



Pergamon

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## King Pedro IV of Aragon, royal propaganda and the tradition of royal speechwriting

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### Abstract

In the medieval Crown of Aragon it was customary for the *corts* to begin with a *proposicio* or opening speech made by the king. These Aragonese royal speeches were not merely confined to a brief summary of the political situation or a series of points to be considered but were elaborately constructed political sermons, in which affairs of state were portrayed in terms of Christian morality and nationalist pride, with the aid of *exempla* drawn from the Bible and other religious and classical works. An example is the speech made by Pedro IV 'the Ceremonious' of Aragon against the rebellion of the Judge of Arborea in Sardinia. A copy of this speech survives written in the king's own hand which raises the interesting question of whether the kings of Aragon were themselves responsible for the ideas expressed in these speeches and for composing them or whether their efforts were confined to reading out propaganda which was primarily the creation of royal officials. © 1999 Elsevier Science Ltd. All rights reserved.

*Keywords:* Pedro IV of Aragon; Judge of Arborea; Aragon; Sardinia; *Corts*

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In the archives of the Crown of Aragon in Barcelona is preserved the autograph manuscript of a speech against the rebellion of the Judge of Arborea in Sardinia made by King Pedro IV of Aragon to open the *corts*, probably that held in Sant Mateu, Valencia in 1369.<sup>1</sup> Pere Miquel Carbonell, archivist from 1476–1517, recog-

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<sup>1</sup> *ACA Registres* 1529, fo. 1 r.–liii v., in a volume entitled *Ordinacio Regia Domus*. The main text of the speech is printed in *Parlaments a les Corts Catalanes*, ed. R. Albert and J. Cassiot (Barcelona, 1928), 33–42. Since the manuscript is undated it is not certain that this speech, concerning the rebellion of the Judge of Arborea, was made to the Valencian *Corts* of Sant Matheu of 1369, though this does seem likely. The speech must date from after the death of King Pedro IV's seneschal, Don Pedro de Luna, which is the latest event mentioned. Zurita indicates that Don Pedro was killed at some time between February 1368, when the fleet made ready to sail from the Port of Roses, and 22 June, when peace was made with Castile (*Anales de la Corona de Aragon*, ed. A. Canellas Lopez (Institución 'Fernando el Católico': Zaragoza, 1973), vol. 4, X, i–iii, 581–6). An alternative, but less likely, possibility is that the speech was addressed to the *Corts*

nised that the manuscript was written in the king's own hand, making a note on the manuscript itself which compared the very neat and distinctive handwriting with that of Pedro IV's household ordinances and his will.<sup>2</sup> His discovery is further confirmed by a letter which probably accompanied this copy of the speech to the archives.<sup>3</sup> The letter, dated 20 June 1369, from King Pedro IV to the archivist, stated: 'We are sending you, enclosed with the present letter, the *proposicio* made by us to the Valencians the other day in [the Church of] St. Matthew, written *in our own hand* on two sheets of paper, and we order you to add the said speech to the book where the other speeches made by us to other corts are written.'<sup>4</sup>

The manuscript contains a number of deletions and alterations, also clearly inserted in King Pedro IV's distinctive hand. The corrections are of three kinds. First there are some fairly important changes to the sense of the speech, for example, after using the example of Noah's curse on his son Ham and all his descendants to illustrate the sin of ingratitude towards a father, King Pedro had originally inserted a direct comparison with the judge of Arborea, saying that the judge would be disinherited of all that he possessed and that 'he and his descendants will become the servants of my servants'. These words are then crossed out, perhaps because the king thought they were overly harsh and would reflect badly on his reputation as a just but merciful ruler, or more likely it was because, in re-reading the speech, the king saw this observation as out of place since a separate section was devoted to the personal misdeeds of the judge. The second type of correction comprises minor changes to the sense such as adding a few words of explanation or clarification, important in a lively speech where anything too subtle might easily be missed by the audience. Finally, and perhaps most conclusive in providing evidence for the king's close personal involvement, are the minor stylistic changes, correcting minor errors in the prose and making the speech sound less laboured and more eloquent. These deliber-

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of Barcelona of 1368. The death of the seneschal and his men would then have been a very recent catastrophe and would have served the king's purpose of shocking his audience into acknowledging the seriousness of the Sardinian situation. The official records of the Corts of Barcelona describe how King Pedro IV made a similar speech on Thursday 17 August 1368 but there is only a brief summary of what he said; *Cortes de los antiguos reinos de Aragón y de Valencia y del Principado de Cataluña* (Madrid, 1896–1922), vol. 3, 10.

