

Of the patience, fortitude and conjugal love of Griselda, whose story I translated from Latin into our vernacular, I shall not speak, for it is so well known that old women recite it to pass the time at night, while spinning by the fire in winter.⁶⁷

Here Metge is invoking his own reputation and playing with his knowledge of the *Familiars*, well aware that Petrarch himself, in *Seniles*, XVII.3–4, had turned one of Boccaccio's *favole* into a truthful story, a modern example to be added to the classical *exempla*. He may or may not have been fully aware of this whilst writing his *Griselda* in 1388 and looking for a gloss in the vernacular. In any case, with his intelligence, Metge was paving the way for his own literary evolution.

67. As noticed by Cingolani in *Lo somni*, p. 241, the last sentence is rooted in *Familiars*, XVI.13.1. See Petrarca, *Le Familiari*, ed. V. Rossi, Florence, 1937, III, p. 209: 'Unam tibi e fabellis referam vulgo notis et quibus anus ante focum hibernas noctes fallere solite' ('Let me tell you a story, popular with the multitude, which old ladies use to while away wintry nights before the hearth', *Letters on Familiar Matters. Rerum familiarum libri IX–XVI*, transl. A. S. Bernardo, Baltimore, 1982, p. 323).

Petrarch's *Africa* in the Aragonese Court: *Annibal e Escipió* by Antoni Canals

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The very first translation of Petrarch's *Africa* into the vernacular was the Catalan version of two fragments of Book VII (vv. 93–449 and 740–1130) by the Dominican friar Antoni Canals, made between 1399 and 1410.¹ This partial version deals with the report of the Battle of Zama at the end of the Second Punic War, and the preceding speeches of the heroes Hannibal and Scipio Africanus (Hannibal's request for peace and Scipio's refusal). Canals entitled his version *Lo parlament e la batalla que hagueren Anibal e Escipió* ('The speeches and the battle between Hannibal and Scipio'). He adapted this episode of the *Africa* into prose for Alphonse of Aragon, Duke of Gandia – a cousin of King Martin I's father – , and, at the end of his version, he added a further passage from the *De viris illustribus* (XVII.49–55) also by Petrarch.² No other vernacular translation of the *Africa* was made until the sixteenth century.³

Given that the *Africa* was never published in Petrarch's lifetime and that it remained relatively unknown until it was edited by Pier Paolo Vergerio in 1395–6, it may seem surprising that Canals had been able to obtain a copy of the work at this early date. Indeed, before Petrarch's death in 1374, only a few brief fragments of the *Africa* had been disseminated: the opening verses and the lament of Mago before his death (VI, vv. 885–918), which Barbato da Sulmona received from Petrarch and disclosed without his permission.⁴ Petrarch's fame and the high expectations that such an ambitious work had aroused meant that copies of the *Africa* were insistently requested,⁵ but following his

1. F. Rico, 'Antoni Canals y Petrarca. Para la fecha y las fuentes de *Scipio e Anibal*', in *Miscel·lània Sanchis Guarner*, 2a ed., 3 vols, ed. A. Ferrando, Barcelona, 1991, III, pp. 53–63.

2. Ibid., p. 60. An edition of the Catalan version is found in A. Canals, *Scipió e Anibal. De Providència. De arra de ànima*, ed. M. de Riquer, Barcelona, 1935, pp. 31–84. Four manuscripts are extant: MSS Barcelona, BUB, 17 and 102; and MSS Barcelona, BdC, 352 and 991 (only one folio). There are also photographs of a lost manuscript (MS Barcelona, Reial Acadèmia de Bones Lletres, 3-I–7).

3. The next translation after Canals's was an Italian verse translation of the first three books by Fabio Marretti, printed in 1570 (Venice, Domenico Farri) together with the Latin original (N. Festa, *Saggio sull' 'Africa' del Petrarca*, Palermo and Rome, 1926, pp. 113–17).

4. Petrarch also showed another passage from the *Africa* (III, vv. 138–264) to Pierre Bersuire, who used it in his *Reductorium morale* (Book XV, the so-called *Ovidius moralizatus*). See E. H. Wilkins, 'Description of Pagan Divinities from Petrarch to Chaucer', in *Studies on Petrarch and Boccaccio*, ed. A. S. Bernardo, Padova, 1978, pp. 71–88 (73–5). For the genesis and the dissemination of the *Africa*, see Festa, *Saggio sull' 'Africa'* (n. 3 above), pp. 2–52, and Pétrarque, *L' Afrique. Affrica I–V*, ed. P. Laurens, Paris, 2006, pp. xiii–xlvi. For Vergerio's edition, see V. Fera, *Antichi editori e lettori dell' 'Africa'*, Messina, 1984, pp. 83–104.

5. Petrarch had been crowned as poet laureate in Rome in 1341 for his *Africa*, when the poem was still in progress (A. Carlini, *Studio su 'L' Africa' di Francesco Petrarca*, Florence, 1902, pp. 50–53; and E. H. Wilkins, *Life of Petrarch*, Chicago, 1961, p. 26).

death, the executors of his literary estate in Padova delayed the distribution of copies of the *Africa* because of the state in which Petrarch had left the work: it was unfinished and annotated in preparation for a further revision. However, Canals's Catalan version was not so out of the blue. Firstly, most of the surviving manuscripts of the *Africa* date from between the end of the fourteenth century and the very beginning of the fifteenth century; after that period, interest in the *Africa* waned.⁶ Secondly, before Vergerio's edition came out in 1395–6, some copies of the *Africa* had already circulated outside Padova.⁷ This leads us to believe that Canals might have obtained a copy of either the recent Vergerio edition or an earlier stage of the text. Thirdly, in the Crown of Aragon, Bernat Metge was already aware of the *Africa* shortly before Canals penned his *Lo parlament e la batalla d'Anibal e Escipió* (hereafter *Annibal e Escipió*). He mentioned it in his dream vision *Lo somni* ('The Dream', 1399).⁸ There has been some debate as to whether Metge had actually read any of the *Africa* or not. At least one passage of *Lo somni* (III), for which the *Africa* is the source, confirms that he did have first-hand knowledge of it.⁹

Canals's vernacular version of an episode of the *Africa* was clearly intended for a courtly audience, as were all his translations. It is essential, therefore, (1) to describe Canals's role in the court and (2) to analyse how it determined his use of Petrarch's *Africa* before (3) assessing his effort within the broader context of the reception of classical eloquence.

