



IN MEMORIAM
BERNAT METGE

ON THE SIXTH CENTENARY
OF HIS DEATH

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2013



IN MEMORIAM BERNAT METGE:
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A conference was held on 9 May 2013, in the Sala Prat de Riba at the Institut d'Estudis Catalans, to commemorate the sixth centenary of the death of Bernat Metge (c. 1348-1413). The event was opened by the president of the Institut, Salvador Giner, and concluded by the vice-president, Mariàngela Vilallonga. Here we reproduce the four conference papers: the first two, by Lluís Cabré and Lola Badia, focus on Metge's intellectual profile and the development of his reputation to date respectively; those by Alejandro Coroleu and Jill Kraye present the recently published volume Fourteenth-Century Classicism: Petrarch and Bernat Metge, ed. L. Cabré, A. Coroleu and J. Kraye (London and Turin: The Warburg Institute and Nino Aragno, 2012), the contents of which are listed after the texts.

*Both the conference itself and the Fourteenth-Century Classicism volume fall within the spirit of a text written by Lluís Nicolau d'Olwer, and quoted by Mariàngela Vilallonga in her closing statement. Entitled "Per la cultura catalana. Les edicions dels nostres clàssics" ("For Catalan culture: the editions of our classics") (La Publicitat, 1 February 1925), Nicolau d'Olwer, a protégé of Antoni Rubió i Lluch and a member of the first generation of academics who used Catalan for their scholarly activities, was writing in defence of the "Els Nostres Clàssics" ("Our Classics") series, launched in 1924 with an edition of Metge's *Lo somni* ("The Dream"). His article is a clear testimony to the literary and social value ascribed to the work of Bernat Metge almost 90 years ago—*

as a Catalan writer, not as a philosopher or a humanist—and to the philological rigour with which his work was to be studied. Here are the opening paragraphs:

Twenty years after Dr Rubió i Lluch inaugurated the Chair of Catalan Literature at the Estudis Universitaris, the second generation who were inspired by his enthusiasm are now bearing fruit. Rubió i Lluch and Massó i Torrents and those of us who were their first disciples are proud to be able to confirm that a bona fide school of literary archaeology has now been firmly established in Catalonia.

The intention of this school has always been to proceed with scientific integrity: not in vain does it reclaim the patronage of that star of the very greatest magnitude in Romance philology, namely Manuel Milà i Fontanals. But the school has never believed that scientific integrity equates to a coldness of spirit. Critical serenity is by no means incompatible with self-esteem. It has therefore turned a deaf ear to the sirens who summon it to the ivory tower and has instead considered that it is more worthwhile to leave the confines of the library and the study for the public square to offer our people something that could arouse in them an interest in art. So the “Els Nostres Clàssics” series was born, and at its heart is Josep Maria de Casacuberta, one of those who in recent generations has worked most steadfastly and purposefully for Catalonia.

There has been some debate about the series title, “Els Nostres Clàssics”. Though it might seem a pointless exercise to me, I would not want to deny anyone their right to waste time, to drill a hole in the sand, as we coastal folks say. It is easy to understand that critics, weary of elucidating the obscure, turn instead to obfuscating the obvious. “The classics” is very clear, in fact as clear as day, to such an extent that all Catalans – with the exception of the odd critic – have understood it, just as one would understand someone who was even talking about “the

classics of Romanticism”, which is not a contradiction in terms. Anyone except a braggart understands that “classic” is synonymous with “exemplary”; that when we talk about the “classics of Scholasticism” or “the classics of liberal economics” we are applying the word “classic” to the content, not the means of expression; and that on the other hand if we talk about the “classics of Baroque sculpture” or the “classics of Catalan literature” —our classics—we are talking not about the content but rather about the means of expression, the form. And not just its form, but the beauty of its form; an aesthetic qualification which is about proportion, clarity, elegance. Everyone has understood that “our classics” are those ancient texts in our language that are aesthetically pleasing, in verse and in prose. And in this context I do not believe that anyone can deny that accolade to *Lo somni*, the work with which the new series was launched. Let us refrain from passing judgment on a medieval author for his medieval ideas when we should instead be assessing him as a writer. Let us not confuse serious writing with writing on too serious a subject. Let us not judge an artist for his ideas, or a thinker for his style. It is children who use only a pair of adjectives.

A very dear friend of mine took me to task for overstating the worth of Bernat Metge. In literary terms, if I have contributed to an increase in our knowledge about and our appreciation of the astute secretary of kings John I and Martin, without claiming credit for it, I will be very pleased; for the more I learn about medieval Catalan literature, the more I am convinced that he is its greatest prose writer. Regarding his biography, I have not hidden a single one of Bernat Metge’s defects nor have I ever hesitated to publish details in this respect that might be unfavourable to him. Regarding his philosophy, I was the first to point out his plagiarism.

A few years later, Martí de Riquer discovered the presence of Petrarch’s Secretum in Metge’s work and to this day editions and

studies of his work have continued to appear which evaluate this source and others which were unknown in 1925. Whether there is a large crowd or a small huddle listening out in the “public square”—more a virtual square these days—the academic rigour that Manuel Milà i Fontanals pioneered has to be preserved; and although we no longer talk about “defects” or “plagiarism” in this context because the language of scholarship has changed, we should take care to preserve Lluís Nicolau d’Oliver’s critical sense if we want Bernat Metge to be read above all as a classic text of medieval literature in Catalan, the first to understand the value of Petrarch’s work.

I

BERNAT METGE, A MAN OF LETTERS

Lluís Cabré

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In 1922 a series of editions of Classical texts was launched by the Bernat Metge Foundation. It is still today an important part of the Catalan cultural landscape. In the booklet published to accompany the launch, the series director, Joan Estelrich, said that he had not been inspired so much by the *Bibliotheca Teubneriana* in Leipzig or the Oxford Classical Texts series, as much as by the French collection christened with the name of Guillaume Budé, considered at that time the father of humanism in France. If Bernat Metge could have known that in the twentieth century he would merit such an honour, he would have been thrilled and surprised in equal measure. The Arxiu Reial (Archivo de la Corona de Aragón) has a fair number of letters drafted in Latin by Metge from the time when he was a royal secretary, some of which are quite elaborate, but he never wrote a literary work in Latin, and he barely knew any Greek, of course—but then not even his much admired Petrarch knew much either, despite his best efforts to learn it in his maturity so that he could read Homer.

Yet Latin texts, both medieval and Classical, almost always feature in the background to Bernat Metge's writing in Catalan, sometimes as a distant echo, other times as a close model which he transforms for his courtly readership. First of all, then,

we should turn our attention to his schooling, because in the mid-fourteenth century learning Latin was the natural way to acquire a literary education, in other words grammar and rhetoric.