<sup>2</sup>ACA *Registres* 1529, fo. liiiv. Carbonell appended a note to the speech saying that: Aquest original es tot scrit de ma del dit Rey en Pere (Jatsia haia scrit millor), E aço se yo Pere Miquel Carbonell que connech la sua letra per lo que ell ha scrit e confessa haver scrit son Testament; e mes per les ordinations de la sua Casa de Arago appostillades en moltes parts de ma sua, item per altres scriptares de ma del dit Rey scrits e Recondides en lo Real Archiu de Barcelona.

<sup>3</sup>As noted by A. Albert and J. Gassiot, *Parlaments*, 254–5, notes to p. 33. The letter is printed in A. Rubió y Lluh, *Documents per l'història de la cultura catalana medieval*, 2 vols. (Barcelona, 1908–21), vol. 1, doc. CCXXIX, 221–2, from the copy in the royal registers. The actual letter also survives in the *Coleccion de Historia d'Arxiu* section of the Crown Archive (ACA Col. H. D. doc. 176): Nos vos trametem dins la present la proposicio per nos feta als valencians l'altre jorn en Sent Matheu en dos fulls de paper escrits de nostra ma, perque us manam que la dita proposicio continuets en lo libre on son escrits les altres proposicions per nos fetes en les altres corts que havem tengudes. E no res menys estoiats apart loriginal que trametem.

<sup>4</sup>The collection of royal speeches mentioned in this letter has unfortunately been lost. A. Rubió y Lluh, *Documents*, has published two other letters which make reference to this volume: vol. 1, doc. CCCXXXIX, 392; and vol. 2, doc. CCLXXV, 266–9. Although there is an element of doubt since the speech is undated, the letter does refer correctly to the number of pages: two leaves of paper which would amount to four folios.

ate adjustments to both the style and sense of the speech can certainly not be dismissed as merely corrections of mistakes made in transcription.<sup>5</sup> This was without doubt the king's working copy of his opening speech to the *corts* and is therefore of the greatest value as evidence for his personal role in composing speeches.

If Pedro IV was indeed responsible for writing his own speeches, what, then, did this involve? Certainly, the process of composition and research would have been familiar to the king through the writing of historical works. His personal involvement in writing the chronicle of his reign is well-known: although he did not actually put pen to paper, he provided detailed instructions as to the content of each chapter and checked the manuscript for errors as the work progressed.<sup>6</sup> Earlier, during the 1340s, King Pedro IV had written to the monasteries of San Juan de la Peña, in Aragon, and Ripoll, in Catalonia, asking them to assemble materials for a complete history of his realms.<sup>7</sup> He then personally supervised the compilation of the resulting chronicle. These monasteries were well suited to the role attributed to them by the ruler as research libraries for in addition to accumulating their own archival collections, they frequently acted as custodians of collections of books belonging to the king.<sup>8</sup> Later, in 1380, for example, King Pedro entrusted a large collection of his books to the monastery of Poblet, where a new library had been built for the purpose, and ordered that an inscription should be made above the door, which was to read: *Aquest es la libreria del rey Pere III*.<sup>9</sup>

It is clear that King Pedro IV had the resources and the skill with which to compose his own speeches but the way in which Pedro IV 'wrote' the histories of his

