

Humanism and Christian Letters
in Early Modern Iberia (1480-1630)

Edited by

Barry Taylor and Alejandro Coroleu

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P U B L I S H I N G

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FROM LLUÍS JOAN VILETA TO JOAN PUJOL:
LATIN AND VERNACULAR POETRY
ON THE BATTLE OF LEPANTO IN CATALONIA

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Learned poetry of the sixteenth century in Catalan is characterized, as it is all over Europe, by the tension between native tradition and the assimilation of newer features, not in conflict, but rather in a process of progressive amalgamation. Catalan poetry is a reaction less to a simple dichotomy than to a notable plurality of stimuli. The most remarkable of these new features are found, as was to be expected, in the adoption of Italianate strophic forms and the dictates of Petrarchism. Other aspects which coincide with the poetry of Renaissance Europe are the cultivation of the imitation of popular poetry and learned glosses on oral poetry.

There are, however, some poetic tendencies which are suggestive of traditionalist belatedness. By which we mean the imitation and poetic celebration of Ausiàs March, a poet of the previous century, as well as several translations of his work into Castilian and numerous editions of the original in the Kingdoms of Aragon and of Castile; these editions became increasingly rigorous as the century wore on, reflecting the desire to edit a classic. Now, as March was crossed with Petrarch by the most Italianizing lyric poets writing in Castilian (starting with Boscán of Barcelona through Garcilaso de la Vega, Hurtado de Mendoza or Gutierre de Cetina, among others)¹ and this admixture was spread in Italianized metrical and stanzaic

This article has been written within the framework of the HUM2006-08326/FILO Project for the Spanish Ministry of Education and Science.

¹ See Kathleen McNerney, *The Influence of Ausiàs March on Early Golden Age Castilian Poetry* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1982).

forms, there can be no doubt that the presence of March among the Catalan poets inclined towards Petrarchism cannot be interpreted in terms of traditional inertia or medieval survival, as is usually considered, but of innovation.

Perhaps the most noteworthy poet of the century, displaying a simultaneous blend of practically all of these models in his work, is Pere Serafi, professional painter and literary aficionado, whose *Dos llibres de Pedro Serafín de poesia vulgar en llengua catalana* was printed in Barcelona in 1565.² The considerable interest of the poetry of Serafi should not lead us to forget other equally important names, such as Joan Pujol, on whom, along with his contemporary the Latin poet Lluís Joan Vileta, we shall focus in this paper.

So, despite the existence of some outstanding poets, we would be deceiving ourselves if we did not say that the learned poetic production of the sixteenth century in Catalan was quantitatively low, surprisingly low, if we compare it to the preceding and subsequent centuries. It seems as if Catalan poetry were immersed in a permanent search for its own voice after the break from medieval tradition (with the exception of March) and the appearance of new poetic forms from abroad. And in this uncertain period few authors dared launch a new poetic initiative. We prefer to see the sixteenth century in Catalan poetry as an age of crisis, in the sense of a complex period of active exploration, of divergent poetic initiatives, without any particular poetic tendency establishing itself.

This is a situation which, undoubtedly, must be seen in relation to the rapid decline in the traditional literary patronage of royal, vice-regal and noble courts, and of the higher ecclesiastical hierarchy, due to the large-scale aristocratic relocation to more ambitious courtly environments at the centre of the Iberian Peninsula, especially through the marriage policy of the upper nobility.

One should distinguish the diversity of poetic evolution in the different territories of the Catalan linguistic domain; while in Valencia the Castilianization of learned poetry is almost absolute by mid-century, in Majorca the production of Catalan poetry is outstanding in the first half, an era of intense cultural relations with Valencia, only to drop off considerably in the second.³

² Pere Serafi, *Poesies catalanes*, ed. Josep Romeu i Figueras (Barcelona: Barcino, 2001).

³ On the poetry of the 1500s, see the recent syntheses by Pep Valsalobre, "La poesia catalana del Cinc-cents: a la recerca d'una veu pròpia," *Revista de Catalunya* 210 (October 2005): 79-111, and P. Valsalobre, "La poesia al

A few points must now be mentioned regarding new features of the cultural panorama in Catalonia in the second half of the century. On the one hand, there was a certain literary production which adopted the religious and cultural formulations of the so-called Counter Reformation. On the other, there arose a movement for cultural retrenchment which appears to be linked to groups connected to the University of Barcelona and certain minor nobility whose aim was to define a cultural tradition of their own. To this end, they opposed the cultural exchange that Catalonia maintained with Castile during the first half of the century.

