick*, was produced in medieval Iberia and was integrated into *Tirant lo Blanch*.

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NOTES

[1] The work was printed at Valencia in 1490 by Nicolau Spindeler (ISTC it00380000) and it was printed again at Barcelona in 1497 (ISTC it00381000). In 1511, it was translated into Castilian – the version to which a character in *Don Quixote* no doubt alludes in dubbing *Tirant* 'el mejor libro del mundo', see Martí de Riquer, *Aproximació al Tirant lo Blanc* (Barcelona, 1990), pp. 241–8. An Italian translation followed in 1536 and a French version in around 1737. For evidence that an earlier translation into Italian might have been made, see Riquer, *Aproximació*, p. 248.

[2] Joanot Martorell and Martí Joan de Galba, *Tirant lo Blanc i altres escrits de Joanot Martorell*, ed. Martí de Riquer (Barcelona, 1969), pp. 113f.

[3] Martorell, *Tirant*, pp. 25f. For a more recent discussion, see Josep Guia and Curt Wittlin, 'Nine problem areas concerning *Tirant lo Blanc*', in *Tirant lo Blanc: New Approaches*, ed. Arthur Terry (New York, 1999), pp. 109–26. The English–Portuguese–Valencian lineage of *Tirant* looks rather convoluted, but, as Josep Pujol notes, one of the neglected literary phenomena of late medieval and early modern Iberia is that of onward translation, sometimes by the same authors. Josep Pujol, 'Translation and cultural mediation in the fifteenth-century Hispanic kingdoms: the case of the Catalan-speaking lands', in *A Comparative History of Literatures in the Iberian Peninsula: Volume 2*, ed. César Domínguez, Anxo Abuín González, and Sapega Ellen (Amsterdam, 2016), pp. 319–26. P. E. Russell, 'Robert Payn and Juan de Cuenca: translators of Gower's *Confessio Amantis*', *MÆ*, 30 (1961), 26–32 (pp. 28–31).

[4] On translation from Middle English before 1550, see Aisling Byrne, 'From Hólar to Lisbon: Middle English literature in medieval translation, *c*.1286–*c*.1550', *The Review of English Studies*, 71 (2020), 433–59.

[5] The only scholarly study of *Guy of Warwick* to consider *Tirant* at any length is Velma Bourgeois Richmond, *The Legend of Guy of Warwick* (New York, 1996). For editions of the various versions of *Guy of Warwick*, see n. 49 below.

[6] Riquer, *Aproximació*, p. 183.

[7] Martorell, *Tirant*, p. 117.

[8] Martorell, *Tirant*, pp. 113f.

[9] Joanot Martorell and Martí Joan de Galba, *Tirant lo Blanc*: *The Complete Translation*, trans. Ray la Fontaine, Catalan Studies 1 (New York, 1993), pp. 37f. There is a more widely available English translation of *Tirant* by David H. Rosenthal, *Tirant lo Blanc* (London, 1984); however, this text paraphrases the original in many places and omits some key phrases and passages.

[10] The account of two-stage translation is restated in the text's colophon (Martorell, *Tirant*, p. 1189).

[11] See further, Riquer, *Nuevas contribuciones a las fuentes del Tirant lo Blanch* (Barcelona, 1949), pp. 8–17.

[12] For a summary of these discussions, see Guia and Wittlin, 'Nine problem areas'.

[13] Guia and Wittlin, 'Nine problem areas', p. 115.

[14] Guia and Wittlin, 'Nine problem areas', p. 114, and Jaume J. Chiner, *El viure novel·lesc: biografia de Joanot Martorell* (Alcoy, 1993).

[15] l'Arxiu de la Diputació de València, fons de la Duquessa d'Almodóvar, e 4.1, caixa

15. The text in the fragment is very close to the relevant part of the 1490 edition. It was discovered in the 1990s by Jaume Chiner. See further, Chiner, *El viure novel·lesc.*

[16] On the perception of English by translators in this period, see Byrne, 'From Hólar to Lisbon', pp. 447–51.

[17] Curt J. Wittlin, *De la traducció literal a la creació literària* (Barcelona, 1995), pp. 207f.

[18] The text is edited as an appendix to Martorell, *Tirant*, pp. 1235–49, but it has never been translated into English.