<sup>5</sup>Two major alterations to the manuscript were noted briefly by R. Albert and J. Cassiot, 256–7 but the rest were omitted and their full significance does not seem to have been recognised. The alterations are as follows:

fo. l r.: the words 'e desplaent a déu' have been added as a further detail;

fo. li v.: the words 'al senyor Rey nostre pare per tal que els nodris ço es ...' have been added as clarification;

fo. li v.: again, for clarification, the words 'e donà los per maestres' have been added;

fo. lii r.: the paragraph in the manuscript is continued, with the words 'així quel jutge sia desheretat de tot quant ha e romanguen ell e sa generacio servidors dels nostres servidors'; this has been crossed out;

fo. lii r.: further minor alterations include the addition of 'ne' and the deletion of 'dels homens', adjustments to make the speech flow better;

fo. lii v.: 'la' has been added and then deleted again;

fo. liii r.: the words 'perdonam a ell' are followed by a long section, subsequently crossed through, which reads 'ab condicions certes e faem pau ab ell i res quens agues promes non serva ans de recap haguem a menar nostra exsecucio ab aquella poca companya quins haviem retenguda per posar en bon estament ta illa de Sardenya e encara altra vegada nos concordam ab ell no contrastant que nons agues coimplides les coses que promeses nos havia i apres venguem ...'; the words later inserted in this section: 'i faem pau ab ell i venguerem ...' are written above the first line of this deleted passage;

fo. liii r.: the final alterations are the addition of 'bon vassall' and 'e ha-nos-ho tot trencat ...'. Photographs of the altered passages are included in Appendix 1.

<sup>6</sup>*Pere III of Catalonia. Chronicle.*, ed. M. and J.N. Hillgarth, 2 vols. (Toronto, 1980), vol. 1, 53–64.

<sup>7</sup>*The Chronicle of San Juan de la Peña: A Fourteenth Century Official History of the Crown of Aragon*, ed. and trans. L.H. Nelson (Philadelphia, 1991), xiv.

<sup>8</sup>See also A. Rubió y Lluch, *Documents*, for other examples of books entrusted to monasteries and requested by kings: for example, Pedro I—vol. 1, docs. CLXXXVIII and CLXXXIX, 188–9, CCCXVII, 291, CCCXXVIII, 300, and CCCXXXI, 303 (Poblet); CCXVI, 212 (Ripoll); Also under Martín I—vol. 1, docs. CCCCLXXXVIII, 428, and CCCXCXVIII, 434 (Poblet). These are by no means the only examples.

<sup>9</sup>A. Rubió y Lluch, *Documents*, I, doc. CCCXXXI, 303.

reign by supervising a team of collaborators<sup>10</sup> inevitably invites the question: did he 'write' his parliamentary speeches in this way too? One piece of evidence, a letter dated 15 June 1367 from the king to the Viscount de Roda in which the former described the rebellion of the Judge of Arborea, is tantalisingly inconclusive. It is here that the theme of the *peccat de desconnexensa* or 'sin of ingratitude' used later by Pedro IV in his speech against the judge first appears.<sup>11</sup> The idea may have been the king's own but it is equally possible that, like many other such embellishments to be found in royal letters, it was invented by an official of the royal chancery. Luckily other letters in the royal registers, hitherto unpublished, provide more conclusive evidence for Pedro IV's role in developing ideas and planning his speeches.

The proceedings of the Corts of Monzón in 1376 describe how, on 27 March, King Pedro IV made his *proposicio*, taking as his thema, *Videte si est dolor sicut dolor meus*: 'in which same speech he recited and declared in order the names and deeds of all the most illustrious kings of Aragon and counts of Barcelona up until himself'.<sup>12</sup> Before making this speech, however, Pedro IV had despatched two letters to the Abbot of San Victorián, which made enquiry concerning a doubtful case in this list of the king's predecessors. In the first, dated 13 March 1376,<sup>13</sup> the king reminded the abbot of a conversation they had had about the succession of a former king of Aragon. The abbot had told him, he said, that the king of Aragon who had inherited the kingdom through his stepmother was legitimate and not a bastard. Pedro IV now requested that the abbot search among the abbey's privileges and other writings which he had claimed proved this to be the case and to send any relevant documents to him since 'we have need of them before we make our *proposicio* to the Corts of Monzón ... so that we can clearly show that the said mother of the said king had been a queen and wife of the king, father of the said king of Aragon'.<sup>14</sup> The second letter, dated 22 March, expressed the king's displeasure, and, no doubt, increasing anxiety at the abbot's failure to reply as the day on which he was to speak approached<sup>15</sup> and he repeated his request more forcefully that the abbot produce the documents which proved that 'the king who first inherited the kingdom of Aragon through the queen his stepmother was legitimate and son of a queen'<sup>16</sup> and that the

<sup>10</sup>See, for example, the constant exchanges between King Pedro IV (III) and the compilers of his chronicle, discussed in the introduction to M. and J.N. Hillgarth, *Pere III*, 53–64.

