



You are accessing the Digital Archive of the Catalan Review Journal.

By accessing and/or using this Digital Archive, you accept and agree to abide by the Terms and Conditions of Use available at http://www.nacs-catalanstudies.org/catalan_review.html

Catalan Review is the premier international scholarly journal devoted to all aspects of Catalan culture. By Catalan culture is understood all manifestations of intellectual and artistic life produced in the Catalan language or in the geographical areas where Catalan is spoken. Catalan Review has been in publication since 1986.

Esteu accedint a l'Arxiu Digital del Catalan Review

A l' accedir i / o utilitzar aquest Arxiu Digital, vostè accepta i es compromet a complir els termes i condicions d'ús disponibles a http://www.nacs-catalanstudies.org/catalan_review.html

Catalan Review és la primera revista internacional dedicada a tots els aspectes de la cultura catalana. Per la cultura catalana s'entén totes les manifestacions de la vida intel·lectual i artística produïda en llengua catalana o en les zones geogràfiques on es parla català. Catalan Review es publica des de 1986.

***Francesc Eiximenis and the State Secret of King Peter's
"Ordinance for Court Officials"
Curt Wittlin***

Catalan Review, Vol. XVI, number 1-2, (2002), p. 229-242

FRANCESC EIXIMENIS AND THE STATE SECRET OF KING PETER'S "ORDINANCE FOR COURT OFFICIALS"

CURT WITTLIN

HOW KING PETER WANTED TO BE THOUGHT
OF AS CREATIVE LEGISLATOR

In June of 1343, King Peter of Catalonia –Pere III, “the Cerimonious”– invaded Majorca and annexed the realm of his brother-in-law James back under the Crown of Aragon. In the abandoned royal palace in Palma, Peter found a copy of the *Leges palatinae*, an anonymous compilation of regulations for Court officials.¹ Together with other books, the king’s chamberlain carried the manual to Barcelona, where, obeying royal orders dated July 9th 1343, he handed it over to the treasurer.² Peter felt that such guidelines for the personnel of his household and for all State officials, with dozens of detailed job-descriptions, would fill a great void in his empire. But his vanity did not allow him to simply impose on all his domains the *Leges* of the former kingdom of the vanquished James, now a fugitive bent on revenge.³ He wanted to avoid that people would deride his administrative organization, basis for his “cerimoniousness,” as nothing but plagiarism of the ordinance he had “stolen” in the palace of Majorca. Similar feelings surface also in the letter where he records that he had ordered his secretary Mateu Adrià to have the *Partidas*, King Alphonse of Castile’s collection of laws, “[...] per tal que... féssem ordenar semblants leys, les quals pròpiament poguessen ésser dites nostres.”⁴

¹ James had taken with him to France an illustrated copy on vellum. After circulating at the Court of Burgundy, it ended up in Antwerp and is now in Brussels. Its discoverer, Father Papebroch, edited it –of all places– in the *Acta Sanctorum*. New transcription, with facsimile of the manuscript, and translation into Spanish, by Pérez 1991. For an Italian translation see Schena, 1990, 111-19.

² “Mandamus vobis quatenus illos septem libros nostros, quos penes vos tenetis, quique fuerunt incliti Jacobi de Majoricis [...], traditis et deliberetis pro parte nostrae curiae dilecto consiliario et thesaurario nostro” (ed. Rubió i Lluch I, 127). We will return to this letter later.

³ Jealousy also made Peter command, in 1359, that the forty manuscripts James had donated to the monastery of Poblet in 1341 be “blended in” anonymously with the ones he himself had begun sending there. See Hillgarth, “Los libros” 75-81, and “La personalitat” 7-102.

⁴ “So that I then can make similar laws which could truly be called *our* laws” (Rubió i Lluch I, 208). A hundred years later, the royal archivist Miquel Carbonell added

If Peter was planning to use the *Leges palatinae* just as inspiration for his own ordinances, he might have instructed his secretaries to prepare quickly a word-by-word "rough" translation. And this is what we have today: a graceless text, which the king had kept annotating all his life, without ever trying to render it more legible. His *Ordinacions sobre lo Regiment de tots los Oficials de la Cort* are described by all historians who have studied them as plagiarism of the Majorcan *Leges*, calqued in an "inexplicably unpolished and absurd style," "unintelligible."⁵

But even more puzzling than the bad translation is a copy of the Latin Preface to the *Leges* in which dozens of words have been replaced with Latin synonyms, but not for reasons of improving the original text. We find, for instance, "solicitududo" for "diligentia," "res gerere" for "negotia agere," "nec facile putandum est" for "levi credendum non est," and so on. Was this a first idea of King Peter of how to transform the *Leges* into something he could claim to be his own work? We transcribe this strange page in the appendix—together with the original and the translation—, first because I know of no other Latin text which was rewritten in Latin *not* for stylistic reasons, second because this new version—which was published in a German doctoral thesis from 1913—is not mentioned in any other publication on the *Ordinacions*.⁶