[19] On Martorell's reworking of *Guillem* in *Tirant*, see Josep Pujol, trans. Arthur Terry, 'Poets and historians: Joanot Martorell's models and the cultural space of chivalresque fiction', in *Tirant lo Blanc: New Approaches*, ed. Arthur Terry (Woodbridge, 1999), pp. 29–43.

[20] Martorell, *Tirant*, p. 1235. I am grateful to Professor Catherine Léglu (University of Luxembourg) for her advice on the interpretation of this passage.

[21] Riquer, *Aproximació*, pp. 255f. and Guia and Wittlin, 'Nine problem areas', pp. 123f.

[22] A full description of the codex (BITECA manid 1565) and its contents is available online at *BITECA (Bibliografia de Textos Antics Catalans, Valencians i Balears)*, dirs Gemma Avenoza, Lourdes Soriano, and Vicenç Beltran, The Bancroft Library, University of California (Berkeley, 1997–present). <http://vm136.lib.berkeley.edu/BANC/philobiblon/biteca_en.html>

[23] Josep Guia and Maria Conca, 'Les unitats fràsiques del capítol 143 de Tirant lo Blanc, traducció d'una epístola de Petrarca: indexació, funció discursiva i estudi contrastiu', *Estudis Romànics* (2007), 81–107.

[24] For an overview of previous debates on this question, see Tomàs Martínez Romero, 'Nòtules sobre adequació i rendibilitat d'intertextualitats tirantianes', *Els Marges*, 79 (2006), 87–93.

[25] For an overview of this dispute and the surviving correspondence between the various parties, see Riquer's account in Martorell, *Tirant*, pp. 8–15, and his edition of the letters on pp. 1193–234.

[26] Robert B. Tate, 'Joanot Martorell in England', *Estudis Romànics*, 10 (1962), 278f.

[27] Tate, 'Joanot Martorell in England'. For further discussion, see Riquer, *Aproximació*, pp. 96f. and Richmond, *Legend of Guy,* p. 153. On Richard Beauchamp's interest in the legend of Guy, see Yin Liu, 'Richard Beauchamp and the uses of romance', *MÆ*, 74 (2005), 271–87 and Emma Mason, 'Legends of the Beauchamps' ancestors: the use of baronial propaganda in medieval England', *Journal of Medieval History*, 10 (1984), 25–40.

[28] Martorell, *Tirant*, pp. 24f.

[29] Vicenç Beltran i Pepió, *'Don Ferrando', rei 'spectant': La connexió portuguesa del Tirant* (Barcelona, 2012).

[30] Martorell, *Tirant*, pp. 18f.

[31] Riquer, *Aproximació*, p. 181 and Guia and Wittlin, 'Nine problem areas', p. 111.

[32] Joyce Coleman, 'Philippa of Lancaster, Queen of Portugal – and patron of the Gower translations?' in *England and Iberia in the Middle Ages*, ed. Maria Bullón-Fernández (New York, 2007), pp. 136–65 (p. 154). See also R. F. Yeager, 'Gower's Lancastrian affinity: the Iberian connection', *Viator*, 35 (2004), 483–515.

[33] *Confessio amantis: literatura moral y materia amorosa en Inglaterra y la Península Ibérica (siglos XIV–XV)*, ed. Elena Alvar, Antonio Cortijo Ocaña, and Manuela Faccon, 2 vols (San Millán de la Cogolla, 2018).

[34] On these translations, see Russell, 'Robert Payn and Juan de Cuenca', Tiago Viúla de Faria, 'From Norwich to Lisbon: factionalism, personal association, and conveying the *Confessio Amantis*', in *John Gower in England and Iberia: Manuscripts, Influences, Reception*, ed. Ana Sáez-Hidalgo and Robert F. Yeager (Cambridge, 2014), pp. 131–40 and Clara Pascual-Argente, 'Iberian Gower', in *The Routledge Research Companion to John Gower*, ed. Ana Sáez-Hidalgo, Brian Gastle, and R. F. Yeager (Abingdon, 2017), pp. 210–21.