Involved in the literary promotion of this dual aim—Counter Reformation and cultural retrenchment—we find the poet Joan Pujol, priest of Mataró, a coastal town near Barcelona. His work in verse is preserved in two witnesses: an edition printed in Barcelona in 1573 and a manuscript preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. The principal language in his verse is Catalan, though there are also poems in Castilian and Latin. His oeuvre can be classified into three broad categories: a poetic cycle on the victory at Lepanto, a group of texts related to the figure and work of Ausiàs March and a third more heterogeneous group of moral-didactic poems, spiritual works, etc.⁴

In the first two sections, referring to Lepanto and to March, there are patent signs of the dual aim mentioned above. Regarding March, Pujol offers a Counter-Reformation moralizing, even theological, reinterpretation, of his poetry, encouraged by his “master” Lluís Joan Vileta. This is shown in the poem *Visió en somni*, in which Pujol launches an effusive panegyric of Vileta, especially praising his activity in defence of Ramon Llull, considered the cultural glory of the Catalan tradition, and declaring Vileta the only valid interpreter of March; all of which is sanctioned in this poem by the fifteenth-century poet himself, when he appears to the author in the poetic dream. Furthermore, Pujol opposes the Renaissance diffusion of March and especially the translations into Castilian of his work, which he considers untranslatable, and therefore, inalienable from the Catalan tradition in which he writes.⁵

Cincent,” in *Panorama crític de la literatura catalana. Segles XVI-XVIII*, dir. by Albert Rossich (Barcelona: Vicens Vives, 2010, in press).

⁴ A single edition of his Catalan work is available: Joan Pujol, *Obra poètica*, ed. Karl-Heinz Anton (Barcelona: Edicions 62, 1970). For the quotations from the work of Pujol and Vileta we have used the edition of E. Miralles and P. Valsalobre, currently in preparation.

⁵ For the Marchian element in Pujol see Pep Valsalobre, “Joan Pujol: una lectura contrareformista d’Ausiàs Marc,” *Estudi General* 14 (1994 [1995]): 105-35.

The most important text in Pujol's Lepanto cycle is an epic poem in three cantos describing the battle and its immediate antecedents: *La singular y admirable victòria que, per la gràcia de Nostre Senyor Déu, obtingué el Sereníssim Senyor don Juan d'Àustria de la potentíssima armada turquesca*, which gives its title to the epic and the collection of Pujol's poetry published in Barcelona in 1573.⁶ The plot is developed as an epic of Catholicism against the Turkish enemy, based on the reworking of material taken from chronicles, verse chapbooks and newsbooks, using the schemes of learned epic as well as, according to the poet, oral accounts of the sea battle. Pujol's epic poem again allows a glimpse of his dual aim: to compose a homage to the Catholic victory seen as a sacred victory; and at the same time put on record the participation of Catalan soldiers in this mythic event of post-Tridentine Catholicism and, by extension, of the Catalan nation.

We said above that Pujol's work places him at the centre of the literary diffusion of the dual project of the Counter Reformation and the definition of a native cultural tradition. However, the man behind this project seems to be a figure with a well-known profile: Lluís Joan Vileta. Canon of Barcelona Cathedral, Professor of Philosophy and Theology at the University, Lullist and promoter of editions of Lull's philosophical work, Vileta published neo-Aristotelian works, attended the Council of Trent as a theologian in the company of the Bishop of Barcelona and there became involved in a dispute about the Eucharist which was printed in Venice. His successful defence of the exclusion of Lull's work from the Roman index of prohibited books won great renown in Catalan cultural circles and in general among Lullists across Europe. He was present also as a jury member in poetry competitions. Vileta was also a poet in Latin but above all he was the most important Catalan Lullist of the sixteenth century. And