Bernat Metge was born in 1348 (or just after) in Barcelona, on what is today the Carrer de la Llibreteria (Bookshop Street), very close to the Curia and the Palau Major (Royal Palace), when Plaça de Sant Jaume was considerably smaller than it is nowadays. In those days it was the Carrer de l'Especieria (Spice Merchant Street), and his father Guillem had his shop there. Martí de Riquer—always Martí de Riquer—documents that there was a “gàbia per tenir canalla” (literally “a child cage”; a baby-walker) on the premises. So the infant Bernat must have been surrounded by spices, syrups and potions for pharmaceutical, culinary or cosmetic use, as well as by paper and inks, because spice merchants not only worked as apothecaries, but also sold the materials required for writing letters. Guillem Metge counted the queen among his clients, but he died in 1359 when Bernat was still a child, and his mother, Agnès, got married again, to a court scribe, Ferrer Saiol, and sold the spice merchant business. Shortly afterwards, Saiol was promoted to protonotary to Queen Eleanor, the third wife of King Peter III. The responsibilities of this post included keeping the correspondence register and correcting the grammar and rhetoric of letters “segons vertader llatí” (“in correct Latin”). We can therefore presume that Bernat’s stepfather oversaw his education in these school subjects, since in December 1370 Bernat qualified as a royal notary and a few months later joined the queen’s household administration as a registry assistant. He must have been in his early twenties at most. In this period, he went from a future in which he was destined to sell paper for writing letters on, to one in which he was writing letters himself, and in the process Catalan literature gained one of its greatest writers.

Being taught in a notarial school meant learning a trade that

was quite different from the education that could be acquired in municipal classrooms or by studying in the local or provincial monasteries that led, in the best of cases, to university. In addition to legal knowledge, a future notarial scribe was required to be proficient in the *ars dictatoria*, the art of drafting and embellishing letters, which began with practical schooling in Latin, in particular in grammar. After mastering the alphabet and the basics, like the declensions, a boy tutored by a notary would then start with elementary Latin models, such as the Psalms or the *Distichs of Cato* (*Disticha Catonis*), a compendium of short moral verses and proverbs attributed to Cato the Censor. He would then study other *auctores minores*, often medieval texts, especially ones in verse, as that made them easier to memorize. The most advanced stage of the programme involved the study of the *auctores maiores*, classical Latin texts in prose and in verse. In the fourteenth century these would have included, for example, Cicero's short dialogues, Juvenal's *Satires*, parts of Virgil's *Aeneid*, a tragedy by Seneca or some of Ovid's works. Thanks to the studies of Robert Black and Gabriella Pomaro, we now know that between these minor and major authors it was considered good practice to read the *Consolation of Philosophy* by Boethius as a sort of intermediate text.

We cannot know for certain what the adolescent Bernat Metge read while he was learning Latin. But we can state that readings like those we have just mentioned form a backdrop to his oeuvre, filtered through his own peculiar way of understanding literature. During the first stage of his literary output, he wrote a humorous *Sermó* (*Sermon*) in verse, parodying the catechistical preaching of the time. Metge's *Sermó* opens with a secular statement which subverts the liturgical basis of a serious sermon: "Segueixca el temps qui viure vol; / si no, poria's trobar sol / e menys d'argent" ("Let he who wishes to live well follow the crowd; otherwise he may end up penniless and on his own"). This initial text is then developed by means of a list of moral

exhortations that echoes the structure of school texts like the *Distichs of Cato*, except that now the moral message has been turned on its head and the author reveals the secret to prosperity: he says, for example, “si volets estament en cort / siats frescal” (“if you want to impress at court, show some cheek”), or “e mostrarets amistat vera / a qui us fa nosa” (“bestow true friendship on whomever bothers you”). The conclusion nonchalantly claims that whoever follows this advice will escape the fires of hell, the very fear of which contemporary preachers always instilled in their congregations.

We cannot presume from this short early work that Metge was either a cynic or an unbeliever; humour always trumps the complexity of the human condition. But we can deduce that the texts he read during his schooling were still fresh in his mind, and that his critical faculties and sense of humour were fairly well developed, and this is borne out in other works. In or just after 1381, when the Barcelona banking sector collapsed on the back of a deep European financial crisis—as awful as the current one—Metge wrote a more ambitious work in verse, the *Llibre de Fortuna i Prudència* (*Book of Fortune and Prudence*). The author himself is the complaining and supposedly impoverished protagonist of a tale that takes him from the port in Barcelona to the marvellous Island of Fortune. There he argues and falls out with the goddess and later converses with Prudence who consoles him, explaining the value of Christian providence.

The three main sources of the work come from the author's school days. The first is Boethius's *Consolation* which allows him to present himself as a man who has fallen from grace, who has unfairly lost his wealth and social standing. The second is the *Elegia* by Henry of Settimello, one of the most popular minor authors, which is the inspiration for much of the rhetorical lament and argument with Fortune. The third is Alan of Lille's *Anticlaudianus*, which offers him the model for the description of the fabulous island and of Fortune herself, the goddess

with two faces, one smiling and pleasant, the other miserable and repugnant. In adapting these three Latin sources, Metge omits the more Classical references, no doubt out of consideration for his contemporary courtly readership. So, for example, where the Roman Boethius had provided an illustration featuring the Civil War between Caesar and Pompey (taken from Lucan), Metge substitutes a contemporary episode, the fratricidal dispute for the Castilian throne between Peter the Cruel and his illegitimate brother, Henry of Trastámara, who killed him at Montiel in 1369. And when he adapts Alan of Lille's hexameters, Metge blends the Latin with a French translation by Jean de Meun and then adds his own touches tailored specifically to his readership, so that his Catalan description of the Island of Fortune features a peach tree, a swallow and a cicada, all typically Mediterranean. We could say, therefore, that Metge was reading in Latin and thinking in the vernacular while writing this first dialogue that allows him to doubt stubbornly one of the truths of the Christian faith, namely divine justice, which was so difficult to understand for mortals bound by natural reason. The ending of the *Llibre de Fortuna* brings us back to reality: the protagonist, back in Barcelona once again, is hurrying to arrive home before dawn, to avoid being gossiped about by his neighbours, because in this city, he says, only those of "un estat gran" ("considerable stature"), of good standing, are respected; those who are not, he adds, "hi val menys que un caragol" ("are worth less than a snail here"). Both the sentiment and the humour of these closing lines are not that far removed from his *Sermó*.

We could also place in this stage of his intellectual development a lost *Lucidari*, and a prose adaptation of a fragment of the verse *De vetula* ("La velletona"; "The Old Woman"), a text close to, in part, the medieval school comedy, traditionally attributed to Ovid simply because that was the name of the protagonist. According to the story, Ovid, famous in the Middle

Ages for his erotic poetry and his expertise in the art of love, wants to seduce a young woman by securing the help of an old woman; this go-between tricks him and Ovid ends up in bed with her, rather than the young woman, and thus chastened by the episode, becomes an encyclopaedic Christian sage. Despite the anachronism, Metge still believed the piece was written by Ovid, even though Petrarch had already declared that this was not the case. We can therefore see that the author's profile to date was not that of someone with a first-hand knowledge of Classics.

Metge wrote these early works, each one with Latin texts from his school days in the background, while he was advancing in the Curia, the royal household administration. He had started there in 1371, as we have seen, and on the death of Queen Eleanor in 1375, he became a scribe in the service of Prince John, who, in 1380, married Yolande de Bar, niece of the French king, Charles V the Wise. Finally, following the coronation of the prince (now King John I) and Yolande in 1387, he took on the highly trusted post of secretary to them, in 1390. At that time, a good number of books from the French courts were sent to the Catalan royal household. There are a variety of reasons for this, one of which was the fact that Charles the Wise had founded a magnificent library in the Louvre (some of the 800 volumes can still be found today in the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris) and had created a model that John of Aragon emulated, *mutatis mutandi*. So this is the route by which Jean de Meun's *Roman de la Rose* arrived at court—a text which is essential to understanding Metge's *Llibre de Fortuna i Prudència*—as well as a compendium of works by Philippe de Mézières (1387) which contained his French version of Petrarch's *Griseldis*.