1. Antoni Canals

Canals was a prominent translator during the reigns of King John I (1387–96) and his brother King Martin I (1396–1410). At that time, a large number of works were translated into Catalan in courtly circles, and translations were often requested by the kings or other members of the high nobility.¹⁰ New books were available and soon translated into Catalan, especially classical works rediscovered by humanism (like Livy's *History of Rome*),¹¹ and new avenues were opening up that allowed access to such works.

6. V. Fera, 'Lettori e postillatori dell'*Africa* fra Tre e Quattrocento', *Studi Petrarceschi*, 4, 1987, pp. 33–45 (33). A considerable number of manuscripts contain only fragments of the work, in particular the lament of Mago, which was the most disseminated passage.

7. G. Billanovich, *Gli inizi della fortuna di Francesco Petrarca*, Roma, 1947, p. 52; and Festa, *Saggio sull'*Africa**' (n. 3 above), pp. 35–40.

8. *Lo somni*, p. 151. For this passage, see J. Turró, 'Bernat Metge i Avinyó', in *Literatura i cultura a la Corona d'Aragó, segles XIII–XV*, eds L. Badia et al., Barcelona, 2002, pp. 99–111 (110–11), and E. Fenzi's contribution to the present volume.

9. *Obras*, p. 281, n. 22. Cingolani disagrees with Riquer, because he identifies Valerius Maximus as a source of the same passage: see his introduction to *Lo somni*, p. 32, n. 46, and S. M. Cingolani, 'Lo somni de Bernat Metge: prolegòmens per a una nova edició', *Llengua & Literatura*, 19, 1999, pp. 245–78 (270–71). However, the fact that Valerius is also a source of that passage does not invalidate Riquer's observation.

10. See, for example, L. Badia, 'Traduccions al català dels segles XIV–XV i innovació cultural i literària', *Estudi General*, 11, 1991, pp. 31–50 (41), and n. 13 below.

11. J. Rubió i Balaguer, *Literatura catalana*, in *Historia general de las literaturas hispánicas*, ed. G. Díaz-Plaja, Barcelona, [1949–58], I, p. 734.

Since the marriage in 1380 between prince John (later John I) and Yolande of Bar – niece of Charles V of France –, the French royal court and the ducal courts of Berry and Bar were an important source of books and a model of culture in the vernacular for John and Yolande's court.¹² John I did not have a project to provide the members of his court with a set of vernacular versions of works on different subjects as Charles V had, and which his brothers, the Dukes of Berry and Burgundy, imitated. But in his court, and subsequently in the court of Martin I, there were chancery professionals and friars who translated or were commissioned to translate works from Latin, French or other languages, including among others Joan de Montsó (who translated Bernard's *Sermons on the Song of Songs*), Antoni Ginebreda (who finished a version of Vincent of Beauvais's *Speculum historiale* and translated Boethius's *Consolation of Philosophy*), Guillem Nicolau (who translated Ovid's *Heroides*) and a further cohort of anonymous translators who penned versions of works by Livy, Augustine, Flavius Josephus and others.¹³ Of all these, Canals was the most prolific.

Canals (c. 1352–1419) followed the common career of a well-educated friar. He pursued his studies of the arts and theology in several convents of his Order in the Crown of Aragon, and taught at the Dominican *studium* first in Barcelona (1377) and then in Lleida (1387).¹⁴ Thanks to the patronage of Cardinal James of Aragon – bishop of Valencia and a cousin of John I's father –, he was employed as a teacher of theology in Valencia Cathedral (1395–8) and became Master of Theology in or shortly before 1398. Also in 1398, Canals was required by Martin I to teach theology to the noblemen in the royal court; he left his post at Valencia Cathedral to take up the new position at court, where he was also King Martin's personal chaplain (1398–9).¹⁵ After these years of active service in the royal household, he occupied various important positions in the Church and in the Dominican Order, without losing contact with the royal court; Martin I, for instance, interceded with ecclesiastical authorities on his behalf on various occasions.

Canals's relationship with the nobility and his position as a theologian and spiritual counsellor at the court are of paramount importance when considering his translation

12. L. Cabré and M. Ferrer, 'Els llibres de França i la cort de Joan d'Aragó i Violant de Bar', in *El saber i les llengües vernacles a l'època de Lluïl i Eiximenis. Estudis ICREA sobre vernacularització*, eds A. Alberni et al., Barcelona, 2012, pp. 217–30.

13. For all references to Catalan translations, see the *Cens de traduccions al català medieval fins a 1500*, eds L. Cabré and M. Ferrer, an online catalogue available at <<http://translatdb.narpan.net>>.

14. For biographical information on Canals, see J. M. Coll, 'El maestro Fr. Antonio de Canals, discípulo y sucesor de San Vicente Ferrer', *Analecta Sacra Tarraconensis*, 27, 1954, pp. 9–21, and M. de Riquer, *Història de la literatura catalana*, 3 vols, Barcelona, 1964, II, pp. 433–60. Both Coll and Riquer believed that Canals also studied in Paris.

15. In 1399, the councillors of Valencia complained that Canals spoke ill of them at court. See A. Ivars, 'El escritor Fray Francisco Eiximenés en Valencia', *Archivo Ibero-Americano*, 40, 1920, pp. 76–104 (95–6). They would not have made that complaint if Canals had been a person of no influence. In 1400, once disagreements had been forgotten, the councillors sang the praises of Canals's wisdom, eloquence and instruction ('propter eius notabilem scienciam, eloquenciam et doctrinam', *ibid.*, pp. 96–7) and wanted him to return to Valencia.