Most researchers repeat blindly the by now traditional attribution of the Catalan translation of the *Leges* to Mateu Adrià, Peter's chief secretary. Believing Adrià to be the translator of the *Partidas*, they assume that he also translated the *Leges*. But as we have seen above, we only know that Adrià had been ordered to "have them translated."⁷ If one compares originals and translations, it becomes obvious that the *Partidas* were treated much more freely than the *Leges*. More than one translator was involved. If anything, Adrià might have rewritten the Preface to the *Leges*. Seeing that new Latin version, the king might have decided on a translation, and simply assigned the job to his chancellery, where it could have been made by

on page 1 of the manuscript (I translate): "This work was written by King Peter the Third, who also composed the admirable *Ordinance of the Court of Aragon*."

⁵ "Absurd estil," "estilo rudo y sin belleza, inexplicable," "ininteligible" (Rubió i Balaguer, "Sobre els orígens" 39, and *Vida* 143).

⁶ Schwarz 123, in a summary of Peter's *Ordinacions* as edited by Bofarull 1850. A new edition, based on the recently rediscovered original Catalan manuscript, annotated by King Peter himself, is being prepared by Gimeno Blay, as announced in "Escribir" 179-90.

⁷ "Comanam a Mateu Adrià [...] les leys de l'Emperador per tal que aquelles fes tresladar." Schena clearly states that there is no basis for attributing the translation of the *Ordinacions* to Adrià (114).

anyone, or, to speed up matters, by a team. Equally expeditiously, the king had the *Ordinacions* approved by Council, and then declared them law in November 1344. Several copies were made, of which twenty-seven survive.⁸ The original was always kept close to the king, who continued "working on it."

Peter was aware that the *Ordinacions* regulate only the jobs of his civil administrators. He was hoping King Alphonse's second *Partida* would help him elaborate laws for the military. I believe that his order to the Guardian of the Franciscan convent in Barcelona "Do not let (Eiximenis) leave until the work is finished" shows that he was waiting for the volume of the encyclopedic *El Cristià* which was to deal with military matters.⁹ So our friar, having finished the third volume shortly after having been transferred to Valencia in 1383, went right to writing the twelfth volume, the *Dotzè*, covering in chap. 213 to 337 all aspects of warfare.¹⁰ In September 1386 King Peter was in Valencia,¹¹ where Eiximenis had just completed the first half of the *Dotzè*.¹² It is surprising that a royal edict concerning the "conestable," dated September 25th, is just about identical with chap. 238 of the *Dotzè*.¹³ I believe the king used a draft submitted by Eiximenis.

HOW EIXIMENIS SET THE MATTER STRAIGHT, WHILE DEMONSTRATING WHERE AND HOW HE ENCODES SECRETS

There is no doubt that Eiximenis was familiar with Peter's *Ordinacions*. In chap. 202 of the *Dotzè*, pretending to quote a letter from a certain Zoillus to King Lodegat of Liguria, he transcribes the

⁸ See Palacios Martín, "Sobre la redacción" and *El manuscrito*.

⁹ Letter dated May 17th 1381: "No'l lexets partir [...] fins que la dita obra haja perfectió" (transcribed in Ivars 53).

¹⁰ On this section of the *Dotzè*, still unedited, see Riquer, 171-89. For the edition of the second half of the *Dotzè*, chap. 467-907, see Eiximenis.

¹¹ Earlier in 1386, Peter had the fiftieth anniversary of his coronation celebrated everywhere with pomp and speeches. The orator chosen for Valencia was Francesc Eiximenis.

¹² That same September, Count Alphonse of Denia sent money to Valencia to pay the rubricator of the first copy of volume one of the *Dotzè*, dedicated to him. His several "money-orders" are transcribed in Carr and Cátedra, 294-99. King John I of Spain had established, in 1382, the rank of "condestable" and had given it to Count Alphonse. He had observed that "en todos los demás regnos [...] ay condestable," and may have been imitating King Peter, who in 1369 had nominated his second son, Martin, to the position of "magister equitum" or "senescal," rank he wanted to be called from then on "conestable." See Riquer 174, and also note 25.