Petrarch's *Griseldis* is a free translation into Latin of the hundredth and final story in Boccaccio's *Decameron*. By rewriting it and prefacing it with comments on the translation and the meaning of the story, Petrarch wanted to dignify the original

Italian version with a universal, Christian and at the same time Classical value, as a tale of contemporary conjugal fidelity for all time (as if it were part of his *Rerum memorandarum libri*, according to Guido Martellotti). On his writing desk, Metge had not only Petrarch's Latin text (included in his *Rerum senilium libri*), but also the French version by de Mézières, complete with a dedication to a noblewoman at the French court. From these two threads, Metge wove in 1388 his *Història de Valter e de Griselda* (*Walter and Griselda*), addressing it to a lady at the royal court (Isabel de Guimerà, daughter of the "mestre racional" ["royal treasurer"]) in imitation of the French model, but preserving Petrarch's epistolary frame and some of his Classical references, glossed with his own reading of Valerius Maximus. Both in the letter's exordium and its closing Metge praises the author. The most celebrated quotation is: "Petrarca, poeta laureat, en les obres del qual jo he singular afecció" ("Petrarch, the poet laureate, for whose works I have a particular affection").

We should not read too much into this episode. Metge was certainly the first author in the Iberian Peninsula to translate a work by Petrarch, but these tributes were not unusual in earlier French texts, nor were they the sign of any special discovery. Furthermore, it is not unlikely that Metge's copy of *Griseldis* came to him on its own, separately from the rest of Petrarch's letters; and we should take note of the fact that he was still translating or adapting with one eye on the Latin and the other on the vernacular, the French (just as, for example, Geoffrey Chaucer did). But neither should we underestimate the value of *Valter e Griselda*, because in it Metge inaugurated the cultivation of a Latinizing prose and, unlike de Mézières, demonstrated an ability to understand Petrarch's underlying intention: to present the story as a modern and credible *exemplum* set against a Classical backdrop. As Jaume Torró observed many years ago, the expression "amor conjugal" ("conjugal love"; *amor coniugalis* in Petrarch) appears for the first time in this text, a term that

orientates us towards a more modern social model which in the future would privilege an active matrimonial life over the monastic ideal of celibacy and spirituality.

In conclusion, Metge professes a sincere admiration for Petrarch in *Valter e Griselda*, an admiration which perhaps arises from a natural empathy between a professional letter-writer and a famous colleague who was lending that very profession dignity and status. Whatever the case, Metge's version won him public acclaim. His daughter was called Griselda, and the name became increasingly popular. Of the many Griseldas who appear in the archives, one gives a clear indication of this: there is a Griselda who marries a glassblower from Morvedre in 1420, who would therefore have been baptised in or just before 1405. This confirms Metge's own claim that he makes in *Lo somni* (*The Dream*) that by 1399 the story of Griselda "per mi de llatí en nostre vulgar transportada" ("translated by me from Latin into the vernacular"), "reciten per enganyar les nits les velles, quan filen en hivern entorn del foc" ("was recited by old women to pass the time at night, while spinning by the fire in winter"). (The mention of "velles", "old women", is pleasing as it is a calque of a phrase from Petrarch's *Familiars*, as Stefano Maria Cingolani, the most recent editor of *Lo somni*, has noted).

After *Valter e Griselda*, we come in Metge's sparse output to the *Apologia* (*Apology*) and *Lo somni* (*The Dream*), the two closely related works which have cemented the author's reputation as a classicizing author. Before they were written, Metge spent four months in Avignon, from January to April 1395. Avignon was at that time the papal city and the place where Petrarch had lived for some years. Metge went there as an ambassador with a strong letter of recommendation from the king, and so would have had access to the substantial libraries of Pope Benedict XIII and his cardinals, to holdings of works by Petrarch and Cicero that could not be found in Barcelona. This sojourn in Avignon was perhaps a bit like one of those short-

term foreign study grants that thirty years ago opened up a previously unmined bibliographical world: in Metge's case, books which had been produced by the early Italian humanists.

It has been suggested that his first response to this new reading matter was the *Apologia*, only a short fragment from the beginning of which has survived. (Although it has been claimed that Metge started it, but left it incomplete, the surviving fragment cuts off in mid-sentence, which is not how one would expect an incomplete draft to be interrupted.) Whatever the case, in this fragment, perhaps from 1395, and in *Lo somni*, completed in 1399, Metge opened up Catalan literary culture to an intellectual world of a depth previously unknown. I will try to provide a measured justification of this evaluation.

We can see that both the *Apologia* and *Lo somni* are modelled on Petrarch's *Secretum*, the work which launched the genre of the personal, intellectual and literary dialogue and foreshadowed the Renaissance. It seems that Metge, on the strength of his own intellect, without Petrarch's humanist schooling, recognized the innovation. In the *Apologia* this is made clear by a literal quotation from the preface to the *Secretum* and by the use of the dramatic dialogue—in other words, by making the speakers address each other directly, after their names, without “he said” and other *verba dicendi*. This format of the *Secretum* comes from Cicero's dialogues, as Metge himself says, and enlivens the dialogue, which is presented in the reader's mind's eye without mediation; and this introduced a new way of understanding the genre, a point of view: the author disappears, the sense of familiarity between the protagonists increases—manifested also in the way they speak to each other, and the tone of the replies—as does the intimacy of the conversation which, in Petrarch, goes beyond philosophy and enters into the territory of autobiographical fiction, a world of reading and passions, both amorous and intellectual. This concept of the dialogue can also be seen in *Lo somni*, even though the *verba*

dicendi reappear and (as Francisco Rico has observed) the work represents a step backwards in this respect.

The adoption of this type of dialogue—and Enrico Fenzi believes Metge was the earliest to do so anywhere in Europe—means that in 1399 for the first time in the history of Catalan literature the original readers of *Lo somni* came across a text in which essential questions about human existence were freely discussed: questions concerning the immortality of the soul, involving a discussion between transcendental faith and the natural science of which Metge was a adherent; or the question of love, involving a debate between feelings and the way they are represented in literature, on the one hand, and, on the other, the moral norm which at that time could condemn both passion and Classical poetry. It is perhaps worth remembering that Petrarch, at the end of the *Secretum*, states “sed desiderium frenare non ualeo” (“but I am not able to rein in my desire”), referring to the passion of love, but also to intellectual fervour, the work of the classicizing author and the desire for posterity. This is the conflict between life imagined and life lived, the *secretum* preserved in the book that was the product of his fictitious conversation with St Augustine. Our Bernat Metge, who ends up reluctantly accepting the certainty of immortality, when he refers to the true love he felt, in adultery, doesn’t balk at confessing in the conclusion: “amb aquesta opinió vull morir” (“I want to die holding this opinion”). In this dialogue, Metge hit upon the idea of introducing the mythological figures of Orpheus (literary love) and Tiresias (the moralist), inspired by Ovid’s *Metamorphosis* (or *Ovidius maior* as it was known in the classroom) and by Dante’s *Inferno*, widely read alongside Book VI of the *Aeneid* and Seneca’s *Hercules furens* (glossed by Nicholas Trivet). He was still writing, then, in 1399 with one eye on the Classical texts from his school days and the other on the very latest vernacular literature.