⁶ On Pujol's epic poem, see Antoni Comas, "Introducción" in Joan Pujol, *La singular y admirable victoria que per la gràcia de N. S. D. ...* (Barcelona: Diputació Provincial de Barcelona, 1971; repr. Barcelona: Pere Malo, 1573), IX-XL; Eulàlia Duran, "La historiografia catalana en el pas del Renaixement al barroc: el poema èpic sobre Lepant de Joan Pujol (1573)," in *La cultura catalana tra l'umanesimo e il barocco*. Atti del V Convegno dell'Associazione Italiana di Studi Catalani (Venezia, 24-27 marzo 1992), ed. Carlos Romero and Rossend Arqués (Padova: Programma, 1994), 271-80; and Eulàlia Miralles, "Muses i Fama: notes per a la lectura del *Lepant* de Joan Pujol," in *Formes modernes de l'èpica (del segle XVI al segle XX)*, ed. Eulàlia Miralles and Jordi Malé (Santa Coloma de Queralt: Obrador Edendum, 2008), 11-38.

for Vileta, the defence of Lull was also the defence “del nom català” [“of the Catalan name”], of Catalan identity itself.⁷

Vileta’s neo-Latin poetry is printed twice in this period, in the preliminaries of two books: one published by Jeroni Costiol and another by Joan Pujol himself—and also copied in the Paris manuscript. Which books are they? Texts related to the Battle of Lepanto: historical narrative poetry, epic poetry and a prose historical chronicle. With the Council of Trent barely concluded, Lepanto was, without doubt, the fundamental myth of the Catholic Reformation. To sing and recount the victory of troops in the service of the Catholic God against the feared and hitherto invincible Turk was an act of service to Counter-Reformation propaganda. And this is the context in which the works cited here belong.

The acclaimed victory of the Holy League over the Ottoman fleet in the Gulf of Lepanto on 7 October 1571 was interpreted by the allies not only as a military victory, but also as a demonstration of Catholic pre-eminence. The narration of the battle and the Christian victory were thereby converted into a prime element of propaganda: Europe learned that the Ottoman armada was vulnerable and that the Christian faith had triumphed. In the Iberian Peninsula, it also served to exalt the figure of Philip II and the House of Austria, and to highlight the strength of the Hispanic Monarchy as a world power. The King had been one of the figures behind the alliance, and his illegitimate brother, John of Austria, was the commander of the Holy League fleet which had brought victory to the Christians.⁸

Such was its significance that Lepanto became the motive for an important number of outstanding cultural productions throughout Catholic Europe. Writers penned narratives of the victory, artists captured it in paintings, ceramics and woodcuts, musicians dedicated compositions and civic and religious festivals were held in celebration of it. In the Iberian Peninsula, literature in Latin and the vernacular took an interest in this historic episode which highlighted the House of Austria as the standard-bearer of the defence of Catholicism: the Habsburgs, Philip II and John of Austria, assuming the inheritance of the late Charles V, played a central, active and decisive role in the conquest of the infidel.

⁷ On Vileta, see José M.^a Madurell y Marimón, “Luis Juan Vileta,” *Analecta Sacra Tarraconensia* 37 (1964): 19-76.

⁸ See Frank Pierce, *La poesía épica del Siglo de Oro*, 2nd ed. (Madrid: Gredos, 1968), and Lara Vilà, *Épica e imperio. Imitación virgiliana y propaganda política en la épica española del siglo XVI* (Bellaterra: Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, 2003) < <http://www.tdx.cat/TDX-1021103-175052> >.

Let us return to Vileta and his compositions in Latin on the victory of the Holy League, printed in the works of Costiol and Pujol. Costiol, about whom we have scarcely any information, published in Barcelona in 1572 the *Primera parte de la Chronica del muy alto y poderoso príncipe Don Juan de Austria*, in prose, followed by the *Canto al modo de Orlando, de la memorable guerra entre el gran Turco Selimo y la Señoría de Venecia, con la felicíssima victoria del sereníssimo señor Don Juan de Austria* in octaves, which is mainly a translation from the Italian.