¹³ See Webster 239-49, who, unaware of the documents referred to in the previous note, believes that Eiximenis copied Peter's new law.

basic idea of the Prologue to the *Leges* and the *Ordinacions*: The king should fill the jobs at Court with specialists, "[...] axí que cascun se entrametés solament de son offici e d'aço en què era pràtic e usat e no d'altra cosa."¹⁴ At the end of 1386, Eiximenis started writing the second half of the *Dotzè*, opening with a section on royal officials (chap. 676 to 773). His intent was to complement the bureaucratic *Ordinacions* with comments of a moral and ethical nature. King Peter, changing very little in the *Leges*, had concentrated on job-descriptions, lines of command, salaries, fines for unexcused absences, and so on; Eiximenis felt someone should point out the virtues and social qualities needed by those appointed to official duties. For instance, dealing with the chamberlain, Peter ruled that he must never leave the king unprotected, accompanying him even to the toilet: "[...] deu en los secrets de natura entorn estar" (ed. Bofarull, 63). Eiximenis, in chap. 738, repeats the word "secret" six times; first with the meaning it has in the *Ordinacions*, but somewhat expanded: "[...] li és ajustat en los lochs pus secrets" ('he is near him even in the most secret places,' which could also be bedchambers), then giving it a moral-psychological twist: "[...] e sap sos personals defalliments e misèries e malalties secretes" 'and gets to know his secret shortcomings, vices and problems.' Having observed this situation, Eiximenis draws a momentous conclusion: "Té lo rey en son puny [...]. Pot fer ço que's vol d'ell" 'The chamberlain holds the king in his fist [...]. He can do with him what he wants.' But a virtuous chamberlain can use his position to guide the king's hand to do what is good for the country "[...] profitar per mà del rey a la cosa pública."

The *Leges* do not state who chooses the chamberlain, a reason for the king to consider this his prerogative. But Eiximenis points out that Johannes Forlivius lists several good reasons given by the emperor Justinus why officials with so much power should not be appointed by the king, but by "tot son principat e senyoria," which in the Aragonese context can only mean "all the delegates at the (in theory triennial) meetings of the 'Corts.'" Even if this is a quotation, and I believe it is, by transcribing and amplifying it Eiximenis, once again, puts himself in opposition to royal custom.

In chap. 739 Eiximenis introduces a truly dubious source: "Dix Juvenal, gran poeta, consellant a Lirancus, rey de Crastòvia, segons la Història Oriental, que aytal official, qui en lur lengua s'apella lirat, si pot fer ab lo príncep que regex que parle poch davant molts e sia larch

¹⁴ "[...] so that everyone look only after his own duties, what he was trained for and is used to, and nothing else." Compare this with the Latin text transcribed in the appendix.

e sens tota avarícia, que gran part de sos mals ha cuberts."¹⁵ Continuing with "[...] e compta aquí". Eiximenis leaves the reader wondering if he now follows Juvenal or that History of the East. We learn that "Compta aquí de Ermel, rey de Lusa, que son lirar, ço és son camarlench, apellat Elliell."¹⁶ This Eliel wrote a book on how to counsel kings, "un tractat de consellar als prínceps," containing a section on the "[...] art de fer bé son offici a profit de la comunitat e del senyor" 'art to excel as chamberlain, for the good of king and country,' part of the title of chap. 740. Eiximenis summarizes five of Eliel's points, which, however, do not bring much new material.¹⁷ Then he ends the chapter with the following, surprisingly precise, indications about the chamberlain and his book:

Aquesta Ordinació e informació de camarlench féu transportar Archadi, emperador de Roma, de caldeu en latí en son temps, e la's feya legir davant sovín, car gran plaer hi trobava. E amà molt lo dit Eliel, qui morí missatger del dit rey, aquí en Roma, regnant lo dit emperador, ço és en l'any de nostre Senyor CCCLXXXVII; e fo soterrat en les turmes diocesianes ab gran solemnitat, segons posa la dita història.¹⁸

Some readers had become perplexed already when the author linked Juvenal with that nebulous History of the East and its stories of Caldean kings and their "lirats." Even though Eiximenis refers nine times in chap. 740 to his source with the formula "e diu" 'and he says,' readers start wondering if he is not just making this all up. The last lines of the chapter, transcribed above, made some wonder how Juvenal could have quoted, from a History of the East, a book written

¹⁵ "The great poet Juvenal, giving advise to king Lirancus of Crastovia, according to the *History of the East*, writes that the chamberlain—which in their language is called 'lirar'—, if he succeeds that the king [...] doesn't say much in public and shows more generosity, has covered up the worst of the king's weaknesses." With [...] I mark a passage difficult to translate: 'lo princep que rex' could mean 'the king who rules' or 'the king he, the chamberlain, guides (holds in his fist).' The grammatical ambiguity might be intended.

¹⁶ "[...] and continues stating that Ermel, king of Lusa's 'lirar' or chamberlain called Elliell." This last name is also spelled *Eliel*, *Elliel* and *Eliell*, which could be a way of suggesting that it is invented. (But see note 21).

¹⁷ The fourth, that the chamberlain should guide the king to see and correct his shortcomings, is exemplified with a lengthy anecdote of how a chamberlain got his king to become more generous by having him find a faked letter addressed to that chamberlain, in which a Caldean friend chastises him for not curing the king of his avarice.