Searching for traces of professional humanism in the vernac-

ular debate of *Lo somni* is, as Metge would say, like ploughing sand: a fruitless academic exercise. But it is nevertheless necessary to recognize that we are dealing here with the spirit and acuity of a wonderful and very well-informed writer. *Lo somni* is a dialogue that makes use of material from Cicero's *Tusculanae disputationes*, and excerpts from Petrarch's *Familiares* and Boccaccio's *De claris mulieribus*, for example; but above all it is a dialogue free of didacticism, devoid of moral indoctrination, precisely because it is just four voices on a single stage: it is up to the readers, the spectators, to draw their own conclusions.

Metge arrived at this literary maturity having understood Petrarch and having cultivated a Latinate prose style, to date studied only by Amfós Par in 1923. I would like to quote a sample of this, from the beginning of the *Apologia*. He says, in a clear, complex and varied prose style:

“Estant en mi l'altre jorn, amb gran repòs e tranquil·lant de la pensa en lo meu diversori, en lo qual acostum estar quan desig ésser bé acompanyat —no pas dels hòmens que vui viuen, car pocs d'ells saben acompanyar, mas dels morts, qui-ls han sobrepujats en virtut, ciència, gran indústria e alt enginy, e jamés no desemparen aquells qui volen amb ells conversar, ne-ls deneguen usdefruit de les grans heretats que-ls han lleixades [...] —, vénc un gran amic meu, apellat Ramon, hom no molt fundat en ciència mas de bon enginy e de covinent memòria. Lo seu cognom vull celar per causa. E après que hagué tocat algunes vegades a la porta del meu diversori, car jo no li volia obrir perquè no-m torbàs, coneguí, en la continuïtat que faïa de tocar, que cuitat era, e obrí-li la porta.”

“The other day, when I was on my own, at great leisure and with a peaceful mind in my lodgings, where I tend to go when I want to be in good company—not the company of men who are alive today, for few of them know how to keep one com-

pany, but the dead who have excelled them in virtue, science, great industry and high ingenuity, and who never desert those who wish to converse with them nor deny them the right to the great legacy that they have bequeathed them [...]—a great friend of mine, called Ramon, a man not well versed in learning but bright nevertheless, and blessed with a good memory, stopped by. I have good reason for not wishing to disclose his surname. And after he had knocked on the door of my lodgings a few times, because I had not wanted to answer the door so as not to be disturbed, I realized, from his persistence in knocking, that he was distressed, and I opened the door to him.”

It goes without saying that the “dead” are the Classical authors who keep him company, with their “great legacy” that Metge has learnt to enter into dialogue with, thanks to Petrarch’s example, in “lo meu diversori” (“in my lodgings”) he says, using an unusual high-register turn of phrase. It’s a pleasure to see an author employing simple, compound and complex sentence structures in a single paragraph. This skill we find again in the prose of Lluís Nicolau d’Olwer, Marçal Olivar, Ramon d’Abadal or Jordi Rubió i Balaguer, or in the prose of magazine *Mirador* when Just Cabot was running it; a prose that is both clear and complex, detailed yet harmonious, or weighty when need be.

It is especially apt that the Institut d’Estudis Catalans is today commemorating Bernat Metge, a man who read in Latin, Catalan, Aragonese, French, Italian and Occitan, and above all who knew his grammar and rhetoric; a man whose Catalan prose still deserves to be studied today alongside the Latin letters of the very best chancery secretaries which Jaume Riera knows so well; a man who had learnt to engage in dialogue with the traditional texts, beginning with the Classics—truly a man of letters.

TRANSLATED BY DAVID BARNETT

II

FROM BERNAT METGE TO THE BERNAT METGE SERIES: NOTES ON THE RECEPTION OF THE AUTHOR OF *LO SOMNI* (*THE DREAM*)

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No works by Bernat Metge were printed until 1889. However, direct and indirect testimony of our author's reception in the Middle Ages first appears in 1399 and ends in the following century. In 1959 Martí de Riquer highlighted the significance of a letter dated to 28 April 1399 in Metge's rehabilitation as a royal secretary following the dynastic crisis of 1396-97: it's the earliest mention we have of *Lo somni* (*The Dream*). One indication of the opinion that fifteenth-century readers held of Metge is the companion texts copied in the three manuscript miscellanies that transmit *Lo somni*: it was copied alongside doctrinal texts by Llull and in another it is associated with literature that told of the afterlife (and in an elaborate prose). A trawl through the inventories of libraries that held works by Metge indicates that they were owned by educated people, linked to the courtly elite (a notary, a lady, a nobleman, and a civil servant), but some of his works also appear in the library of a craftsman (a lorimer or spurrier). The information allows us to believe that the author's prose was granted a certain authority and that his literary knowledge and expertise as a translator were also valued.

His most well-known work was his version of *Griselda*, but Joanot Martorell transposes the start of book IV of *Lo somni* into chapter 298 of *Tirant lo Blanc* and, in chapter 309, he repeats his Petrarchan catalogue of illustrious women, also from *Lo somni*. Ferran Valentí, the translator of Cicero's *Paradoxa*, in the prologue he wrote in 1450 justifying his work, considers Bernat Metge and Ramon Llull to be the two great stalwarts of Catalan letters: Metge represents an entire literary programme as a translator of Cicero and imitator of Boccaccio. In the sixteenth century, though, all trace of him disappears: Metge's works do not figure among the early printed volumes and only *Griselda* survived, as an anonymous source, in Joan Timonedà's *Patrañuelo*.

The association of Bernat Metge with Classicism, humanism and the Renaissance was completely impossible before 1889 when Antoni Rubió i Lluch (1857-1937) gave his inaugural speech to the Reial Acadèmia de Bones Lletres de Barcelona (Barcelona's Royal Academy of Belles Lettres) entitled *El Renacimiento clásico en la literatura catalana* (*The Classical Renaissance in Catalan literature*), and Josep Miquel Guàrdia made the text of *Lo somni* available, accompanying it with a translation in French. Josep Miquel Guàrdia (1830-1897), doctor, philosopher and erudite Menorcan who settled in France, had had the opportunity to work on Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS esp. 305, which contains an almost complete copy of Metge's masterwork. But the keen interest aroused by the recuperation of the text of *Lo somni* cannot be understood without reference to the Classical revival in Catalonia's cultural past that Rubió i Lluch had defended with enthusiasm in his speech on the Classical Renaissance. In the late nineteenth-century rhetoric of the time, he proclaimed "the august presence of Rome" in medieval Catalan literature as he listed a series of Classicist indicators from the time of James I to Alfonso the Magnanimous, among which Peter the Ceremonious's eulogy of the Athenian Acropolis takes pride of place.