<sup>11</sup>This letter is printed in J. Miret y Sans, *Los Vescomtes de Bas en la illa de Sardenya. Estudi historich sobre los Jutges d'Arborea de saca catalana* (Barcelona, 1901), doc. IX.

<sup>12</sup>ACA *Processos de Corts*, no. 8, fo. xvi v.: Advenientibus coram eius Regia maiestate ... suam elegantem propositionem per verba pulcherrima compositioneque ornatus perspicui decora in lingua seu idiomate Cathalano sumpto themate: Videte si est dolor sicut dolor meus, fecit et explicavit multum providere et diserte. In quadam propositionem per ordinem recitavit et declaravit nomina et gesta Illustrium omnium Regum Aragonum et Comitum Barchinonense sicut usque ad ipsum i et presens tempus successive fuerunt.

<sup>13</sup>ACA *Registres* 1251, fo. xcii v.

<sup>14</sup>ACA *Registres* 1251, fo. xcii v.: e como esto haiamos menester antes que fagamos la proposicio en las Cortes de Montçon ... por que nos podamus clarament mostrar que la dita madre del dito Rey era estada Reyna y muller del Rey padre del dito Rey daragon.

<sup>15</sup>ACA *Registres* 1251, fo. xcix r.

<sup>16</sup>ACA *Registres* 1251, fo. xcix r.: quel Rey qui primo fue heredado del Regno Daragon por la Reyna su madrastra era legitimo e fillo de Reyna.

abbot should send these documents to him without delay. If he did so the abbot would give him great pleasure; if he did not he would be doing the king a serious disservice.

If the abbot did not remember the precise subject of his conversation with the king, the latter's requests for information appear somewhat vague. This may excuse the abbot's failure to reply promptly but no further explanation should have been needed. The king was, in fact, referring to a famous case: the legendary circumstances surrounding the inheritance of Ramiro I, the first king of Aragon (1035–64),<sup>17</sup> of which the *Chronicle of San Juan de la Peña*, the official history of Aragon written at the request of Pedro IV and finished at about this time (c. 1370),<sup>18</sup> included a detailed account.<sup>19</sup>

According to the chronicle, the 'Emperor' Sancho Garcés III (1000–35)<sup>20</sup> married the daughter of Count Sancho of Castile and had by her three sons, García, Fernando and Gonzalo. He also had another son, Ramiro, by 'a noble lady of the village of Aibar'. The emperor entrusted to his wife's safekeeping one of his horses, which 'excelled all other horses in quality, beauty, and other equine virtues'. His eldest son, García, however, wanted the horse for himself and begged the queen to give it to him as a gift, but she, advised by a knight in her service how angry Sancho would be if he knew that his wife had given away the horse, refused to give it to him. García was enraged at this refusal and persuaded his two brothers, Fernando and Gonzalo, to support him in accusing their mother of committing adultery with the knight. This they did and Sancho, believing them, imprisoned the queen in the castle of Nájera until her innocence could be established through trial by combat. It was Ramiro, her stepson, who came forward to defend the queen and to fight against all men to prove her innocence. The three brothers, however, confessed their guilt and asked for pardon whereupon the emperor released the queen and interceded with her, asking her to forgive their children. The queen agreed to do this, but only on the condition that their son García should not succeed in the lands belonging to her. So it was arranged that García was to inherit the kingdom of Navarre, Fernando was to inherit Castile and Gonzalo, the Sobrarbe. The queen adopted Ramiro as her son and he was given Aragon. Later, after the murder of Gonzalo, Ramiro also ruled the Sobrarbe and Ribagorza, and after the Emperor Sancho's death, 'Ramiro held the county of Aragon absolutely and without any subjection. For this reason, he was made king.'<sup>21</sup> Gonzalo himself was buried in the monastery of San Victorián in Sobrarbe, which held many of the oldest records of the Crown of Aragon, so that the abbot's claim to have writings referring to Ramiro I's succession was certainly plausible. However, since we do not know when Pedro IV had actually had his conversation with the abbot, it is possible that the records on this subject were no longer in the keeping of the Abbey of San Victorián but had been loaned to San Juan de la Peña for the business of writing the chronicle. Perhaps the original conver-

<sup>17</sup>Dates are taken from *The Chronicle of San Juan de la Peña*, ed. L.H. Nelson.