¹⁸ "This *Ordinance* and manual for chamberlains was transferred by orders of the Roman emperor Arcadius from Caldaic to Latin during his time, and he had it read to him often because he liked it. He held said Eliel in great esteem, but he died while serving as ambassador to said king, in Rome, at the time of said emperor, that is in the year of our Lord CCCLXXXVII, and was buried in the thurms of Diocletian, with great honors, according to said book of history" (*Dotzè* 740, 148).

by someone who died in 387;¹⁹ while others, lead on by the repeated use of the word "oriental" 'Eastern,' remembered that Arcadius (ten years old in 387) was emperor (after 395) not of the Roman, but of the Eastern Empire, in Constantinople.²⁰

Convinced now that there is a secret in chap. 740, readers begin to speculate if Eiximenis might not, here too, be talking about King Peter. Of course he is! The date of 387 does not refer to Eliel's death, but to Peter's, who died on January 5th 1387. He was buried in Poblet, the monastery he had turned into his library and into a "pantheon" for his dynasty. This imposition was probably much criticized in monastic circles. Eiximenis repeatedly urged royalty not to stay overnight in religious houses. While he meant this in general, he made many a reader think of King Peter. The allusion to Diocletian, persecutor of christians, could be an insider joke referring to Peter. Diocletian was famous for building "termes" 'thermes.' Eiximenis, maybe, was amused hearing some people mispronounce this Latinism as "turmes," under the influence of "tumbes" 'tombs.'²¹

The reader now sees what is behind the story of that Eastern book for royal officials, called *Ordinació*, which was transferred to the West, where a monarch liked it so much that he had it translated and read to him often. King Peter got his *Ordinacions* from the East, had them translated, and consulted them often. King Ermel of Lusa, therefore, would be James of Majorca (East), and the chamberlain Eliel the author of the *Leges*, who brought them West. But if medieval readers were able to get further than that, I myself am left with guesswork for details. There was a place called "Lusa" on Majorca,²² but I suspect that "Ermel de Lusa," taken together, might be an

19 We find other uses of anachronisms to test the attention of the readers, or to alert them that the passage contains a secret, in chap. 410 of the *Dotzè*, where the Spartan lawmaker Lycurgus (ca 800 BC) chastises the Roman emperor Nero; or in chap. 820, where "Theodosius" (Arcadius' father, who died in 395) quotes saint Gregory (died 604). See following note.

20 Eiximenis repeats here a subterfuge we find also in chap. 297 of the *Dotzè*, where he refers to "King Pyrrhus of Rome" ("Pirro") not in order to criticize the Greek general, but his very own king, "Pere" (see Wittlin, "El rey Pirro"). Yet another signal placed in passages which should not be taken at face value might be references to Caldaic. In chap. 772 of the *Dotzè*, Eiximenis informs us that the famous ancient manuals for alchemists are called in Caldaic "Badaba doc," which is simply the Catalan "Bada, badoc!" "Watch out, you gullible dullard!"

21 It is uncomfortably risky to trust spellings in medieval manuscripts to this extent. However, it suffices to assume Eiximenis was hoping his plays with spellings (as also in "Eliel, Elieli, Elieli, Elieli") would survive copying.

22 Eiximenis, living in Majorca in the 1360s, might have been shown the document from 1256 which lists all the privileges of the island; it is signed by Bernard of Luza, secretary of the first James of Majorca.

anagram, but of what person?²³ The "Caldaic" word "lirat" 'chamberlain,' remains a total mystery to me.²⁴ But I feel sure that Eiximenis offers two names for the same job in order to recall Peter's compulsion to introduce new titles for old positions. In 1369 he had declared that the former "senescal" should now be called "conestable." When Eiximenis composed chap. 236 of the *Dotzè* he at first used the old name, then thought of the new one: "[...] lo mestre de la cavalleria, qui així mateix s'appella conestable [...]," and continues: "Lo dit 'mestre' era així appellat per los grecs e per los romans, mas per los caldeus o persans era dit 'príncep de la cavalleria'; per los francesos és appellat 'senescal' o 'prevost'; per los spanyols és dit 'conestable.' E ab aquest nom se acorden més los del regne d'Aragó, segons lurs statuts e costumes. E així l'anomenarem comunament davall".²⁵ In 1344 Peter had changed, by royal decree, the titles for "cambrer major" 'first majordomo' and for "scrivà major," o "notari tinent los segells" 'first secretary' or 'notary in charge of the seals') to "camerlenc" and "protonotari."²⁶

Eiximenis knew the origins of the *Ordinacions*, but how much did he know about the *Leges palatinae*?²⁷ If he believed that they were written by the same person who carried them to Barcelona, then "Eliel" is the codename of that person. We know who had the *Leges* in his possession after the looting of the Majorcan palace: the king's

23 Just a shot in the dark: The first governor of Majorca installed by Peter was Arnau of Erill, placename which shares three letters with "Ermel" (and also three with "lirat"). The abundance of the letter L in all these invented names might be significant. For examples of possible anagrams and other encoding techniques –e.g. "Tarim" for Prince Martí, "Domas" for the Valencian city councilor D'Omenec MASco, and others–, see Wittlin, "Eiximenis."