The surprise or admiration that the first readers of printed editions of *Lo somni* experienced grew with each successive issue: Antoni Bulbena's is from 1891, Ramon Miquel i Planas's (1874-1950) was published in the "Històries d'altre temps" ("Stories of former times") in 1907. Lluís Nicolau d'Olwer (1888-1961), a protégé of Rubió i Lluch, studied Metge's case as well as that of other Catalan writers from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries who were familiar with Classical texts in two *Estudis Universitaris Catalans* works: "Apunts sobre la influència italiana en la prosa catalana" ("Notes on the Italian influence on Catalan prose"; 1908) and "Del classicisme a Catalunya: notes al primer diàlech den Bernat Metge" ("On Classicism in Catalonia: notes on Bernat Metge's first dialogue"; 1909). Josep Maria de Casacuberta (1897-1985) launched the "Els Nostres Clàssics" series in 1923 at the newly-formed Barcino publishing house with an edition of *Lo somni* with a modernised version of the text and notes. As is well known, this collection was conceived at the outset as an enterprise that would bring medieval Catalan literature to a wider audience, with the aim of providing the Catalan reading public with an informative and measured evaluation of their own cultural heritage.

By the 1920s *Lo somni* had an established literary and cultural worth. Key contributions to this were the *Documents per a l'estudi de la cultura catalana mig-eval* (*Documents for the study of medieval Catalan culture*) published by Antoni Rubió i Lluch between 1908 and 1921, and the 100 pages of his monograph on the reign of King John I in the *Estudis Universitaris Catalans*: "Joan I l'humanista i el primer període de l'humanisme català" ("John I the humanist and the first stage of Catalan humanism"; 1917-1918). The choice of the word *humanist* is a piece of propaganda which can be explained within the context of the ideology of the *Noucentisme* movement. We only need remember how Eugeni d'Ors in his *Glossari* column urged the readers of *La Veu de Catalunya* (*The Voice of Catalonia*) to climb aboard

the good ship Humanism and claim the Classical heritage that was theirs by right. Humanism was a rallying cry, as we shall see later on.

Rubió i Lluç's text is rich in nuances and finer points which warn against taking the title of his monograph too literally: only Alfonso the Magnanimous's court in Naples (1442-1458) "properly" deserves to be called humanist; John I's Hellenism is rightfully reduced to its more anecdotal dimensions; Bernat Metge's *Lo somni* is a masterpiece of translation of Cicero and Boccaccio; Bernat Metge and Antoni Canals are pioneering admirers of Petrarch; etc. On the other hand, the use of the term *humanist* to describe Metge's cultural environs and his work does not resonate at all with Romance language scholars studying the cultural landscape in late-medieval Catalonia, not with Arturo Farinelli, nor with Bernardo Sanvisenti, nor with Mario Casella.

In early 1930s Catalonia, positing theories on Catalan humanism applied to Classical readings of Metge was not incompatible with producing contributions of considerable merit. Thus Martí de Riquer, at the same time as he was writing his short work, *L'humanisme català* (*Catalan humanism*), published by Barcino in 1934, was also uncovering traces of Petrarch's *Secretum* in *Lo somni* in an article of 1933. Two years earlier, Pere Bohigas had made known in a note in *Estudis Universitaris Catalans* the only known fragment of Metge's *Apoloogia*, his work that shows Petrarch's influence most strongly, preserved in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS esp. 55.

The Catalan humanism that Antoni Rubió i Lluç and a young Martí de Riquer were talking about in the first decades of the twentieth century can be summed up in the following points: the figure of John I; the Hellenism of the king and Fernández de Heredia, absolutely unique in Europe; the Latin Classicism of John I's court; the presentation of the king as a humanist through *Lo somni*; the translators of the Italian

Trecento classics; the figures of Bernat Metge and Antoni Canals; and, above all, the early date of the supposed movement in Catalonia compared with the rest of the Iberian Peninsula. The exhumation, study and evaluation of the circulation of books in the times of the last two kings of the royal house of Aragon (John I and Martin I), of the translations carried out during their reigns, and of original contemporary literary production, in particular the work of Bernat Metge, signified, at the turn of the nineteenth century, the foundation of modern Catalan cultural and literary history. Nevertheless, the discourse that accompanied the results of this research is very much of its time and, to the extent that it uses arguments to overstate what it wishes to represent, it shows itself to be influenced by the ideological discourse of an emergent society and culture: in the first instance framed within the *Renaixença* movement, and, at the start of the twentieth century, that of *Noucentisme*.

With hindsight, alarm bells ring at the recurrence of a series of values—Classicism, the Renaissance, humanism—associated with what is perceived as excellent, desirable and socially productive for the culture of a country striving to win a place for itself among European nations: the industrial and bourgeois Catalonia reborn after the *Renaixença* and which was equipping itself with its very own ideology of political self-affirmation. Around leaders like Enric Prat de la Riba and Francesc Cambó, this trio of political and cultural notions triumphed. From the given value of the classic and of Classicism, inherited from the Latin tradition, the closely related concepts of the Renaissance and humanism were promoted and developed.

The critical bibliography of recent decades, from the studies of Eduard Valentí to those of Borja de Riquer, Carles Miralles, Jaume Pòrtulas and Josep Murgades, among others, has explored the ideological scope of the terms in question and the central role they played in the cultural programmes of the *Renaixença*, of *Modernisme* and of *Noucentisme*. When Antoni

Rubió i Lluch was speaking so highly of the *Renacimiento clásico* (*Classical Renaissance*) in medieval Catalan literature at the end of the nineteenth century he was making a link between the Catalan Middle Ages and the highest cultural values available, according to contemporary historiographical discourse: the recuperation of Classical texts in sixteenth-century Europe by the humanists, from Petrarch to Valla, to Erasmus. The operation consisted in rescuing Catalan literature from a dark, obfuscating and unproductive medieval age and leading it out into the brightly-lit uplands of the Renaissance, as understood by nineteenth-century cultural historians, and, especially with regard to the Renaissance, by Jacob Burckhardt. The early appearance of Classicism in Catalonia in comparison with Castile sowed the first seeds of a political idea that was only to grow in the early years of the twentieth century.

With these considerations in mind, it is entirely understandable that the “Classical Renaissance” of 1889 became “humanism” in Rubió i Lluch’s own monograph on the reign of John I some thirty years later. In reality, fifteenth-century humanism signifies a renovation of the philological methodology of approximation to the Classical legacy, a vision which introduced profound changes in European culture through the acquisition of a new critical sense and a series of effective tools for textual analysis. The *studia humanitatis* and their alliance with the printing industry are two of the developments that herald the modern age, along with geographical discoveries, the Protestant Reformation, the literary affirmation of national languages and the founding of their corresponding states. Since the 1970s, scholars of the *quattrocento* have been exploring the work of local followers of the *studia humanitatis*, precursors of Joan Lluís Vives. Catalan humanism expressed in Latin in the second half of the fifteenth century is now an area that has been sufficiently well studied and evaluated thanks to the contributions of Latinists and Hispanists, such as Brian Tate, who restored the figure

of Cardinal Margarit, Mariàngela Vilallonga, who has edited the works of Jeroni Pau, Jaume Torró, who has brought Joan Serra to our attention, or Joan Alcina and Alejandro Coroleu, among others.