Besides his relationship with Costiol and Pujol, Vileta also appears linked to another poet who likewise praised the victory at Lepanto also in Castilian octaves: the Sardinian military officer Antonio de Lo Frasso, author of the pastoral novel *Los diez libros de Fortuna de Amor* (Barcelona, 1573), a work praised ironically by Cervantes the preliminaries of which feature a sonnet by the author in praise of Vileta. Now, two years before, Lo Frasso had published a long historical narrative poem on Lepanto, *El verdadero discurso de la gloriosa vitoria que Nuestro Señor Dios a dado al sereníssimo Señor Don Joan de Austria contra la armada del Turco en las mares de Lepanto* (Barcelona, 1571).

The series of major poetic texts printed in Catalonia relating to the maritime victory of the Holy League is as follows: 1571, Lo Frasso; 1572, Costiol; finally, in 1573 and in Catalan, Pujol. The most noticeable fact is that all of these, as we have seen, are linked to the figure of Vileta, who would appear to be the intellectual mentor of the group. However, the divergences between the texts of Lo Frasso, Costiol and Pujol are also very clear, to the extent that the few coincidences that can be found between the three are strictly the result of their use of the same historical sources, that is to say, the chronicles and chapbooks which were previously in circulation. So, despite belonging to the same intellectual group, with Vileta at the centre, we can conclude that the preceding texts did not constitute a model or a source for the Pujol poem. This was probably because they belonged to different literary genres.

Be this as it may, the historical importance of Pujol's epic poem in the Hispanic literary world, as yet unrecognized, must be stressed.⁹ It is, without doubt, an epic poem: such was the intention of the author, confirmed by the models he used. It is, moreover, the first epic poem dealing with Lepanto in a vernacular language published in the Iberian Peninsula. The text regarded as the first to be printed in the Peninsula about Lepanto is in Latin: *Ad Catholicum ... Philippum Dei gratia*

⁹ For poetry on Lepanto, we must still turn to the classic work of José López de Toro, *Los poetas de Lepanto* (Madrid: Instituto Histórico de la Marina, 1950).

Hispaniarum regem De foelicissima ... Austrias carmen ..., by Juan Latino, published in Granada in 1573, the same year that Pujol's book appeared.¹⁰ The other epics printed in the vernacular by Hispanic authors on Lepantine themes come much later. In fact, the third Hispanic epic dedicated entirely to Lepanto, the *Felicíssima victoria concedida del cielo al señor don Juan d'Austria, en el golfo de Lepanto de la poderosa armada Othomana*, by the Portuguese Jerónimo de Corte Real, composed in blank verse in fifteen cantos, did not appear in print in Lisbon until 1578. Other Hispanic poets recounted episodes from the battle in epic form, but these were mainly fragments inserted into texts dealing with unrelated or more general topics. Such was the case with Alonso de Ercilla who dedicated canto XXIV of the second part of *La Araucana*, published in 1578, to Lepanto.¹¹ Similarly, in *La Austriada* (Madrid, 1584) Juan Rufo described the battle in cantos XXII-XXIV, as did the Valencian soldier Cristóbal de Virués, who deals with it in canto IV of *El Monserrate* (Madrid, 1588).¹² Of a different cut is the lyric *Canción en alabança de la divina magestad, por la vitoria del señor don Juan*, by Fernando de Herrera, which begins "Cantemos al Señor, que en la llanura" (1571?), of only 212 lines, a passionate panegyric of the victory and an execration of the Turk in the form of an ode to God, without entering into any historical details.

As regards Vileta, he celebrated the Battle of Lepanto and the consequent victory of the Holy League with an enthusiastic *De mira et singulari uictoria quam nupter diuino fauore ab ingenti turcarum classe reportauit dominus Ioannes ab Austria, classis christianae inuictissimus imperator*, a set of three brief poems in Latin distichs. The general heading of these three poems, *De mira et singulari uictoria ...*, serves also as the title of the first and longest (22 verses); the others are two *oktastikha*, the first entitled *Ad fortunatam Barcinonem, unde dominus Ioannes ab Austria felice omine soluit, factis pie uotis diuae Eulaliae octasticon extemporaneum* and the second, *Ad Philipum regem catholicum extemporaneum octastichon inuitans ad fructum uictoriae*.