24 Remember that chap. 739 begins with what looks like a false start: "King Lirancus of Crastovia had a 'lirat' who [...]." Since in medieval manuscripts the letters c and t look alike, and n was usually abbreviated, "Lirancus" might be the latinized form of a misread 'lirat' (or the other way around).

25 "[...] the Master of the cavalry, also called 'conestable' [...]," and continues "'Master' was the name used by Greeks and Romans, but Caldeans and Persians called him 'Leader of the cavalry,' while the French call him 'Seneschal' or 'Provost,' and the Spaniards 'Condestable.' This is the name people in the Crown of Aragon agree upon most, according to their laws and statutes; and that's how I shall refer to him here" (ed. Riquer 174).

26 Quoted by Schwarz: "Novellament per lo senyor rey és estat ordenat que'ls seus cambrers majors sien intitulats camarlencs, e'l scrivà major, qui solia ésser intitulat notari e tinent los segells, sia intitulat prothonotari tinent los seus segells" (68).

27 Early researchers thought that Prince Phillip—who had abdicated his right to the throne to enter the Franciscan order, but then served as Regent during part of James' minority— took documents from Paris to Majorca and used them in the *Leges*. But the *Leges* show none of Phillip's extreme franciscanism. The Preface elaborates a sentence in *De regimine principum* by the Augustinian friar Aegidius of Rome: "Sunt omnino officia particulanda et distinguenda et non sunt plura committenda eidem" (chap. II.3.16; reprint Rome 1607. Compare with the texts in our appendix).

chamberlain, who, back in Barcelona, was ordered to hand the book over to the royal treasurer. The document, quoted in footnote 2, clearly states his name: Luppo de Gurrea.²⁸ We know that his full name was Lope López, or Llop López, giving, in whatever language, the initials L·L., el and el, pronounced in Catalan "el i el," "Eliel."²⁹

CONCLUSION

It is understandable that Eiximenis did not criticize openly the powerful men of his day, but formulated his criticisms as generalities (e.g. "Kings should not overnight in monasteries") or used code.³⁰ But why should he have treated the "State secret" of the *Ordinacions* as if divulging it, after Peter's death, would be risky? The king's vainglorious attempt to have that manual considered his work had probably for years led to many a joke behind his back. Eiximenis, arriving in his *Dotzè* at the chapter where he had to deal with the duties of a chamberlain, considered that this was the place, and the time, to set the matter straight. But blurting out "The *Ordinacions* were not written by King Peter; he just plagiarized King James *Leges palatinae*" would have been in bad taste, jarring with the tone and style of the *Dotzè*. So he treated the anecdote as a harmless exercise in encoding and decoding. He expected his readers to pay attention, to notice anachronisms (and maybe even planned mistakes in spelling or grammar). In the lengthy introduction to *El Cristià*, which includes the *Dotzè*, he announces that he wishes to be useful for lay persons, and would, therefore, adopt a simple and easy writing style. Still, he promises to mix in "[...] algunes poquetes subtilitats [...] per exercici d'alguns jóvens ciutadans."³¹ Since the first three volumes of the *Cristià* deal with theological and ethical matters, it seems reasonable to assume that he is referring to conceptual intricacies. But I wonder if he didn't also have in mind another kind of ingenuity: internal contradictions, or anachronisms, or things said tongue in cheek, planted in the text to provoke the listener or reader to start wondering

²⁸ His grandson, also called Lope, became Governor of Majorca in 1512. Another López de Gurrea, Baltasar, was Viceroy there after 1678.

²⁹ The word for L in modern Catalan is "ela," but an L is never pronounced "ela," but "el."

³⁰ When King John I found out that Eiximenis announces in chap. 466 of the *Dotzè* the imminent end of his dynasty, he had the friar investigated, and only refrained from applying the threatened torture because our author was able to show that he was just quoting prophesies already known to his father, King Peter.

³¹ "[...] a few minor subtleties [...] as an exercise for some of the youngsters." The introduction is reproduced in the excellent anthology compiled by Hauf 35-41.

if they signal the presence of a hidden meaning. Discovering those secrets will give great satisfaction to listeners or readers, rewarding them for their attention. In his own way, Eiximenis just followed the old guideline for speakers and authors: "docere et delectare."