The key to the success of the “Catalan humanism” label, applied to John I’s court as a whole and Metge’s prose works in particular, can be explained precisely because the multiple meanings of the word *humanism* were exploited for propagandistic purposes, meanings which we today tend to differentiate between and clarify. Understood as announcing a new Renaissance, humanism was a promising new dawn, capable of arousing rhetorical emotions such as those in the embellished proclamations of Eugeni Ors’s *Glossari*, mentioned above. But the term also referred to an educational programme based on knowledge of Classics, which was applied systematically in several European states like Germany, France, Great Britain and Italy until well into the second half of the twentieth century. Moreover, the word *humanism* conjures up different and opposing philosophical meanings, which can be applied to any interpretation of reality that places man in a central position. Any such formulation always needs to be qualified in some way, because man’s central role can be understood in completely incompatible ways. Although somewhat confusing, the idea that humanism makes reference to the attention to man – for example as opposed to the theocentricity of the Middle Ages – has been universally applied to the standard definition of the literary and artistic Renaissance in the sixteenth century. This does not ignore the fact that the term can also be applied, *sub specie aeternitatis*, to philosophical positions inspired by Christianity, to attitudes to life governed by the values of a combative social morality, or to the shared dedication to the fine arts and patriotic militancy, among many other situations equally worthy of admiration.

Making Bernat Metge a humanist and describing his cultural

milieu as Catalan humanism was, for the medieval scholars of the 1920s and 30s a modern, current and politically engaged way of dignifying the past they were studying. For the real politicians and their cultural agents it was something completely different: the humanism of Bernat Metge became a cultural battering ram to break down the walls of ignorance and build a new Catalonia steeped in the highest values of Classicism.

Jaume Pòrtulas called the presentation booklet for the Fundació Bernat Metge (launched with the support of Francesc Cambó) a “document of intentions”. The text appears anonymously in Barcelona in 1922, but we know that it is the work of Joan Estelrich (1896-1958), the first head of the Foundation. On the opening page we read, just as Antoni Rubió i Lluch has taught us, that even though Catalonia did not take part in the European Renaissance of the sixteenth century, it experienced an earlier incarnation of it in the time of John I, when versions of Classical texts flourished. Let us look at his exact wording: “la tasca, però, d’aquells abundosos traductors dels escriptors antics dels segles XIV i XV no arribà generalment a tenir valor humanístic” (“the task, though, of those prolific translators of Classical writers in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries did not generally achieve any humanistic value”). It is interesting to note that here the term is used in the sense of the *studia humanitatis* and it responds objectively to Rubió i Lluch’s evaluations which, as we have seen, had always been very precise and not at all ambiguous in this respect. The presentation of the venture follows: the educational intent is defined with regard to the Catalan reading public, who are to be furnished with correct and clean original texts, free from unmanageable critical apparatuses, because they needed above all good translations that made the best Classical texts accessible. On page 4, the “dedication to Bernat Metge” is justified because he was the one who “introduced, already in the first Renaissance, humanism to Catalan letters”. So here, in contrast, the term *humanism* has

a quite different meaning, in which the notions of the dawn of a new era, of the central role of man, and above all of the educational function of the Classics converge, and which will be one of the battle cries of Estelrich's ideological discourse in the coming years.

It is fairly well known that the ideological discourse of Eugeni Ors was heavily informed by French ideas. The nationalist bent of the *Action Française* political group was an aspirational model, as were the writings of Maurice Barrès and Charles Maurrès. Both waved the Classicist flag to such an extent that it became a symbol of a desired superiority of the Latin over the Germanic. Joan Estelrich also saw himself reflected, as did Ors, in French cultural and political models. The choice of Bernat Metge as the name for the worthy foundation is a calque of the Association Guillaume Budé, founded in 1917 to divulge Classical culture and the humanities along with the Les Belles Lettres publishing house, which still publishes today the "Collection des Universités de France", also called the "Collection Budé": a series of bilingual and annotated texts which made Classical literature accessible to the French reading public. Today the Budé has a vast catalogue and continues to play a mediating role between erudition and the reading public, thanks precisely to the original innovative idea behind it, that of combining a philological presentation with French translations of quality.

The Fundació Bernat Metge effectively adapted the French Budé model to the Catalan case. The only thing that does not match is the name. It would have made more sense to use Joan Lluís Vives, but Joan Estelrich, or whoever proposed the name of the author of *Lo somni* for Francesc Cambó's Foundation, knew of Rubió i Lluch's contributions on the early humanism of John I and was navigating with complete ease between the different meanings of the term *humanism*. Guillaume Budé lived between 1467 and 1540. He was a notary and secretary to Francis I of France and to that extent he is like Bernat Metge.

But in everything else he is not, because he was also the curator of the royal library at Fontainebleau, an editor of Classical Greek texts and an advocate of the study of Classical languages and Hebrew. The foundation in 1530 of what is today the Collège de France is down to his initiative. The collected edition of his works, published in Basel in 1557, runs to four folio size volumes; Bernat Metge's works would fit in a 280-page octavo volume, including notes and an introduction. Budé was a great Classical scholar during a foundational stage of that discipline; Metge was a good writer and a careful reader with an exceptional intellect.

Interest in Bernat Metge was reignited in the 1940s. In 1946 Antoni Vilanova published an edition of *Lo somni* for the Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas. In 1950, Martí de Riquer brought out the first of his great books on Metge: *Les obres completes i selecció de lletres reials* (*Complete works and a selection of royal correspondence*), volume 69 in the Biblioteca Selecta. For the first time the work of John I's secretary was available in its entirety, and we were able to form a global vision of his standing as an author of works in verse and prose and a writer of letters in Latin, Aragonese and Catalan.

The most significant contribution at that time to our knowledge of Metge's biography was the article "Procés contra els consellers, domèstics i curials de Joan I, entre ells Bernat Metge" ("The case against the counsellors, household and administrative staff of John I, among them Bernat Metge"), edited by Marina Mitjà in the *Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona* (1957-1958). Although the historical commentary promised by Marina Mitjà never materialised, the documents relating to the preliminary investigation of the case reveal an extensive series of abuses, betrayal and fraud carried out among John I's immediate entourage. The publication of these documents was a revelation. The virtue associated with humanist and Renaissance Classicism as an ideal model for behaviour

went into crisis, for those who had bought into it, and the way was opened up for the image of an ambitious, scheming and suspiciously dishonest Bernat Metge.

The breakthrough approach of the seminal work by Martí de Riquer on Metge in 1959, *Obras de Bernat Metge*, published by the Universitat de Barcelona, is the fusion between the data from the archival documentation—from Rubió i Lluch's *Documents* to those unearthed by Marina Mitjà—and the literary and stylistic analysis of Metge's output in verse and prose. Riquer reconstructs Metge's intellectual biography, from the years when he was a chancery scribe in the household of Queen Eleanor. He studies his incorporation into the service of John when he was still heir to the throne, his involvement in the celebration of John's marriage to Yolande de Bar, his role as secretary to the king and queen from 1390, and his sojourn in Avignon as ambassador in 1395. The extant works of Metge are located in relation to these stages in his biography, most notably the *Llibre de Fortuna i Prudència* and the *Història de Valter e de Griselda*. In order to insert *Lo somni* in its corresponding historical context, Riquer explores the dynastic crisis that erupted following John I's death, and he unequivocally supports a political motivation for, and interpretation of, Metge's masterwork, without in any way denying its literary merits.