[35] There is a recent account of Anglo-Iberian literary connections in this period in Lluís Cabré, 'British influence in medieval Catalan writing: an overview', in *England and Iberia in the Middle Ages*, ed. Maria Bullón-Fernández (New York, 2007), pp. 29–46. Literary activities also played an important role in the courtly self-fashioning of the Aviz dynasty. On Duarte specifically, see Carolina Chaves Ferro, 'A livraria de D. Duarte', *História e Cultura*, 5 (2016), 129–49. On the culture of literary patronage and translation more generally, see Saul Antonio Gomes, 'As políticas culturais de tradução na corte portuguesa no século XV', *Cahiers d'études hispaniques médiévales*, 33 (2010), 173–81, and Ana Isabel Buescu, 'Livros e livrarias de reis e de príncipes entre os séculos XV e XVI: algumas notas', *eHumanista: Journal of Iberian Studies*, 8 (2007), 143–70.

[36] Tiago Viúla de Faria, 'The politics of Anglo-Portuguese relations and their protagonists in the later Middle Ages, *c*.1369–*c*.1449' (unpub. Ph.D. diss., University of Oxford, 2012), p. 96.

[37] Faria, 'The politics of Anglo-Portuguese relations', p. 109.

[38] See further, Riquer, *Aproximació*, pp. 114–20, 271–4.

[39] Faria, 'The politics of Anglo-Portuguese relations', p. 205.

[40] Jennifer Goodman Wollock, 'Medieval England and Iberia: a chivalric relationship', in *England and Iberia in the Middle Ages, 12th–15th Century: Cultural, Literary and Political Exchanges*, ed. María Bullón-Fernández (New York, 2007), pp. 11–28 (p. 24).

[41] The essays collected in *Guy of Warwick: Icon and Ancestor*, ed. Alison Wiggins and Rosalind Field (Cambridge, 2007) offer a good overview and analysis of accounts of *Guy of Warwick* in the insular tradition. However, some of the less well-known adaptations of the narrative, such as that in the *Gesta Romanorum*, are given fuller treatment in Richmond, *Legend of Guy.*

[42] Discussed in Richmond, *Legend of Guy*, pp. 140–4 and edited with a translation by Philippa Bright in *The Anglo-Latin Gesta Romanorum: From Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce MS 310* (Oxford, 2019), no. 70.

[43] Marianne Ailes, '*Gui de Warewic* in its manuscript context', in *Guy of Warwick: Icon and Ancestor*, ed. Alison Wiggins and Rosalind Field (Cambridge, 2007), pp. 12–26 (p. 21 n.).

[44] Martorell, *Tirant*, pp. 25f. For a more extensive discussion see, Riquer, *Aproximació*, pp. 257–74.

[45] Tate, 'Joanot Martorell in England', pp. 277f.

[46] Martorell, *Tirant*, pp. 23f., 80–2.

[47] For an overview of chronicle treatments, see Richmond, *Legend of Guy*, pp. 66–76.

[48] Alison Wiggins, 'Guy of Warwick: study and transcription' (unpub. Ph.D. diss., University of Sheffield, 2000). <http://etheses.whiterose.ac.uk/6039/1/341831.pdf>. For a short summary, see Wiggins, 'The manuscripts and texts of the Middle English *Guy of Warwick*', in *Guy of Warwick: Icon and Ancestor*, ed. Alison Wiggins and Rosalind Field (Cambridge, 2007), pp. 61–80.

[49] The Anglo-Norman α version is edited in *Gui de Warewic: roman du XIII siècle*, ed. Alfred Ewert, 2 vols (Paris, 1933). The Middle English versions are edited in *The Romance of Guy of Warwick: Edited from the Auchinleck Manuscript in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh, and from MS 107 in Caius College, Cambridge*, ed. Julius Zupitza, EETS ES 42, 49, 59 (London, 1883, 1887, 1891), *The Romance of Guy of Warwick: The Second or Fifteenth-Century Version*, ed. J. Zupitza, EETS ES 25, 26 (London, 1875–6) and *Fragments of an Early Fourteenth-Century Guy of Warwick*, ed. Maldwyn Mills and Daniel Huws, Medium Ævum Monographs NS 4 (Oxford, 1974). The French prose version from the Talbot-Shrewsbury Book is edited in *Le Rommant de Guy de Warwick et de Herolt d'Ardenne*, ed. D. J. Conlon (Chapel Hill, NC, 1971); the second surviving manuscript, now in Paris, has been edited in Frédérique Desmet, 'Le Roman en prose "Guy de Warewyk" (XV^{e} siècle): édition et commentaire' (unpub. Ph.D. diss., École nationale des chartes, Paris, 2000).