CURT WITTLIN

UNIVERSITY OF SASKATCHEWAN

APPENDIX

THREE VERSIONS OF THE PREFACE

1. *Leges palatinae* (anonymous compilation for King James of Majorca, ed. *Acta Sanctorum*, corrected with help of ed. by Pérez)

"In recta dispensatione regiminis hoc propensius sollicitudini praesidentis incumbit, ut ad res gerendas et officia gubernanda idoneos ministros instituat, quibus singulis singula officia divisim regenda committat; servatis tamen solerter, ut convenit, juxta officiorum exigentiam, gradu debito ac congruenti ordine ministrorum. Sic enim cunctorum officiorum decenter geretur administratio, si debitus inter ministros differentiae ordo servetur, quo videlicet minores potioribus pareant, majoresque minoribus directionem in deviis zelo sinceræ dilectionis impendant.

Porro non minus in officiorum distributione debet attendi, ne uni soli quantumlibet exercitatae personae plura simul committantur officia. Nec enim facile putandum est, unam personam pluribus officiis recte gerendis sufficere, cum vix possit aliquis unum dumtaxat diligenter explere. Quippe si unius gestionis affuerit, alterius se habet de necessitate subtrahere; sique in utrumque festinaverit, neutrum peragere sufficiet ut deceret. Adhuc autem, cum singula ministeria sunt per singulos distributa, is quidem qui ad peragendum qualevis officium se specialiter deputatum fore perpenderit, curiosius illi insister, diligentius ingruet, reique commissae periculum sibi esse magis formidabile recognoscet. Insuper etiam officiorum varietas, in diversas distributa personas, venustatem quamdam ac decorem in regimine repraesentat. Pulchra enim admodum et placida est regiminis dispositio, cum varietates officiorum sunt in personas totidem distributae; ad instar humani corporis, in quo siquidem ex membrorum varietate ad diversa deputatorum officia, resultat elegans totius corporalis pulchritudo.

Sic etiam exemplo Regis regum nostri Salvatoris instruimur; qui, secundum veridicam Apostoli sententiam, gratias prout vult diversas diversis distribuens, divisiones operationum divisionesque ministrationum esse disposuit. Ipse autem verus Rector et Dominus omnia solus in omnibus operatur. Ipsius igitur ducti exemplo, cuius omnis actio debet nostra esse instructio, in praesentiarum decrevimus, singula domus et curiae nostrae officia separatim per se distinguere. Et quae unicuique pro debito sui incumbant officii –quidve quisque agere, regere seu administrare debeat– et quam, et in quibus personis, rebusque et casibus habeat potestatem –necnon et qualiter, quando, et quomodo singuli in suis debeant servire officii– seriatim disponimus ordinare, ut sic promiscuis actibus rerum non conturbentur officia, quatenus suo quisque fruatur decenter officio. Nec passim vel indebite se immisceat alieno, utque etiam unusquisque minister officii in agendis reddatur instructor, ac per hoc ad peragenda illa quae suo incumbunt regimini diligentiores solito curam gerat.

At vero ultra morem praedecessorum nostrorum aliqua noviter superinducimus officia, ac insuper quibusdam antiquis officiis plures solitos personas adjunximus, et de dudum servatis observantiis aliquas innovavimus, adjiciendo eisdem vel detrahendo aliqua, vel supplendo et quandoque tollendo penitus vel mutando, prout rerum utilitas potior vel status nostri convenientia decentior faciendum postulat et requirit.”

2. *Rewording made for King Peter of Aragon* (ed. Schwarz, 142-44)

“Ad rectam dispositionem regiminis non modicum interest diligentiae praesidentis, ut circa negotia peragenda et officia exercenda sufficientes officiales ordinet, quibus singulariter et distincte singula ad regendum committat officia; servatis tamen, prout decet et prout modus et proprietas officiorum exposcunt, gradu debito et decenti ordine officiorum ipsorum. Et sic dicta decenter et debite reguntur seu exercentur officia, et differentia inter officiales ut convenit observatur, videlicet quod maioribus minores oboediant, et maiores minores in eo, in quo deficerent aut possent deficere, corrigant et emendent.

Post haec vero in distributione singulorum officiorum praedictorum talis debet haberi respectus, videlicet quod uni personae, quantumcumque expertae sive aptae, plura officia simul minime committantur; eo quia de levi credendum non est, quod una persona plurimis officiis –potissime regiis– utiliter valeat deservire, cum vix uni tantum officio quamvis attente et diligens complere et satisfacere non valeat, ut deceret, inspectis officii regii onere et valore.