output. He is documented as a court translator from 1391 in the service of John I,¹⁶ but most of his extant translations were carried out during the reign of Martin I. All of them were made for members of the royal family or other noblemen in the royal service. Every now and again, they told Canals which works they wanted him to translate. All his translations advocate a more devotional and virtuous life for his aristocratic readership, and so could in this sense be seen as another form of preaching. Therefore Canals, who was well acquainted with the nobility's literary tastes, translated works that might appeal to them, while ensuring that they contained the moral message that he wanted to convey. This is why he translated not just an episode of Petrarch's *Africa*, as we shall see, but also two classical works: Valerius Maximus's *Memorable Deeds and Sayings* (1395) and Seneca's *De providentia* (1396–1406).¹⁷ The first, because it was a history book illustrated with examples of the virtuous behaviour of classical characters from pre-Christian times; and the second, because it contained an explanation of divine providence by a secular author. Canals translated Valerius's work for Cardinal James of Aragon, to whom he owed his first important position, in the cathedral of Valencia.¹⁸ The version of Seneca's *De providentia* was made for Ramon Boil, governor of Valencia.¹⁹ The prologue portrays contemporary courtly society and makes explicit mention of Canals's work as a teacher at court. Noblemen, like Boil and King Martin himself, were interested in reading works on theology and other subjects, and they often asked Canals tricky questions. These men were clever and were getting used to reading books – because many vernacular versions were available – , but they were also trying to apply reason to a range of theological issues. Canals translated Seneca's *De providentia* in answer to the uneasy question of divine providence. Another facet of this portrait of courtly society can be found in the prologue to the version of *De modo bene vivendi ad sororem* attributed to St Bernard (1396–1410).²⁰ Men and women at court were avid readers, and this was considered a good thing, but they preferred books on chivalry and love rather than on religious subjects.

16. A. Rubió i Lluch, *Documents per l'història de la cultura catalana mig-èval*, 2 vols, Barcelona, 1908–21, I, p. 371. In 1391, John I, who was very fond of Canals, sent a letter to the prior of the Dominican convent in Valencia asking him to provide Canals with an appropriate room in which he could work on the translations that he had commissioned him to do. Unfortunately, John I did not say which works Canals had to translate on that occasion. For Canals's translations, see Riquer, *Història de la literatura catalana* (n. 14 above), pp. 437–60; and Rubió i Balaguer, *Literatura catalana* (n. 11 above), III, pp. 751–5 and 763–6.

17. For the use of secular authors by Dominican and Franciscan friars in the Crown of Aragon, see X. Renedo, 'Eiximenis, sant Agustí i sant Jeroni. L'estudi de la Bíblia i de les arts seculars segons Eiximenis', in *Eiximenis i la seua obra*, ed. R. Ferrer, Valencia, 2010, pp. 298–311.

18. Canals, *Llibre anomenat Valeri Màxim dels dits y fets memorables*, ed. R. Miquel i Planas, 2 vols, Barcelona, 1914. Note that, while French translations usually preceded the Catalan ones, Canals's version of Valerius was made before Simon de Hesdin completed his French one commissioned by Charles V. In 1400–1401, Nicolas de Gonesse completed Hesdin's at the request of John, Duke of Berry (J. Monfrin, 'Les Traducteurs et leur public en France au Moyen Âge', *Journal des savants*, 1964, pp. 5–20 [15–16]).

19. See the edition in Canals, *Scipió e Aníbal* (n. 2 above), pp. 85–120 (85).

20. *Carta de san Bernardo á su hermana, traducida por fray Antonio Canals maestro de sagrada teología, in Documentos literarios en antigua lengua catalana (siglos XIV y XV)*, ed. P. de Bofarull, Barcelona, 1857, pp. 415–652.

Canals offered this version of *De modo bene vivendi*, which was addressed to Galceran de Santmenat, Martin I's chamberlain and counsellor, as an example of the right reading choice, while encouraging his readership to become fond of books by means of an eulogy taken from chapters 1 and 2 of Richard de Bury's *Philobiblon*.²¹

Canals also translated devotional works: the *Escala de contemplació* (c. 1398–9), addressed to Martin I, is the version of a treatise attributed to Bonaventure about the ladder of virtues that leads to paradise;²² Hugh of Saint Victor's *Soliloquium de arra animae* was translated for Queen Maria and her ladies-in-waiting.²³ Finally, Canals translated devotional works with a more practical slant, namely, a commentary on the 'Pater Noster', 'Ave Maria' and 'Salve Regina' (before 1406) for Pere d'Artés – Martin I's chief treasurer – ,²⁴ and a treatise on confession, made later on (c. 1413) for the widowed Queen Yolande of Bar.²⁵ In a letter written in 1413, Queen Yolande also referred to a translation of the Gospels that Canals wanted to make for her, and she told Canals how he had to translate them: in the same order as they appear in the Roman Office and with glosses in the margins.²⁶ This translation is now lost.

2. Canals's version of an episode of the *Africa*

Canals dedicated *Annibal e Escipió* to Alphonse, Duke of Gandia – Cardinal James of Aragon's brother – , who, according to Canals, was interested in the report of the battle

21. M. de Riquer, 'Ricardo de Bury y fray Antonio Canals', *Revista de bibliografía nacional*, 1943, pp. 337–80. Like Canals, other friars were worried about the nobility's growing interest in knowledge and books; for example, Francesc Eiximenis, who wrote his works for the same courtly audience as Canals, and addressed the *Dotzè* (one volume of a large encyclopedia of Christian life which contains a *Speculum principum*) to Alphonse, Duke of Gandia. For his advice on reading, see F. Eiximenis, *Llibres, mestres i sermons*, eds D. Guixeras and X. Renedo, Barcelona, 2005, pp. 145–208 (161–7).

22. A. Canals, *Scala de contemplació*, ed. J. Roig Gironella, Barcelona, 1975; A. Hauf, 'La *Scala de contemplació*, de fra Antoni Canals, i el *De XV gradibus contemplationis* o *Viridarium Ecclesiae*', *Anuari de l'Agrupació Borrianenca de Cultura*, 8, 1997, pp. 97–120. Martin I, who was very fond of devotional literature, promoted the study of theology among the nobility, as we have seen above.

23. Canals, *Scipió e Aníbal* (n. 2 above), pp. 121–71. There has been some debate as to whether Queen Maria was Maria de Luna (Martin I's wife) or Maria of Castile (Alphonse IV's wife). Canals adapted a work originally addressed to friars for a female audience. The same work had already been translated into French by Pierre de Hangest, a counsellor of John II (P. Crapillet, *Le 'Cur Deus homo' d'Anselme de Canterbury et le 'De arra animae' d'Hugues de Saint-Victor traduits pour Philippe le Bon*, eds R. Bultot and G. Hasenohr, Louvain-la-Neuve, 1984, pp. 88–9). *De arra animae* was considered a suitable work for women. The French version was sometimes copied together with other works for women: the copy that Charles V had in the royal library (MS Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, 2247) also contains a version of Gregory's *Sermons* for an unknown lady (L. Delisle, *Recherches sur la librairie de Charles V*, I, Paris, 1907, pp. 224–7); another copy of the French *De arra animae* (MS London, British Library, Royal 16.E.V) contains versions of other devotional works also addressed to women.