The theologian Vileta is neither the first nor last poet in the Peninsula to celebrate the famous victory in Latin: this would also be done by Juan

¹⁰ The royal printing licence for Latino's text is October 1572 and for Pujol's 13 May 1573. The licence for Latino's text states that the book has not been written yet and that once completed, it must be reviewed before printing; for Pujol's text, the licence was granted once the text had been reviewed.

¹¹ On another occasion, it will be useful to explore the coincidences detected between the texts of Pujol and Ercilla.

¹² On the epic in Castilian, see most recently Lara Vilà, *Épica e imperio*; see also Pierce, *La poesía épica*.

Latino in his epic, the Aragonese Antonio Agustín in an epyllium, Fernando Ruiz de Villegas of Burgos in hexameters, or the Valencian Jaume Joan Falcó, to mention only the most eminent names. Therefore, Vileta is only one more writer who turns this episode into literature using Latin. Now, his compositions in Latin were a source of inspiration for Pujol, who would gloss them in Catalan shortly afterwards; Pujol, moreover, would write in the same language about the same theme, his epic poem *La singular y admirable ...*, also known as the *Lepant*.

The relationship between Vileta and Pujol might be defined as that of the intellectual master whose cultural concerns are furthered by the disciple by literary means, rooted in the double axis of Counter Reformation and Catalan cultural retrenchment: the reinterpretation of March, propaganda for the master's pro-Lullian and pro-Tridentine activity, and the literary apotheosis of Lepanto as the ultimate symbol of the Tridentine Catholicism of the time and Catalan participation in it. Although Vileta was only one year older than Pujol, it would appear that the latter considered him a model: this is clearly demonstrated in the highly-valued *Visió en somni* and in specific parallels in his work as a whole. Two poets will be glossed by Pujol: March and Vileta himself. This parallel is not of course fortuitous. At other points in his oeuvre, Pujol will also praise his master, as in the first octave of his gloss on Vileta's Latin Lepanto poem:

Les Muses fan per si bell aposent
 y gran ciutat d'una gentil vileta,
 perquè molt temps cercant posada feta
 may han trobat alberch a son content;
 demostren-ho ab subtil argument
 lo bell concert dels versos qui-s seguexen,
 qui tal renom assí vivint li dexen
 que après de mort veuran sempre crexent.¹³ (*Introducció*, lines 1-8)

The Muses change a charming “vileta” (a village or small town) into a great city: the play on Vileta's name is obvious. The pen of Vileta, a great poet, has been blessed by the daughters of Jupiter.

¹³ Working translation: “The Muses make a fine room / And great city from a genteel village / For a long time searching firm repose / Never have they found lodgings to their pleasing; / They demonstrate it with subtle arguments / Beautiful agreement of the verses that follow / Who with such fame in life thus leave him / That after death shall be seen to grow eternal”.

Several of Pujol's texts form what we have call the "Lepantine cycle" in his poetic work: preceded by some preliminaries—dedicated to the nobleman Jeroni de Pinós—the main body is composed of the *Lepant* and the Latin poems of Vileta with Pujol's glosses; the cycle is closed by some poems lauding the author and Pujol's responses. The main body is, at the same time, fragmented into two parts, as can be seen. The first of these (the *Lepant*) precedes the second (poems by Vileta and glosses by Pujol) in the arrangement of the witnesses. The fact that it precedes it does not mean that it was written first: Vileta's poem was written before April 1572 (the date of the printing licence of Costiol's work), the gloss by Pujol must have been composed at the same time or not much later, and the *Lepant* was possibly written before May 1572.¹⁴ We have, then, a series of compositions written in a very short period, between the time that news of the victory reached the Peninsula and the first months of 1572.

Pujol's glossed translation appears headed by an *Introducció de l'auctor dels següents versos latins*, in two octaves. There follows the gloss of Vileta's three poems: the first under the rubric *Traducció de l'autor dels sobredits latins versos*, and the following two *A la fortunada Barcelona* and *Al rey Philip*—with some differences depending on the witnesses. Each of Pujol's octaves corresponds to a distich of Vileta's: thus the first gloss consists of eleven octaves, and the next two of four each.

Pujol's epic is a relatively brief text if we compare it to other works of the same genre; 1600 lines in three cantos. The first two cantos narrate the historical background of the battle, the Turkish conquest of Cyprus and the establishment of the Holy League, and the third tells of the encounter between the fleets in the Gulf of Lepanto and the victory of the Catholic armada.