Eo etiam quia vacando circa unius officii regimen ab alterius servitio vel regimine necessarie subtrahere se haberet. Et ita multis volendo servire officiis nulli ex ipsis satisfaceret, ut occurreret opportunum. Et insuper quia, cum singula officia singulis committantur, ille qui specialiter ad aliquid officium se prospicit deputatum, tanto magis circa illius regimen cum timore intendet, quanto ex omissione seu negligentia possent sibi pericula imminere. Et eo inquam, quia officiorum varietas et in diversis personis facta distributio nobilitatem et pulchritudinem in praesidentium regimine repraesentat, quam pulchra et placens dispositio regiminis reputatur, quando singula officia singulis distribuuntur personis ad instar humani corporis, in quo varietas membrorum ad diversa officia deputatorum resultat totius corporis pulchritudinem elegantem.

Sic enim exemplo Regis regum Salvatoris nostri sumus instructi, qui secundum veram Apostoli sententiam diversas, sic sibi placet, gratias largiendo diversis distinctionibus operum et administrationum differentias esse disposuit, ipso tamen vero Rectore et Domino solo in omnibus operante. Ea, propter ipsius Salvatoris nostri docti exemplo, cuius omnis actio esse debet nostra instructio, neumatis almagratia invocata, de praesenti ordinavimus singula officia domus et curiae nostrae separatim per se esse divisa, et quae debent cuicumque ex ipsis ex sui debito officii pertinere, et quae unusquisque, quibus dicta separata committentur officia, est factururus, et quam quisque ex dictis officialibus potestatem habebit, et in quibus personis et in quibus casibus, et quo modo et quando et qualiter unusquisque in suo officio ordinate debeat deservire, disposuimus et duximus ordinandum, quod ea quae ad unum ex dictis pertinent officiis cum hiis, quae ad aliud pertinere noscuntur, nullatenus valeant committi, et ob hoc dictorum officiorum exercicia minime perturbentur, et unusquisque, ut committitur, suo libere uti valeat officio, et quod indifferenter aut indebite alterius officiis non se inmiscat in agendis. Et ad hoc etiam, ut quisque ex ministris dictorum officiorum potius instructus veniat at ea, quae per eum fuerint peragenda, et ut in faciendis per eum et ad suum officium pertinentibus plus diligenter se habeat quam haberet.

Praeter vero morem illustrium dominorum regum praedecessorum nostrorum, prout nobis utilius honorifice et expedientius visum fuit, aliqua nova officia providimus ordinanda, et in aliquibus ex antiquis officiis plures personas, quam in eis esse consueverit, duximus adiungenda."

3. *Catalan translation made for King Peter* (ed. Bofarull, adding accents and punctuation)

"Molt se pertany a la diligència del President que a les coses faedores e als officis regidors sufficients officials aordon. Als quals officials, singularment e departida, sengles officis a cascun coman a regir; servat emperò diligentment, segons que's pertany e segons que la manera dels officis ho requer, grau degut e convinent orde dels officials. E axí convinentment seran aministrats e regits los officis si orde degut és servat de differència entre'ls officials, ço és que'ls menors als mayors obeequen e que'ls mayors als menors en ço que falliran, o fallir porien, corrigen.

Enaprés se deu haver esgart en la distribució de sengles officis que a una persona, quantquesia exercitada e apta, no sien ensemps comanats molts officis, per tal com no és leu de creure que una persona a molts officis ben regir puga bastar, con envides negun no puga a un tan solament ben complir, per tal cor quant al a un entendre de l'altre de necessitat se haurà de sostrer, e axí, volén en cascun entendre, negun no complirà segons que's pertanyerà. Encara, con sengles officis són per sengles officials distribuïts, aquell qui specialment pensarà si ésser a qualquesia offici deputat pus curosament e pus diligent en aquell atendrà, e de la cosa a ell comanada lo perill a ell pertanyén pus temerosament regonexerà. E encara que varietat de officis en diverses persones distribuyda noblea alguna e bellea en lo regiment representa; cor bella e plaent és disposició de regiment quant les varietats dels officis són en altretantes persones distribuydes, a semblança de cors human, en lo qual per varietat de membres a diverses officis deputats resulta elegant bellea de tot lo cors.

Enaxí encara per exempli del Rey dels reys, Salvador nostre, som instruïts, qui, segons la vera sentència de l'Apòstol, les gràcies diverses segons que Ell vol a diverses distribuén divisions d'obres e divisions d'aministracions ésser disposà; e Ell, emperò, ver Regidor e Senyor tot sols en tots obra. Emperamor d'açò, per exempli d'Ell ensenyats, del qual tota acció deu ésser nostra instrucció, de present havem ordonat sengles officis de nostra casa e cort separatament per si divisir; e què pertanyerà a cascun a fer regir e ministrar, e quin poder haurà, e en quals persones e en quals coses e en quins casos —e encara en quinya manera e quant e con cascuns en sos officis ordonadament degan servir— havem disposat aordonar, per tal que axí que mesclant los fets de les coses lo un ab l'altre los officis no sien torbats, e cascun pusca convinentment usar de son offici, e que indiferentment o no deguda no's mescle en offici d'altre. E encara per ço que a les coses faedores que a son regiment pertanyen pus diligent cura haja que no havia.