24. J. Vives, 'Exposición medieval del Pater Noster', *Analecta Sacra Tarraconensia*, 28, 1955, pp. 122–56; and id., 'Exposiciones del Ave Maria y Salve en traducción catalana de Fray Antonio Canals', *Analecta Sacra Tarraconensia*, 29, 1956, pp. 79–94. This work was attributed to Bonaventure. In his prologue, Canals explained in detail how these prayers were to be said. The commentary was to aid understanding of every word.

25. MS Sant Cugat del Vallès, Casal Borja, D. The source (or sources) of this treatise has not been identified.

26. J. Viellard, 'Nouveaux documents sur la culture catalane au Moyen Âge', *Estudis universitaris catalans*, 15, 1930, pp. 21–40 (39). Queen Yolande paid for the parchment and other materials that Canals needed.

in which Hannibal and Scipio were to fight and the speeches of both heroes. In the prologue, Canals says:

To the most excellent Lord Alphonse, Duke of Gandia ... Because of the great pleasure that your lordship showed in having a copy of the speeches of Scipio and Hannibal, and the battle that followed, in which the aforementioned Scipio Africanus triumphed, and in my desire to be of service to your lordship, I have endeavoured to translate those very speeches in as full a version as I have been able to find. For, after reading, on the one hand, Livy, who includes these events at length in his text, and on the other, Francis Petrarch, who deals with the subject in an expanded and elegant fashion in his *Africa*, I have translated the aforementioned speeches according to my own modest ability.²⁷

Although Canals translated the episode from Petrarch's *Africa*, he places Livy in a more prominent position, ascribing a less important role to Petrarch. He did so because Livy was a popular historian, well known among noblemen, and his name would surely catch their attention. The nobility's interest in history books is well documented; they read them as a family history and for political and moral guidance.²⁸ Livy's *History of Rome* was, moreover, a new book that had become popular since Petrarch's edition of the whole work.²⁹ It was among the books that reached the Crown of Aragon via France and were translated into Catalan at Prince John's court. The Benedictine Pierre Bersuire, one of Petrarch's French friends, had translated it into French between 1354 and 1358 for John II of France (1350–64).³⁰ His version was widely disseminated, especially during the reign of Charles V (1364–80). Manuscripts belonging to Charles V, the Duke of Berry and the Dukes of Burgundy, among other princes and noblemen, are extant, all of them deluxe volumes and richly decorated, and the inventories of their libraries record more copies

27. Canals, *Scipió e Aníbal* (n. 2 above), p. 31: 'Al molt alt senyor lo senyor don Alfonso, duch de Gandia ... Per lo gran plaer que vostra senyoria trobava en aver lo parlament de Scipió e de Aníbal, e la batayla sagüent, en la qual lo dit Scipió Affrichà fou vençedor, volent servir a la dita vostra senyoria, som estudiant de traura lo dit parlament, axí planàriament com miylor he pogut. Per què, ligint de una part Tito Lívio, qui'l posà assatz largament, e d'altra Francesch Patrarcha, qui en lo seu libra appellat *Affricha* trectà fort belament e diffusa, he aromansat lo dit parlament sagons mon petit enginy'. I am most grateful to David Barnett for translating the quotation of Canals's version into English.

28. F. Rico, 'Nobiltà nel medioevo, nobiltà dell'umanesimo', in *Gli umanesimi medievali*, ed. C. Leonardi, Florence, 1998, pp. 559–66.

29. In the 1320s, Petrarch collected in one volume all known books of the *History of Rome* (I–X, XXI–XXXII, XXXIV–XL) which had circulated separately in batches of five or ten books during the Middle Ages, established and corrected the text by comparing different manuscripts, and annotated it. See G. Billanovich, 'Petrarch and the Textual Tradition of Livy', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 14, 1951, pp. 137–208, and id., *La tradizione del testo di Livio e le origini dell'umanesimo*, 2 vols, Padova, 1981.

30. It seems that Bersuire had access to Petrarch's edition of the *History of Rome* when he was carrying out his French translation. See Ch. Samaran and J. Monfrin, *Pierre Bersuire, prieur de Saint-Éloi de Paris (1290?–1362)*, Paris, 1962; M. H. Tesnière, 'A propos de la traduction de Tite-Live par Pierre Bersuire. Le manuscrit Oxford, Bibliothèque Bodléienne, Rawlinson C 447', *Romania*, 118, 2000, pp. 449–98, and id., 'Un Manuscrit exceptionnel des *Décades* de Tite-Live traduites par Pierre Bersuire', in *La Traduction vers le moyen français: Actes du IIe Colloque de l'Association Internationale pour l'Étude du Moyen Français* (Poitiers, 27–29 avril 2006), eds C. Galderisi and C. Pignatelli, Turnhout, 2007, pp. 149–63.

of Bersuire's version.³¹ Prince John of Aragon, who was well aware of the latest books to arrive at the French court, was soon informed of Bersuire's version. In 1383, he requested a copy of this version from John, Duke of Berry – his wife's uncle.³² The copy he received seems to have been used to produce the Catalan translation extant in a deluxe manuscript from the end of the fourteenth century or the very beginning of the fifteenth century. Throughout the fifteenth century inventories of books from noble libraries (like Martin I's) often record copies of Livy's work.³³