<sup>18</sup>*The Chronicle of San Juan de la Peña*, ed. L.H. Nelson, xiii.

<sup>19</sup>*The Chronicle of San Juan de la Peña*, ed. L.H. Nelson, 13–17.

<sup>20</sup>See note 17 above.

<sup>21</sup>*The Chronicle of San Juan de la Peña*, ed. L.H. Nelson, 16.

sation had even been in connection with the chronicle rather than the royal speech. Whatever the case, it is clear that before sending the first of these letters, King Pedro IV had planned what he wished to say in his speech to the *corts* and was checking final details. The letters to the Abbot of San Victorián reveal the king's personal involvement in researching his speech,<sup>22</sup> while the existence of the manuscript written in Pedro IV's own hand, with its corrections and alterations, indicate that he composed and wrote at least one of his own speeches. It is possible, even probable, that others were consulted but it is clear that the king was himself primarily responsible for his *proposicio*.<sup>23</sup>

It is by no means unlikely, then, that the speech against the Judge of Arborea was composed and written by King Pedro IV personally. It was no ordinary speech but, in accordance with a long tradition of the royal house of Aragon dating back to King Jaime I, the king preached a sermon, in which the political crisis which had led to the *corts* being summoned and the king's consequent request for counsel and aid were portrayed in terms of Christian morality and nationalist pride. It began with a *thema* taken from the Book of Samuel (11, xv, 10):<sup>24</sup> 'As soon as you hear the sound of the trumpet, you shall say: "Absalom reigns in Hebron"', but the real theme of the speech is expounded in the first paragraph. This is the *pecat de desconexença* or sin of ingratitude: 'which', said the king, 'is a most grave sin and displeasing to God, as St Bernard described it: "Ingratitude is the enemy of the soul, negator of merit, dissipator of virtue, destroyer of benefits; [it is] a wind which burns and dries up the fountain of piety, the dew of pity, [and] the rain of grace"'.<sup>25</sup> King Pedro explained that this sin occurred when one person forgot the benefits they had received from another and raised themselves up against them: 'And thus we have found, that some were ungrateful to our lord God, who created them; others to their masters, who taught them; others to their fathers, by whom they were begotten; others to their lords, through whom they inherit.' This sentence provided the structure for the remainder of the sermon. Firstly, Pedro IV cited Biblical and Classical *exempla* to illustrate each of these forms of *desconexença* and how the sin had been punished. The demons, led by Lucifer, showed ingratitude to God, who had created them, by coveting more wealth and power than they were given. For this they were cast out

<sup>22</sup>Despite the notarial comment that Pedro de Costemps wrote both these letters 'pro mandato domini regis', we cannot be absolutely certain that these letters were not composed, as well as written, by the scribe, or dictated to him by another official of the royal chancery. However, the fact that the letters were sealed with the secret seal minimises this possibility. It seems fair to assume that the letters were indeed written on the king's instructions.

<sup>23</sup>There is also evidence that Pedro IV's son and successor, King Joan I, composed his speech to the *Corts* of Monzón in 1388. MS ACA *Processos de Corts*, no. 10, fo. xiv v. records that the king said: 'in effectu verba contenta in quadam cedula quam idem dominus antea ordinaverat, et eius propria manu ut inibi dixit scripserat.' This notarial statement clearly indicates that the king had written (*scripserat*) and composed (*ordinaverat*) his speech personally. A marginal note also supports this statement: 'quod hic Rex [\*\*\*] ut alii predecessores [r]eges propositionem fecit ore proprio [recitavi]t et propria manu scripsit.'

<sup>24</sup>In the manuscript the king was careful to give correct references to the passages of the Bible referred to: the reference to this passage was, of course, to him II Kings xv; other references given appear on fo. 50 r.: Isaiah xiv; fo. 51 r.: Genesis ix, fo. 51 v.: III Kings i and Ad Romanos xiii; and fo. 53 r. Isaiah xxxviii. He also provided vernacular translations for the benefit of the audience.