These contributions, produced between 1940 and 1960, again introduced Metge into academic circles, beyond the extreme political use which the losing side in the Civil War could have made of him, in those decades in which Francoist censorship persisted in obstructing and interfering in Catalan cultural activity. This distressing situation, which lasted with highs and lows until the transition to monarchy and democracy in 1979, explains why considering Metge to be a humanist in a context characterised by early Classicism endured as a valuable reminder of better times in the scholarly and historiographical production of Catalan academics who were barely favourable if at all to

the regime's policies. Miquel Batllori (1909-2003), for example, and Eusebi Colomer (1924-1997), scholars of great stature, were talking about humanism until the end of the twentieth century, understanding the term in a very broad sense, as a change in the history of ideas around 1300 that would lead to the Renaissance. The power of the old rallying cry was also installed uncritically in school textbooks in the 1980s and 1990s and has prospered in recent electronic publications, in an increasingly confused atmosphere: when the term *humanism* is applied thoughtlessly to everything Catalan from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, it is clear that the word has lost all meaning.

Studies since 1959 have grown in Riquer's shadow. This is the case of my contributions, published together in a single volume in 1988: there are works on his education, and the crisis of Catalan humanism applied to Metge, and on the cultivation of ambiguity in the prose of *Lo somni* and Metge's courtship with Epicureanism, as understood in the Middle Ages. This volume, I believe, has helped to introduce Metge's work to academics, universities and schools.

The most notable recent contributions by scholars are the two critical editions of works by Metge that have appeared in the "Els Nostres Clàssics" series. Stefano Maria Cingolani's edition of *Lo somni* (2006) reframes the textual criticism of the work, taking the exemplar housed in the Barcelona Athenaeum as the base manuscript, and at the same time enriches the repertoire of sources and questions some of the suppositions relating to the political implications of the work, which Cingolani tends to read from the Classical sources, especially Cicero. Lluís Cabré's edition of the *Llibre de Fortuna i Prudència* (2010) is a reevaluation of the literary merits of this verse work written in 1381. His defence is based on a critical edition and a study of the sources and the origins of the literary recreation, which make Metge definitively a medieval writer of a rare quality. Miquel Marco edited the same text in the same year with the Acadèmia

de Bones Lletres de Barcelona: it is not a critical edition complete with manuscript analysis, but nevertheless demonstrates the interest in a work that had previously been side-lined.

Studies on the circulation of French books at the Catalan court following John I's marriage to Yolande de Bar in 1380 have shown that there was a direct connection with the French royal library from which the latest literary works were imported, which were often thought to have come directly from Italy. Such is the case of the *Història de Valter e de Griselda*: Metge was inspired by the version of the last story in the *Decameron* which Philippe de Mézières had translated into French, just as Petrarch had done into Latin. Also from France, from Avignon to be precise, was the importation of Classical sources which, via Petrarch, made the first book of *Lo somni* possible. Translations of *Lo somni* into Italian, English and German which have come out at the turn of the twenty-first century, with introductions and notes, can be added to those already published in French and Castilian, and which are a sign of the expansion in Metge's reception beyond the Catalan territory. Further evidence of this is the book on Petrarch and Metge published in London a few months ago, which will be discussed shortly.

TRANSLATED BY DAVID BARNETT

III BERNAT METGE AT THE WARBURG INSTITUTE¹

Alejandro Coroleu

ICREA-UNIVERSITAT AUTÒNOMA DE BARCELONA

Ever since antiquity many Western cultures have judged their vernacular thought, art and writing by comparison with Greece and Rome. Nowhere is the interface between classical antiquity and a later historical period truer than in the case of Renaissance humanism. A movement based on the recovery, interpretation and imitation of classical texts, humanism has long been recognized as originating in Italy towards the middle of the fourteenth century. From there it spread to the farthest recesses of Europe within a period of a century and a half, influencing almost every facet of Renaissance intellectual life, from language learning to the development of science.

One of the first to study the culture of the Renaissance was the Swiss historian Jakob Burckhardt (1818-1897). In his research Burckhardt treated the Renaissance as an essentially new creation and relegated the study of the classics to a subordinate position. “The essence of the phenomena [of the Renaissance]”, he wrote in 1860, “might have been the same without the classi-

1. This note draws partially on information displayed on the Warburg Institute website, and on lines from *The Transmission of Culture in Early Modern Europe*, edited by Anthony Grafton and Ann Blair, Philadelphia, 1990. Readers interested in Aby Warburg and the intellectual tradition of the Warburg Institute may consult E. H. Gombrich, *A Lifelong Interest: Conversations on Art and Science with Didier Eribon*, London, 1993, and Fritz Saxl (1890-1948): *A Biographical Memoir by Gertrud Bing, Reprinted in the Fifteenth Anniversary of his Death*, London, 1998.

cal revival". This attitude, rooted in Romantic ideas about originality, prevailed until the arrival of a new scholarship best represented by Aby Warburg (1866-1929). Following Burckhardt he conceived the programme of illustrating the processes by which the memory of the past affects a culture. The paradigm he chose was the influence of antiquity on modern European civilization in all its aspects—social, political, religious, scientific, philosophical, literary and artistic—and he ordered his private library in Hamburg accordingly. In 1921 Warburg and his friend Fritz Saxl (1890-1948) turned the library into a research institute devoted to the study of the classical reception—that is, the various ways in which the culture of the ancient world has been incorporated, interpreted or contested in European art and culture, from late antiquity to the early nineteenth century. After the rise of the Nazi regime, the Institute was transferred to London, and in 1944 it was incorporated in the University of London. Fourteen years later it was installed in its current site in Bloomsbury.

The Warburg Institute has a long history. Since its foundation, and particularly under the guidance of Ernst H. Gombrich (1909-2001), it has become a centre of excellence in the study of the classical tradition in all its aspects. It is a remarkably cosmopolitan institution, heir in equal measure to the Germanic and Anglo-American tradition of studies. Its rich photographic collection and, above all, its unique library make the Institute into a magnet which attracts researchers and students from all over the world. The library is arranged around four key categories: Image (first floor: Western post-classical art history), Word (second floor: European literatures, Renaissance humanism, and cultural exchange), Orientation (third floor: the survival of ancient philosophy and its influence on medieval, Renaissance and early modern thought), and Action (fourth floor: Historiography, Political and Cultural history). It is a classification which forces researchers to walk up and down the building,

and, as I was warned when I first came to London, keeps the reader fit. It is not easy to get used to the unique classification system of the library but, with its open access to a wide range of primary and secondary texts and its generously integrative coverage of different subjects, it provides ideal conditions for research on classical learning and its later receptions.

For us it was therefore a privilege to be able to introduce Bernat Metge (ca. 1348-1413) to the some forty scholars gathered at the Institute to listen keenly to the papers presented at the colloquium *Fourteenth-Century Classicism: Petrarch and Bernat Metge*, held on 10 February 2010. Such an event would not have been possible without generous support from the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, the Universitat de Barcelona and the Universitat de Girona, and—it goes without saying—without the interest shown by the Warburg Institute. When planning the colloquium (and the book deriving from it) our first aim was to present Bernat Metge's fascinating work. Yet, we were aware that Metge's outstanding achievements (above all, his skilful adaptation of Petrarch) could not be examined in isolation but bearing in mind the historical and intellectual links of the territories of the Crown of Aragon with Avignon—the Avignon of Petrarch, after all. This explains why the contributions offered in this volume have been organized into two thematically coherent groups, dealing with the earliest dissemination of Petrarch's works in the Crown of Aragon and France, and with Bernat Metge's intellectual and literary activity.