Why did Canals prefer to translate Petrarch's *Africa* instead of Livy's *History of Rome*? Livy is the main source of the historical content for the *Africa*,³⁴ and in the very same passages of Book VII that Canals translated Petrarch had followed Livy's text closely. Even though Canals alludes to the length of Livy's work in his prologue, this does not explain his preference for Petrarch over Livy: the passage in Livy's work that corresponds to the one in Canals's version is not that long (XXX.29–35). His choice is not due to any difficulty in acquiring a copy of Livy's *History of Rome* either: Canals definitely had a copy of the *History of Rome* while translating the *Africa* and he made occasional use of it. An example will suffice to illustrate this point. Where Livy's *History of Rome* reads '*Sed praeterita magis reprehendi possunt quam corrigi*' ('But the past can be revisited, rather than corrected', XXX.30), Petrarch wrote '*Culpari transacta tamen licet usque loquendo, / mutari vetitum est*' ('it is permitted to apportion blame to the past, but it is forbidden to change it', VII, vv. 245–6). Canals translated the passage as '*Mas condició e natura és de les cozes passades que les podem rependre e inculpar, no pas corregir ni mudar*' ('However, it is the nature of the past that we can revisit it and apportion blame, but we can neither correct nor change it').³⁵ Canals has followed the *Africa* closely, but he has also added some extra elements from Livy.³⁶ Canals's choice of translating the *Africa* instead of the *History of Rome* has to do with the initial reception of Petrarch as a

31. For a list of manuscripts, see Samaran and Monfrin, *Pierre Bersuire* (n. 30 above), pp. 189–92.

32. Rubió i Lluch, *Documents* (n. 16 above), I, p. 221 and II, pp. 307–8.

33. For the reception of Livy in the Aragonese court and the Catalan version, see M. Ferrer, 'La traducció catalana medieval de les *Décades* de Titus Livi: estudi i edició del llibre I', PhD diss., Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, 2010. Prince John was so interested in Livy that he searched for different copies of the *History of Rome* throughout his life and obtained versions in Latin, French and Italian for his library. Only the first seven books of the Catalan version are extant.

34. Carlini, *Studio su 'L'Africa'* (n. 5 above), pp. 57–128; Festa, *Saggio sull'Africa* (n. 3 above), pp. 69, 77; and G. Martellotti, 'Sulla composizione del *De viris* e dell'*Africa* del Petrarca', *Annali della Reale Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa*, ser. 2, 10, 1941, pp. 247–62.

35. Canals, *Scipió e Aníbal* (n. 2 above), p. 50, ll. 15–8. I highlight in italics the correspondence between Livy's and Canals's texts. Quotations from the *Africa* are taken from F. Petrarque, *L'Afrique (1338–1374)*, Grenoble, 2002. This edition is based on F. Petrarca, *L'Africa*, ed. N. Festa, Florence, 1926, but revised with readings from MS Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Acquisti e Doni 441.

36. A further example: '*profectos ... castrorum incautos custodia captos / pertraxit ducis ante pedes*' (*Africa*, vv. 98–100), '*inde praemissi speculatores cum excepti ab custodibus Romanis deducti ad Scipionem essent*' (*History of Rome*, XXX.29), '*les quals spies foren prezes per aquels qui gaytaven la host dels romans, e foren manatz devant Scipió*' (*Scipió e Aníbal* [n. 2 above], p. 42).

Christian moralist.³⁷ Petrarch filled the episode of Zama with references to the mutability of fortune and divine providence, and made Scipio condemn Hannibal for not believing in God. That is what must have caught Canals's interest: Petrarch told the same story as Livy, but from a Christian perspective.³⁸

Canals's choice implies that he read the *Africa* as if it was a history book. Approaching the *Africa* – and the *De viris illustribus* – for its historical information was common among the first scholars who studied it; the manuscripts were even glossed as classical historical sources.³⁹

The moral reading of *Annibal e Escipió* is provided by three elements. First, the prologue, in which Canals uses his skills as a preacher. It is in the form of a sermon, with a *divisio thematis* in rhyme explaining the reasons for writing *Annibal e Escipió*:

[I have written this text] for three reasons: the first one is to show how fickle and unstable fortune is; the second is to show that victory in battle is uncertain and changeable; and the third is to prove that the end of a warrior's life is infamous and miserable.⁴⁰

After that, Canals develops each of the three reasons in turn, with statements supported by authorities and examples.⁴¹ The prologue makes explicit the moral meaning of *Annibal e Escipió*. It aims to show the mutability of fortune, especially in war: a knight cannot trust victory, because one day he might win and the next day he might lose (we have to keep in mind that *Annibal e Escipió* was addressed to Duke Alphonse, a knight with a remarkable military career who had been taken prisoner by the Black Prince at the Battle of Najera in 1367). Secondly, the episode of the Battle of Zama that follows is an *exemplum* of the moral lesson outlined in the prologue. In other words, Hannibal's defeat at Zama is a very good example of the mutability of fortune, because he used to win all his battles, he even crushed the Roman army and nearly conquered Rome, but in the end

37. See N. Mann, 'Petrarch's Role as Moralizer in Fifteenth-century France', in *Humanism in France at the End of the Middle Ages and in the Early Renaissance*, ed. A. H. T. Levy, New York, 1970, pp. 6–28; id., 'Petrarch and Humanism: The Paradox of Posterity', in *Francesco Petrarca, Citizen of the World*, ed. A. S. Bernardo, Padova, 1980, pp. 287–99; F. Simone, *Il Rinascimento francese. Studi e ricerche*, Turin, 1961, pp. 141–222; and F. Rico, 'Petrarca y el "Humanismo catalán"', in his *Estudios de literatura y otras cosas*, Barcelona, 2002, pp. 147–78.

38. Moreover, Petrarch embellished the text with emotive exclamations, more colourful expressions. Canals sometimes amplified them further, especially in his descriptions of those who had fallen in battle (see, for example, Riquer's edition [n. 2 above], p. 48, l. 29, and p. 57, ll. 25–30). See the quotation from the prologue given above, in which Canals pointed out the elegance of Petrarch's *Africa* (n. 27 above). For the moral and Christian interpretation of Scipio's speech in the *Africa*, see E. Fenzi, 'Scipione, Annibale e Alessandro nell'*Africa* del Petrarca', *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana*, 148, 1971, pp. 480–518 (489–93).

39. Fera, 'Lettori e postillatori' (n. 6 above), pp. 34–7.

40. Canals, *Scipió e Aníbal* (n. 2 above), pp. 31–2: 'han-m'i mogut III rahons: la primera és per mostrar la fortuna temporal com és alanejoza e instable; la segona és per notar la victòria campal com és duptosa e variable; la terça és per provar la fin del garrer muntanal com és vituperosa e miserable'.