The *Lepant* is important in the context of literature in the Peninsula in the sixteenth century although, perhaps because it was written in Catalan, it has gained little attention from specialists, a situation which strikes us as incomprehensible: it is one of the first epic poems about Lepanto to be written after the battle and the first in the vernacular. Thus it is of importance that Pujol had no epic predecessors for his theme, and certainly not in Catalan. Pujol's poem must be included in the context of Renaissance Hispanic epic and displays some clear characteristics which must be related to the twin aims—Counter Reformation and cultural retrenchment—of literary production which we have indicated; Catalan national assertiveness is to the fore in the second half of the sixteenth

¹⁴ Miralles, "Muses i Fama," 13.

century and we find it in the *Lepant*: first, in the importance given to the city of Barcelona, the port of departure for the fleet; second, in the lengthy naming of Catalan lineages (the Requesens and Cardona families are treated as the paradigm of the heroes of Lepanto); finally, and perhaps most significantly, in the lack of reference to the earlier feats of arms of the House of Austria (poets from the Peninsula usually took as precedents the campaigns of Charles V against the Turks, or the celebrated revolt of the Alpujarras which John of Austria helped to quell). Pujol recreates a Hispanic framework but makes visible the Catalan participation in the great deeds of the monarchy, which are normally attributed to figures from the Kingdom of Castile.

Let us now look at how Vileta's Latin poetry on Lepanto, translated and glossed by Pujol, is reflected in the latter's epic. The themes dealt with by Vileta are announced in the rubrics of his Latin poems and Pujol's glosses: the victory at Lepanto, the city of Barcelona, and lastly, Philip II. The incorporation of these themes in the *Lepant* is predictable: the victory at Lepanto is the occasion of the poem; the House of Austria is the right arm of the Catholic Church, and by extension, of God, in the battle; the city of Barcelona, its patron saint, St Eulalia, and natives of the city (here, by extension, the combatants of Catalan lineage), play an active, decisive part in the naval warfare. Vileta's exhortation to continue fighting against the infidels is also present in the *Lepant* of Pujol.

The subjects and their treatment in Vileta's compositions, their spiritual themes, their plastic and acoustic images of battle are also found in Pujol's glosses and the *Lepant*. An episode from the celebrated battle serves as an example: in Vileta, Jupiter and Neptune hold a dialogue where they agree that control of the world, until then in their hands, is in danger. There occurs an inversion of established roles because "occupat oceanum glomerata potentia papae / et mare Ioannes temperat austriacus" ["John of Austria occupies the ocean with the allied strength of the Pope and [with this strength] tempers the sea"] (*De mira et singulari uictoria*, lines 9-10). The verbs used by Vileta to recreate the moment (*tremefacio*, *clamo*, *increpo*, *intono*), and the substantive (*fulmen*), serve to reinforce the idea of an inversion of established values: the desire of "Jupiter Altitonans" to have his voice heard, to communicate with his gods, has been broken by a superior presence, that of God, who accompanies the combatants. The same dialogue appears in Pujol's gloss, though more developed: here, he presents a fearful Jupiter ("ab gran terror", *Traductió*, 1); and Neptune fleeing the deafening battle, trembling and voiceless: "qui fugitui d'aquelles parts venia / tot tremolant, que parlar no podia" (26-27). Since then, the power of Jupiter shall never again be absolute:

Aquell poder qui puja-ls crestians
 a l'etern goig de la divin-altura
 del Sanct Pastor, qui ab divina cura
 pot concedir als seus tresors molt grans,
 tot en un munt plegat y ajustat,
 té lo gran mar constret ab sa puxança,
 y el Austrià la tempr-ab tal bonança
 que va pertot segur y molt guiat.¹⁵ (*Traductió*, 33-40)

Absolute power is in the hands of almighty God, and his representative on Earth, the Pope, shall be charged with guiding the combatants of Lepanto. John of Austria (“el Austrià”), captain general of the Mediterranean and fleet commander for the Holy League against the Turkish armada, is to be the right arm of Catholicism.