I would like to conclude this brief note by thanking Jaume Riera, of the Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, Barcelona, for his help in locating a selection of Metge's Latin letters; the contributors to the volume for their hard work and patience; and, above all, Jill Krayer, Professor of the History of Renaissance Philosophy at the Warburg Institute, for all her support throughout the last twenty years and for agreeing to host a gathering on Bernat Metge under the auspices of the Institute. Though Professor

Kraye was unable to attend the Metge celebrations held at the Institut d'Estudis Catalans on 9 May 2013, she kindly sent a text which was circulated to the audience [*see below*].

The work of Bernat Metge deserved a place on the shelves of the Warburg Institute. It did not feature within the holdings of the library and now it does. It has been worth the effort.

IV
GREETINGS FROM THE LIBRARY
OF THE WARBURG INSTITUTE

Jill Kraye

WARBURG INSTITUTE

I am delighted that the volume *Fourteenth-Century Classicism: Petrarch and Bernat Metge*, officially published at the end of 2012, is being presented at this event to celebrate the sixth centenary of Metge's death; and I very much regret that I cannot be there, with my co-editors Lluís Cabré and Alejandro Coroleu, to introduce this book to an audience for whom Metge is already a well-known figure. One of the main aims of the volume and of the colloquium, held at the Warburg Institute on 10 February 2010, at which most of the papers were originally delivered, was to raise awareness among the wider scholarly public of this extraordinary Catalan writer and to underline, in particular, his role in transmitting the works of Petrarch to a vernacular readership and skilfully adapting them to the linguistic and cultural milieu of the Crown of Aragon. The colloquium, I believe, was successful in drawing the attention of a mostly British and London-based audience to an episode in Petrarch's European *fortuna* which was, for the most part, new to them. We now hope that the volume will bring this fascinating story to the notice of a much larger readership.

The Warburg Institute and its Library have a long and fruitful connection with Petrarch studies and, more generally, with the cultural and intellectual history of the Italian Renaissance.

Interest in the culture and literature of Catalunya, though less central, has by no means been absent. Most notably, the name of Majorcan philosopher and mystic Ramon Lull has been associated with the Warburg Institute through two seminal articles of Dame Frances Yates, which appeared in the *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* in 1954 and 1960 and which she described some twenty years later, when they were reprinted in a collection of her essays, as “the hardest task I have ever undertaken”. Yates’s articles were concerned primarily with Lull’s Art and, therefore, focused on his Latin logical writings rather than his Catalan novels and poetry. The later influence of his Latin works, outside the Iberian peninsula, was the subject of an important monograph by one of Yates’s disciples, Jocelyn Hillgarth; entitled *Ramon Lull and Lullism in Fourteenth-Century France*, the book was published in 1971 in the series Oxford-Warburg Studies.

In the Warburg Library, however, all aspects of Lull’s multi-faceted personality and writings, not just his Art, are well represented. The earliest book on him to be acquired, by Aby Warburg himself in 1909, was a German monograph on his relationship to Arabic philosophy. Some scattered works on Lull’s life and writings entered the Library in the period up to 1929, the year Warburg died; and when the Institute moved to London in 1933, books about Lull continued to be purchased sporadically. The real influx of Lulliana began in the 1950s, not coincidentally the time when Yates began to study him. Among the items acquired, no doubt to help with her research, was “the monumental edition” of his *Obres* “in twenty-one volumes”, which was described in the Institute’s Annual Report for 1958–1959 as “among the most important and expensive acquisitions of recent years”. Since then, the Library has steadily built up its collection of books by and about Lull, including a full run of the periodical *Estudios lulianos* and its successor *Studia Lulliana*. Moreover, in 2005 the great Lullian scholar Robert Pring-

Mill donated to the Library all his books, not only on Lull, but also on medieval Catalan thought and literature.

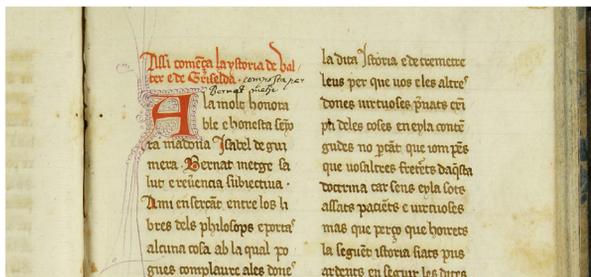
Humanism is another area for which the Warburg Institute and its Library are noted. Although once again, the Italian dimension is most prominent, the Iberian peninsula is not neglected. The *Cambridge Companion to Renaissance Humanism*, initially published in 1996 and edited by me, appeared two years later in a Spanish version, *Introducción al humanismo renacentista*, expertly translated by Lluís Cabré and including a specially commissioned chapter, “Humanismo en España”, by Alejandro Coroleu. It was thanks to Lluís that a badly chosen map of Europe in the original edition, which embarrassingly cut off most of Spain, was replaced in the Spanish version by a newly drawn one on which both Salamanca and Alcalá are clearly visible. As for Catalan classicism, the Warburg Library acquired Martí de Riquer’s *L’humanisme català, 1388–1494* soon after its publication in 1934 and boasts a good collection of studies by Miquel Batllori and other specialists.

In recent years, the Library has significantly increased its holdings on Bernat Metge, benefitting from generous donations of books and offprints by the scholars who contributed to *Fourteenth-Century Classicism*. Both the colloquium and the volume which is being presented today have put the connection between the Warburg Institute and Catalunya on a much firmer footing than ever before. It is certainly my hope, and I’m sure that of my co-editors, that this association will not only continue but grow and develop in the future.

This short commemorative work on Bernat Metge was
completed in Barcelona, on 2 November 2013,
All Souls' Day, in the workshop of
Publicacions del Narpan



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FOURTEENTH-CENTURY CLASSICISM: PETRARCH AND BERNAT METGE

The papers in this volume study the early influence of Petrarch in France and in the Crown of Aragon. They focus, in particular, on Bernat Metge (c. 1348–1413), a prominent member of the Aragonese Royal Chancery, who produced a Catalan adaptation of Petrarch's *Griseldis* (from *Seniles*, XVII, 3–4) around 1388, making a Latin work of Petrarch available for the first time in the Iberian Peninsula. Moreover, Metge's fragmentary *Apology* (1395?) and his *Dream* (1399) reveal familiarity with Petrarch's *Secretum*, *Familiares* and possibly *De remediis*. His fine imitation of Petrarchan models and his interest in classical literature put Metge on a par with contemporaneous writers elsewhere in Europe. This book aims to introduce a wider readership to an aspect of the dissemination of Petrarch's Latin writings which has so far received little attention and also to shed light on the cultural relations between France and the Crown of Aragon in the late fourteenth- and early fifteenth centuries.

Edited by Lluís Cabré, Alejandro Coroleu and Jill Kraye
(Warburg Institute Colloquia, 21) £ 40.00.
ISBN 978-1-908590-45-2. ISSN 1352-9986

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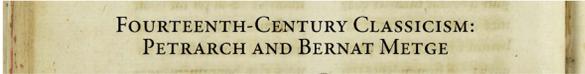


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