41. For the structure of Canals's prologues, see C. de Nigris, 'I prologui alle versioni di Antoni Canals: epistole o prediche?', *Medioevo romanzo*, 16, 1991, pp. 207–30. Canals's prologues always follow the rules of *artes dictaminis*. None of the sermons preached by Canals has survived (Rubió, *Literatura catalana* [n. 11 above], III, p. 752).

he was defeated by Scipio. According to Canals, only divine providence knows why; however, the fault certainly lies with Hannibal too, because he was not a sufficiently virtuous man and perhaps lacked some of the qualities of a good leader.⁴² Thirdly, Canals closed his *Annibal e Escipió* with a passage taken from Petrarch's *Life of Hannibal* (*De viris illustribus*, XVII.49–55), which relates the misfortune that befell Hannibal after his defeat at Zama and how he finally killed himself with poison to avoid capture.⁴³ The suicide is obviously the worst choice a knight could make. It was a sign of moral weakness, and one that would be unacceptable to the Christian world.

The prologue and the final passage taken from the *Life of Hannibal* show clearly that the moral reading of *Annibal e Escipió* is centred on the figure of Hannibal. Whereas Petrarch made Scipio Africanus the focus of the *Africa*, extolling his good qualities both as a general and a man, Canals clearly focused his version on Hannibal and presented him as a dreadful example for the nobility because of his lack of virtue and moral weakness (even though he had been a successful general). Scipio does not seem to be of interest to Canals. This focus on Hannibal rather than Scipio, and the moral implications therein, were motivated by another classical author, Valerius Maximus. The characterization of Hannibal as a general without pity or virtue is found in *Memorable Deeds and Sayings* (IV.2); Valerius also reported the suicide. Canals had translated this work a few years earlier, in 1395, as we have seen, and he also quoted it in the prologue to *Annibal e Escipió*.⁴⁴ Needless to say, Valerius's work was widely disseminated at court. Readers would have easily recognized this portrait of Hannibal when reading Canals's *Annibal e Escipió*.

The four works involved, in one way or another, in the composition of *Annibal e Escipió* (the *Africa* and the *De viris illustribus*, the *History of Rome* and *Memorable Deeds and Sayings*) belong to the same literary tradition. They are works on illustrious men of Antiquity. Moreover, the *Africa* and the *De viris illustribus* are closely related. Petrarch composed them in the same period; the *Africa* and the *Life of Scipio* (*De viris illustribus*, XXI) are based on the story of the same figure and there are parallel passages in both works, and in both of them Livy features as a major source. It is worth noting that

42. The fact that Canals selected a famous episode from ancient history (the Battle of Zama) might be related to the *exempla* tradition, given that the episode was to serve as an example of the moral lesson that Canals outlined in his prologue. Some collections of *exempla* contain episodes taken from ancient history – whether real or legendary – and a few of them feature anecdotes of Hannibal and Scipio (F. C. Tubach, *Index exemplorum: A Handbook of Medieval Religious Tales*, Helsinki, 1969); for example, the *Alphabetum narrationum* by Arnoldus Leodiensis, a Catalan translation of which circulated in the Crown of Aragon in the fifteenth century (A. de Lieja, *Recull d'exemples i miracles ordenat per alfabet*, ed. J.-A. Ysern, 2 vols, Barcelona, 2004). Most of the *exempla* in these collections are very brief, but some of the longer ones are more detailed stories which also include dialogues.

43. F. Petrarca, *De viris illustribus*, ed. S. Ferrone, Florence, 2002, pp. 142–4. Petrarch began the *Life of Hannibal* explaining that Hannibal was a good warrior, but was not virtuous (p. 142).

44. See the passage on Hannibal in Canals, *Llibre anomenat Valeri Máximo* (n. 18 above), II, pp. 314–15 (chapters 7 and 8, under the heading 'On cruelty'). For the quotations from Valerius in the prologue of *Annibal e Escipió*, see Canals, *Scipió e Aníbal* (n. 2 above), pp. 20, 32, 34 and 173.

Canals went through the *De viris illustribus* and Livy to complete his partial version of the *Africa*.

Canals translated only fragments of the *Africa* and the *De viris illustribus*, but, in all likelihood, he knew both works in their entirety. Although parts of the *Africa* circulated separately – particularly Mago's lament –, none of the extant manuscripts contains fragments of Book VII. And the *Life of Hannibal* did not circulate separately from the rest of the *De viris illustribus*, as the *Life of Scipio* did. No manuscript contains the *Life of Hannibal* without the other lives. Moreover, Canals's selection of fragments is deliberate, not casual, as we have seen.⁴⁵

We do not know from where or from whom Canals obtained a copy of Petrarch's works at such an early date, but it is likely that these books had come from the papal court in Avignon. Inventories of books belonging to the papal library in Avignon record a copy of the *Africa* and some of the *De viris illustribus*, whereas inventories of other noble libraries in France or in the Crown of Aragon from the fourteenth and the early fifteenth centuries do not feature either of these works.⁴⁶ Furthermore, during the reigns of John I and Martin I – both supporters of the Avignonese Pope – contact between the royal court and the Curia in Avignon was close, and ambassadors, scholars and clergymen from the Crown of Aragon travelled there frequently.⁴⁷ James of Aragon, Canals's patron in the 1390s, went to Avignon in 1389 after he was made a cardinal.⁴⁸ Finally, it is worth remembering that Bernat Metge, also in the service of John I, had used the *Africa* in *Lo somni*, and that he had spent a brief period in Avignon too.⁴⁹ As for Livy's *History of Rome*, in all probability it would not have been too difficult for Canals to get either a complete or partial copy of the work.

3. The speeches of Hannibal and Scipio

The full title of Canals's version is *Lo parlament e la batalla que hagueren Aníbal e Escipió* ('The speeches and the battle between Hannibal and Scipio'). In fact, speeches take up the most part of Canals's text. He translated not only the main ones, Hannibal's and

45. In the prologue, Canals indicates he was aware of Mago's lament too (Rico, 'Antoni Canals y Petrarca' [n. 1 above], p. 62).