In the third canto of the *Lepant*, John of Austria urges his combatants to fight to the death, raising the Cross in his hand as a standard (908, 953, 1261, 1570). It seems as though the end of the world is approaching (“Semblà que fos vingut lo darrer jorn, / que tornaran tots los mortals reviuire” [“It seemed as if the final day had arrived / when all mortals shall live again”]; 1061-62), since the combat witnessed cannot be compared to any other (“Perquè fonch tal y de tanta furor, / qu-en nigung lloch s’és vista may tal cosa” [“For such fire and fury / nowhere have been seen before”]; 1073-74), and at this time, the description of the battlefield (especially lines 1053-84) refers to the thunderous uproar that Vileta describes in the words of Jupiter and Neptune, when these two see that their empire is threatened:

Si may haveu oyit un boniment
 d’espessos trons, quant ab rellamps desparen,
 la hu seguint a l’altre, que may paren,
 sens reposar ni sols un xich moment,
 tal fonch lo jorn d’aquell cruel combat,
 l’encontre dur y fúria molt terrible,
 ab un remor tan gran y tan horrible
 que no-s pot fer fingir major esclat.¹⁶ (*Lepant*, 1077-84)

¹⁵ “That power which lifts the Christians / To the eternal joy of divine heights / Of the holy shepherd who with divine care / May concede his great treasures / All in a mound folded and trimmed / It holds the great sea constrained with its rise / And Austria tempers it with such goodness / That he goes forth sure and well guided”.

¹⁶ “If ever was heard a break / Of heavy thunder with lightning bursts / One after the other, neverending, / Without pause not even for a moment / Such fire that day

Lightning bolts and thunderclaps govern the world, although this time it is not Jupiter who throws them, but the Christian heroes.

This Christianization of the pagan themes is present throughout the *Lepant*. Pujol opens his epic by asking the Muses for their help and conversing with Fame, a Fame who writes in her book the names of the Christian warriors as the battle progresses, a battle in which God intervenes in a decisive manner: the list is populated solely by men of the Holy League. In the gloss of the poem dedicated to the city of Barcelona, it is also God who is responsible for establishing the list of names of the heroes of Lepanto.

It is Vileta who describes with precision, in the episode of the dialogue of the gods, the inversion of the established order: his God, the strength that God gives to men, dethrones the pagan gods. The world order has shifted, old governors lose strength, thunder and lightning, elements that characterize Jupiter, now frighten him and his brother, Neptune. The idea that the Christian victory is more divine than human in this episode appears in other contemporary sources and so is not strange, although without being aware of the inversion effected by Vileta, it would be more difficult to understand Pujol's war images in his *Lepant*.

There are other elements that invite discussion of the echoes of Vileta found in Pujol: the treatment of the figure of Charles V is one of these. Vileta's two references to the Emperor must be seen in relation to his sons: firstly, John of Austria is referred to as "hanc Caroli sobolem" ["this offspring of Charles"] (*De mira et singulari uictoria* 12), or, as Pujol puts it, of "un fill senyalat / de Carles quint" ["an appointed son / of Charles the Fifth"] (*Traductió* 41-42); the second is found in the *oktastikhon* dedicated to Philip II. Here we see a star which, from the world of the dead, guides King Philip, who will follow the same destiny as the star which shines and guides him now. The star is Charles V, and Philip II follows in his father's footsteps:

stella micat, propera occiduo te ducet ab orbe.
Te manet hocce decus, diue Philippe, tuum;
perpetuo uiues felix caeloque coruscum
fulgebit sidus, diue Philippe, tuum.¹⁷ (*Ad Philippum*, 5-8)

from that cruel combat / That hard encounter and most terrible fury, / With a noise so great and horrible / A greater din could not be imagined".

¹⁷ "The star shines [which] will rapidly lead you from the western world. This honour, which is yours, divine Philip, will remain with you. You will always live happily and in heaven, divine Philip, the bright star which is yours will shine".

Pujol's gloss reinforces the idea that the star refers to the father, Charles V:

L'estela veig que gran claredat llança
 qui us guiarà del ponent molt segura:
 seguiu, cuytau, seguiu vostra ventura,
 no y ha perquè dupteu de sa mudança;
 a vós ha pres lo Rey de l'etern sostre
 per acabar un fet de tal valia
 y tal honor a vós sol se devia
 y al gran poder, divino Philip, vostre.