[50] Wiggins, 'Guy of Warwick', pp. 20–54.

[51] Wiggins, 'Guy of Warwick', p. 47.

[52] Some passages may also derive from a further unidentified version, see Wiggins, 'The manuscripts and texts', p. 70.

[53] Edited with an English translation in F. N. Robinson, 'The Irish lives of Guy of Warwick and Bevis of Hampton', *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie*, 6 (1908), 9–180, 273–338. The similarities have been noted by Richmond in *Legend of Guy*, p. 148.

[54] Giselle Gos, 'New perspectives on the reception and revision of *Guy of Warwick* in the fifteenth century', *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 113 (2014), 156–83.

[55] *The Second or Fifteenth-Century Version*, ed. Zupitza, lines 10141–58. All further quotations from the CUL text are from this edition. Caius does not follow the E-version at this point.

[56] Robinson, 'Irish lives', p. 97.

[57] Martorell, *Tirant*, p. 143.

[58] Martorell, *Tirant*, trans. La Fontaine, p. 58.

[59] Martorell, *Tirant*, p. 119.

[60] Martorell, *Tirant*, trans. La Fontaine, p. 42.

[61] Martorell, *Tirant*, p. 161.

[62] Martha W. Driver, '"In her owne persone semly and bewteus": representing women in stories of Guy of Warwick', in *Guy of Warwick: Icon and Ancestor*, ed. Alison Wiggins and Rosalind Field (Cambridge, 2007), pp. 133–53 (pp. 136–40). In Caius, like CUL, there is no mention of the ring being divided when Guy parts from Felice. Caius does not draw on the E-version in recounting the final reunion of the spouses. See further Wiggins, 'The manuscripts and texts', p. 63.

[63] Driver, 'Representing women', p. 139.

[64] Driver, 'Representing women', p. 139.

[65] Noted in Driver, 'Representing women', p. 138.

[66] Robinson, 'Irish lives', pp. 84f.

[67] Robinson, 'Irish lives', pp. 161f.

[68] Robinson, 'Irish lives', p. 99; trans. p. 174.

[69] The relevant images in the Latin and English Rous Rolls of the late fifteenth century are reproduced as plates 4 and 5 in *Guy of Warwick*, ed. Wiggins and Field.

[70] Wiggins, 'Guy of Warwick', p. 50.

[71] Driver, 'Representing women' and Wiggins, 'Guy of Warwick', p. 67.

[72] Wiggins, 'Guy of Warwick', p. 51.
[73] Described in Thomas L. Amos, *The Fundo Alcobaça of the Biblioteca Nacional, Lisbon, vol. III: Manuscripts 302–456 [and] Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga* (Collegeville, Pa, 1990), pp. 178–80.
[74] Aires A. Nascimento, 'Guido de Warwick, historia latine exarata: um epígono de romance de cavalaria, entre os monges de Alcobaça', in *Medioevo y literatura. Actas del V Congreso de la Asociación Hispánica de Literatura Medieval*, ed. Juan Paredes (Granada, 1995) III, 447–62.
[75] The manuscript evidence suggests that truncation by the scribe is the most likely explanation for these anomalies. The work begins immediately after a much earlier scribal colophon at the top of fol. 252^{v} and ends right at the bottom of fol. 253^{v}, the final folio in the manuscript. There is no evidence that any extra folios were inserted into the codex to accommodate it. It looks very much as though the scribe curtailed his narrative because he ran out of space.
[76] Nascimento, 'Guido de Warwick'; my translation.
[77] Nascimento, 'Guido de Warwick', p. 461.
[78] Thomas L. Amos, *The Fundo Alcobaça of the Biblioteca Nacional, Lisbon, vol. I: Manuscripts 1–150* (Collegeville, Pa, 1988), p. xx.
[79] For a list of known and possible translations from Middle English before 1550, see the appendix to Byrne, 'From Hólar to Lisbon', pp. 451–9.