46. M. H. Jullien de Pommerol and J. Monfrin, *La Bibliothèque pontificale à Avignon et à Peñíscole*, 2 vols, Rome, 1991, I, p. 225, 599 and 730. The papal library in Avignon, where Petrarch had lived for several years, contained almost all his complete works. His lesser-known works, like the *Africa*, could be found in Avignon, while it was more difficult to find them elsewhere (Mann, 'Petrarch and Humanism' [n. 37 above], p. 293). For instance, the *Africa* and the *De viris illustribus* are not found in the rich library assembled by Charles V and his son Charles VI at the Louvre, nor in the libraries of the dukes of Burgundy.

47. See Rubió i Lluch, *Documents* (n. 15 above), II, pp. xxxvi–xxxix; for a list of scholars who studied abroad, including in Avignon, see pp. lxxvii–cx.

48. See A. Ivars, 'La indiferencia de Pedro IV de Aragón en el Gran Cisma de Occidente (1378–1382)', *Archivo Ibero-americano*, 29, 1928, pp. 21–97 (41–2). Cardinal James probably remained in Avignon a few years, as can be deduced from the royal correspondence. I owe this information to Jaume Torró.

49. Turró, 'Bernat Metge i Avinyó' (n. 8 above).

Scipio's long speeches before the great battle (*Africa*, VII, vv. 215–449), but also two brief soliloquies, in which each outlines his view of his rival (vv. 182–214), and the speeches of both heroes to their armies (vv. 775–828 and 864–915).

It is well known that, as eloquence was an essential element of classical historiography, Greek and Latin historical works included many speeches supposedly given by ancient figures, and these conformed to the standard rules of oratory. Livy's *History of Rome* is a case in point; his work was admired for its eloquence and, according to Suetonius (*Life of Domitian*, X), the speeches were already circulating separately from the rest of the work in the first century.⁵⁰ However, we should keep in mind that speeches were still of value in medieval historiography. We find both brief and lengthier speeches – especially dialogues – in medieval chronicles, such as the *Historia destructionis Troiae* (1287) by Guido delle Colonne. Two different translations of this work circulated in the Crown of Aragon from the second half of the fourteenth century. One of them, in Aragonese, includes only the speeches;⁵¹ the other one, in Catalan, is complete.⁵² Speeches are also present in Catalan chronicles, such as the *Chronicle* of Peter III – written under the strict instructions of the king himself – or Ramon Muntaner's *Chronicle* (from James I, 1213–76, to the coronation of Alphonse III, 1328).⁵³ Thus, it is hardly surprising that Canals offered the Duke of Gandia a version of famous speeches, combined with historical description.⁵⁴

The face-to-face confrontation between Hannibal and Scipio, as well as the outlines of the Second Punic War, were commonly known. The last battle of the war was one of the most famous episodes in the history of Rome, and, since Livy wrote the speeches of Hannibal and Scipio before the battle (*History of Rome*, XXX.30–1), these speeches became an essential component of the episode. Florus (*Epitome de T. Livio*, I.22) and Orosius (*Historia adversum paganos*, IV.19), for instance, summarized the events at the

50. An anthology of speeches from the *History of Rome* was copied in a 15th-century manuscript (MS Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 288). Similar anthologies are found in 16th-century printed editions (F. Argelati, *Biblioteca degli volgarizzatori*, Milan, 1767, II, p. 323).

51. J. C. Iglesias, 'El Tucídides de Juan Fernández de Heredia (s. XIV): problemas planteados por la selección de los discursos', *Anuario de estudios filológicos*, 28, 2005, pp. 131–47 (138–9). The Aragonese version of the speeches from the *Historia destructionis Troiae* is extant in one manuscript which also contains an Aragonese version of speeches from Thucydides's *History of the Peloponnesian War* made in the *scriptorium* of Juan Fernández de Heredia, Grand Master of the Hospitallers, who had a close relationship with Peter III and John I.

52. *Les 'Històries Troyanes' de Guili de Columnes traduïdes al català en el XIVen segle per en Jaume Conesa*, ed. R. Miquel i Planas, Barcelona, 1916. Jaume Conesa, protonotary to Peter III's chancery secretary, began this Catalan translation in 1367.

53. See the introduction by J. N. Hillgarth to Peter III of Catalonia (Pedro IV of Aragon), *Chronicle*, transl. M. Hillgarth, 2 vols, Toronto, 1980, I, pp. 1–122 (41–5 and 58–64).

54. The landed nobility certainly had a practical interest in literary speeches, as they usually had to speak at the *Corts* or other institutions, and could use these as a model. Many speeches by Peter III, Martin I and other members of the nobility are extant (*Parlaments a les Corts catalanes*, ed. R. Albert and J. Gassiot, Barcelona, 1928). See P. M. Càtedra, 'Acerca del sermón político en la España medieval (A propósito del discurso de Martín el Humano en las cortes de Zaragoza de 1398)', *BRABLB*, 6, 1985–6, pp. 17–47. Alphonse, Duke of Gandia was a prince who ruled an important dukedom to the south of Valencia and attended the *Corts* (see P. March, *Obra completa*, ed. L. Cabré, Barcelona, 1993, pp. 19–20 and 33–8); speeches, as well as battles, would therefore appeal to him.

end of the war and mentioned the speeches. The story – complete with this allusion to the speeches – could be found in some of the most widely disseminated medieval historical compilations, such as Vincent of Beauvais's *Speculum historiale* (V.42–52), which was translated into Catalan.⁵⁵ The same episode also featured in Books IV to VI of Juan Fernández de Heredia's *Gran crónica de España*, an Aragonese chronicle widely disseminated within the royal court. Books IV to VI contain a version of lengthy excerpts from Livy's *History of Rome*;⁵⁶ the speeches of Scipio and Hannibal are reproduced in their entirety.