Sempre viureu ab benaventurança
 ab los elets en la divin-altura,
 hon convertit en clarejant figura,
 fruit a Déu, pendreu nova semblança.
 Creheu de ferm sens dupte lo que us mostre,
 qu-entre los sancts oyint sanct-armonia,
 claror més gran que'l sol enmitg del dia
 darà l'estel, divino Philip, vostre.¹⁸ (*Al rey Philip*, 17-32)

In this way, the poet tells us that Philip is chosen by God to continue the work of the father on Earth (21-22); by doing do, he will be converted "en novella figura" ["a new figure"] according to one witness to his gloss or "en clarejant figura" ["the figure of a new dawn"] according to the other (27). Pujol underlines this idea in the following verse: "pendreu nova semblança" ["you assume a new appearance"] (28).

The motif of the conversion into a star after death, or *catasterism*, comes from ancient literature where it is frequently applied to kings, emperors and pagan gods; here it is emphasized that these new stars are placed "en las alturas" ["on high"], close to God. In the *Lepant*, the presence of a Charles figure who watches over and guides his offspring from Heaven is recurrent and significant: the poet informs us that John of Austria is the "fill valerós" ["valiant son"] or "l'animós fill" ["spirited

¹⁸ "The star I see throws great clarity / That guides you on a sure, west wind / Follow, take care, follow its destiny. / There is no reason to doubt its movement / The King has taken to the eternal roof / To end a deed of such bravery / And honour it directs itself to you alone / And to great power divine Phillip, yours. // You shall live on with blessings / With the elect in the divine heights / Where, become a bright figure, enjoying God, you will assume a new appearance / Believe firmly without doubt what I show you / Who among the saints hearing sacred harmony, / A greater light than the sun at midday / Shall give, divine Phillip, yours".

son”] (509-10, 974, 1278) of the Emperor Charles and that it is Philip who passes on to his brother the power and honour which are due to him: “Jo vull que vós aneu en lo meu lloc / [...]; per vós serà de Carlos renovat / lo bell renom y les grans valenties, / qui gloriós entre les hierarchies, / alt en lo cel, viu benaventurat” [“I want you to go in my place / [...]; by you shall be Charles’s beautiful renown and great bravery be renewed / who, glorious among hierarchies, / high in heaven, lives in good fortune”] (525, 529-532). And it is Charles who will close the *Lepant* from the “divina altura”, reinforcing his decisive role in the composition.

There are other elements to be found in Vileta and Pujol which stem from their shared vision of the world, as we mentioned at the beginning of this paper: the assumption of certain cultural and religious aims of the Counter Reformation and the assertion of Catalan national culture and politics. They are elements which can be tied to what has been suggested here: the idea of the renewal of time through the figure of Charles’s sons, the weight of Catalonia in the composite monarchy of the House of Austria, etc.

The poems of Vileta with Pujol’s glosses, and the *Lepant*, feed back into each other. Differences aside (of metre, language and especially length), they are works which present remarkable coincidences and complement one another. Not only do they deal with a common theme, like so many others dedicated to the historic episode and its diffusion as propaganda, either in Latin or the vernacular, in prose or in verse, but they do so on the basis of shared references. Pujol reads and interprets Vileta very well in his gloss (though at first he tells us, in an inescapable *captatio benevolentiae*, that his verses are for him “no ben conversos / o traduïts en lengua vulgarment” [“not well converted / or translated into vernacular language”]; *Introducció*, 7-8),¹⁹ whilst in works on more than one occasion he exhibits his admiration for the Lullist Vileta and subjects his thoughts and actions to Vileta the theologian (*Visió en somni*).

It is clear that Vileta influences Pujol, that the former permeates the work of the latter directly (in person) and indirectly (through his ideas), and it is fair to assume that they shared moments of debate on how the subject of Lepanto should be addressed. It is also clear that the dates of composition of the poems are very close and that the influence could have come from personal contact between the two authors.

¹⁹ This is from the reading of the printed book; for the later reading of the manuscript, see the octave quoted above (p. 166).