E oltra la usança de nostres predecessors als cuns officis novellament havem ordenats, e a als cuns antichs officis més persones que no era acostumat havem ajustades; e de les observacions çentràs servades als cunes n'avem innovades ajustants a aquelles, e detrahents als cunes coses o suplents, e als cunes vegades removens de tot o mudant, segons que la utilitat de les coses més val, o la conveniència pus decent de nostre estament faedor ho demana e requer."

WORKS CITED

- CARR, Derek, and Pedro CÁTEDRA. "Francesc Eiximenis y don Alfonso de Aragón." *La Corónica* 11 (1983): 294-99.
- EIXIMENIS, Francesc. *Dotzè llibre del Cristià*. Eds. C. Wittlin et al. *Obres completes* 3-4. Girona: Col·legi universitari, 1986-1987.
- GIMENO BLAY, Francisco M. "Escribir, leer y reinar. La experiencia gráfico-textual de Pedro IV el Ceremonioso (1336-1387)." *Scrittura e civiltà* 22 (Florence 1998): 119-233.
- HAUF, Albert, ed. *Francesc Eiximenis: Lo Crestià*. Barcelona: Edicions 62 and La Caixa, 1983 (and reprints).
- HILLGARTH, Jocelyn N. "Los libros y la cultura de Jaime III de Mallorca." *Comunicacions. 13 Congrés d'Història de la Corona d'Aragó (1987)*. Palma: Moll, 1990. II: 75-81.
- . "La personalitat política i cultural de Pere III a través de la seva Crònica." *Llengua & Literatura* 5 (1992-1993): 7-102.
- IVARS, Andrés. *El escritor Fr. Francisco Eximénez en Valencia*. Repr. Benissa: Ayuntamiento, 1989.
- Leges Palatinae*. Ed. D. Papebroch S.J. *Acta Sanctorum*, month of June, Antwerp: Bolland, 1701 (and reprints). Facsimile, transcription and Spanish translation by Lorenzo Pérez Martínez, Palma de Mallorca 1991 (partial reprint Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1994). Italian translation by Olivetta Schena, *Le leggi palatine di Pietro IV d'Aragona*, Cagliari: Delfino, 1983. Catalan version attributed to King Peter III, Próspero de Bofarull, ed., in *Colección de documentos inéditos del Archivo de la Corona de Aragón* V, Barcelona 1850.
- PALACIOS MARTÍN, Bonifacio. *El manuscrito de San Miguel de los Reyes de las "Ordinacions" de Pedro IV*. Valencia: Denes, 1994.
- . "Sobre la redacción y difusión de las *Ordinacions* de Pedro IV de Aragón y sus primeros códigos." *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 25 (1995): 659-81.
- RIQUER, Martí de. "El arte de la guerra en Eiximenis y el conde de Denia." *Actas del V Congreso de la Asociación Hispánica de*

- Literatura Medieval*. Ed. Juan Paredes. Granada: University, 1995. I: 171-89.
- RUBIÓ I BALAGUER, Jordi. "Sobre els orígens de l'humanisme." 1947. Repr. in *Obres VII*. Barcelona: Abadia de Montserrat: 1990. 29-44.
- . *Vida española en la época gótica*, Barcelona: Abadia de Montserrat, 1943.
- RUBIÓ I LLUCH, Antoni. *Documents per a la història de la cultura catalana migeval I*. Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 1908 (repr. 2000).
- SCHENA, Olivetta, and Josep Trenchs. "Le leggi palatine di Giacomo III de Maiorca nella corte di Pietro IV d'Aragona." *Comunicacions. 13 Congrés d'Història de la Corona d'Aragó (1987)*. Palma: Moll, 1990. II: 111-19.
- SCHWARZ, Karl. *Aragonische Hofordnungen im 13. und 14. Jahrhundert*, Berlin, 1913.
- WEBSTER, Jill. "Francesc Eiximenis on Royal Officials." *Medieval Studies* 31 (1969): 239-49.
- WITTLIN, Curt. "El rei Pirro de Roma en el Dotzè del Cristià de Francesc Eiximenis. Crítica encoberta de la política sarda del rei Pere de Catalunya." *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 25 (1955): 647-57.
- . "Eiximenis i la destitució dels reis Pirro, Trocus de Pèrsia, Torpeius, Salopi i Lleó: Crítiques encobertes del rei Pere en el Dotzè." *Actes del Novè Col·loqui d'Estudis Catalans a Nord-Amèrica*. Eds. August Bover et al. Barcelona: Abadia de Montserrat, 2001. 509-27.