Like other examples from classical history works, the famous speeches of Hannibal and Scipio from Livy's *History of Rome* circulated independently because of their rhetorical appeal. We find them in fifteenth-century manuscript collections containing speeches and letters by contemporary humanists (such as Coluccio Salutati, Poggio Bracciolini, Guarino Veronese, Leonardo Bruni, as well as Petrarch), together with the most well-known speeches by Cicero and Demosthenes, and other speeches from classical works, all in Latin. Livy is the main source together with Sallust, and the speeches of Hannibal and Scipio are among the most common in these collections.⁵⁷ These collections of letters and speeches suggest that they were used as models of eloquence and writing. Similar collections in Italian also feature the speeches of Hannibal and Scipio from Livy. However, the Italian version of these speeches was already circulating by the end of the fourteenth century. At the beginning of the Italian version, the author wrote a very brief introduction (also adapted from Livy) describing the historical background. This version was attributed to Iacopo Passavanti (1302–57), who was, like Canals, a Dominican friar.⁵⁸ He is best known for the

55. V. of Beauvais, *Speculum quadruplex, sive Speculum maius*, Duaci, 1624 (reprinted Graz, 1964–5). The Catalan translation of the *Speculum historiale* by Jaume Domènec and Antoni Ginebreda was already available in the Aragonese court in 1385 (L. Badia, 'Fronti i Vegeci, mestres de cavalleria en català als segles XIV i XV', *BRABLB*, 39, 1983–4, pp. 191–215 [194–6, n. 10]).

56. R. af Geijerstam, 'La *Gran Crónica de Espanya*: problemas en su edición y estudio', in Juan Fernández de Heredia y su época. *IV Curso sobre lengua y literatura en Aragón*, eds A. Egido and J. M. Enguita, Zaragoza, 1996, pp. 155–69. The work was finished in 1385.

57. For example: MS Brindisi, Biblioteca Arcivescovile, 80; MS London, British Library, Royal 10.B.IX; MS Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica, Barb. Lat. 43 (which contains more than twenty speeches from Livy) and Ottob. Lat. 1510. MS London, British Library, Harley 3830 includes a speech from Petrarch's *Life of Scipio* (72–9) without identifying the source. These collections were copied in Italy. Some of them also include comparisons between the most famous ancient heroes: Lucian's *Dialogues of the Dead* translated into Latin; Livy's comparison between Alexander, Pyrrus, Hannibal and Scipio (XXXV.14); Petrarch's *Collatio inter Scipionem Alexandrum Hanibalem et Pyrrum*; the Scipio-Caesar controversy between Poggio Bracciolini and Guarino Veronese. The speeches and the comparisons are closely related: speeches of ancient heroes involve implicit or explicit comparisons between them; comparisons, in turn, often contain speeches arguing for the superiority of one hero over another. We find the same sort of collections in 16-century manuscripts, an area I intend to pursue in further research.

58. See F. Maggini, *I primi volgarizzamenti dei classici latini*, Florence, 1952, pp. 85–9. The earliest witnesses of the Italian version date from the end of the 14th century (e.g. MS Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, 1563; S. Morpurgo, *I manoscritti della R. Biblioteca Riccardiana di Firenze*, II, Roma, 1892–1900, p. 554–6); many 15th-century manuscripts are extant. The Italian version of the speech of Fabius Maximus to the Senate (*History of Rome*, XXVIII.40–4) was also attributed to Passavanti. An edition of the Italian speeches can be found in *Lo Specchio della vera penitenzia di Fr. Jacopo Passavanti fiorentino dell'Ordine de' Predicatori*, II, Milan, 1808, pp. 327–56.

Specchio della vera penitenzia, a guide to repentance in which he included many *exempla*. We do not know if Canals knew of this Italian version of the speeches, but there is no textual evidence to indicate that he made use of it in *Annibal e Escipió*. A Spanish version of these same speeches was also circulating in the Iberian Peninsula, but in a different sort of collection. It is extant in two manuscripts: MS Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, Res. 27, which contains an anthology of passages taken from chronicles, letters of defiance, political letters, and other similar texts; and MS Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, 9608, which contains the Spanish translation of Frontinus, Vegetius and Lucian's *Dialogues of the Dead* (XII), among other texts. The speeches of Hannibal and Scipio were identified as an extract from the Spanish version of Livy's *History of Rome* made in 1401 by Pero López de Ayala.⁵⁹

Canals translated those same speeches, but from the version recreated by Petrarch in the *Africa* (we have seen why), and before they were widely disseminated in the above-mentioned collections. Moreover, he combined these speeches with historical description ('lo parlament e la batalla'). This is why *Annibal e Escipió*'s was so successful: it had a remarkably wide circulation in the Crown of Aragon throughout the fifteenth century, and it was soon admired for its rhetorical appeal. For example, the whole text was interpolated into a Catalan translation of Wauchier de Denain's *Histoire ancienne jusqu'à César* made between, approximately, 1410 and 1419 (MS Barcelona, BdC, 352).⁶⁰ Canals's version replaces the passage from the original work in which the Battle of Zama and the speeches of Hannibal and Scipio are told more briefly (fols 365v–383r). The anonymous translator accounts for the replacement of the main source in the following terms:

[In the *Histoire ancienne*,] the speeches are very brief. But in a carefully crafted rhetorical text, composed not long ago by friar Antoni Canals of the Order of Preachers, master of sacred theology, there is a full account of how Hannibal sent messengers to Scipio, how he spoke to him, and how he fought him in the imposing battle, all in an elegant text addressed to the Duke of Gandia.⁶¹

However, Canals's main purpose was not to offer a rhetorical model. Nor did he aim merely to describe the end of the Second Punic War for an ignorant reader. If he offered his *Annibal e Escipió* in disguise, as if it were mostly a version of Livy, we can take it for granted that the *History of Rome* was already known in courtly circles. He rather meant to turn a celebrated episode of Antiquity into a moral example, which might also appeal to his readers' taste for eloquence and classical history.

59. See M. García, 'Les Remonstrances au Roi (1413). D'après une version castillane contemporaine', *Atalaya*, 9, 1998, pp. 65–134 (69). Ayala's text was, in turn, a translation of Bersuire's version.

60. See n. 2 above. For this version, see M. Coll i Alentorn, 'Les cròniques universals catalanes', in *Historiografia*, Barcelona, 1991, pp. 350–56 (353–4).

61. Fol. 365r–v: 'En así és molt breu lo parlament. Mes en huna soptil bordonança tocada de ratòricha, la qual féu no ha molt frare Anthoni Canalls, de la orda dels preycadors en santa teulugia maestra, és tota la manera com li tramès los misatgers e con parlà amb ell e com per greus batalles batallà en contra ell, tot especificadament ab gentil ordonança, lo qual ordonament tramès al duch de Gandia'. Italics are mine. See n. 15: the councillors of Valencia also praised the eloquence of Canals in 1400.