<sup>25</sup>*Tractatus de Charitate*, xix.



of heaven and into the Inferno (cit. Isaiah xiv, 12). The king then explained that, 'after God who gave him a soul and reason, and the father and mother who begot him, a man has a duty to his teacher more than to any other; for he gave him learning and nourishment, which embellishes or reinforces natural intelligence.' This point was illustrated by the examples of Judas and Nero, who were both ultimately punished with death for ingratitude to their teachers, Jesus Christ and Seneca respectively. As examples of the sin of ingratitude towards fathers he cites Ham, son of Noah, who after uncovering his father's nakedness was punished with his father's curse, called down on him and all his descendents (Genesis ix, 20) and Absalom, who was guilty of ingratitude towards his father and lord when he rebelled against King David, and received his punishment when he was defeated in battle and later killed.

King Pedro IV then disclosed the political reality behind his condemnation of ingratitude by applying these categories to the rebellious Mariano, Judge of Arborea, whose family had held power in Sardinia for generations and who was now leading the inhabitants in revolt against Aragonese rule: 'Notwithstanding the fact that he has received many favours and many honours from us and from our house, he has done us much wrong. Because of this we find that he has sinned, by the sin of ingratitude, in the four ways stated above.' By rebelling against the rule of King Pedro the Judge of Arborea was therefore not only guilty of a secular crime: he had sinned. In the first place, the judge, in opposing the power of the king, had sinned against God: 'As St Paul said (Ad Romanos xiii, 2): 'whoever opposes authority, opposes the ordination of God'. For there is no authority, that is principate or lordship, which does not come by the ordination of God, and whoever goes against this, achieves his own damnation, for which he is punished.' King Pedro IV explicitly claimed here that his power was divinely ordained, a claim made frequently in the Crown of Aragon in both royal speeches and histories. However, this insistence that the judge's guilt lay *primarily* in the fact that he had sinned went beyond the usual expression of such claims to divinely ordained power.

The Judge of Arborea had also shown ingratitude to his master. Pedro IV described how Mariano and his brother were sent to the court of King Alfonso IV of Aragon to be educated, 'And the lord king our father, because he loved them, entrusted them to two Catalan knights and gave them as masters who brought them up after our manner and showed them how to serve the lord king our father and us, and to love our nation.' However, the judge 'did exactly the reverse'. His father had been a good and loyal servant to the kings Jaime II and Alfonso IV, and had wished that Mariano would follow his example. For the sin of ingratitude to his father the Judge of Arborea and his descendants should be cursed like Ham. Finally, the judge was guilty of overwhelming ingratitude towards his lord, the king:

It is the custom for all subjects to swear the oath of fealty to their lord when the lord comes into his lordship; and whoever swears the oath of fealty promises to serve him in seven things, just as is written in In feudis (De noua forma

fidelitatis);<sup>26</sup> the first of these things, before the others, is that if it happens that the lord loses something unjustly or by chance, the vassal ought to help him to recover it; [and] when he has recovered it [should help him] retain it forever. Further, the vassal ought to serve his lord with his person and his goods, and he should serve him and aid him with heart and with mouth, and similarly he should expose himself to peril of death for his lord.

The king not only emphasised here that the Judge of Arborea had broken his oath of fealty but also reminded his audience of their own oaths. The judge had deprived the king, his lord, of the Island of Sardinia and it was the duty of Pedro IV's present audience to help him regain it, even at the risk of their lives.

At this point, King Pedro IV made a short digression to provide an account of the Sardinian rebellion to date, including the death of his lieutenant, Don Pedro de Luna. The king had even tried to make peace with the judge and had agreed to forgive his past misdemeanours but the judge had failed to fulfil his promises. Ultimately, however, 'a good prince and good men ought to put their persons in peril of death to preserve the rights of the Crown, and if they are lost, to recover them.' This was no mere nebulous statement of feudal law. It was of great practical significance under the circumstances. The first of the three articles on which King Pedro IV asked for counsel at the Corts of Barcelona in 1368, which had also been summoned to consider the affairs of Sardinia (and a topic which was almost certainly also raised at the Valencian Cortes), was 'whether it is expedient that the lord king himself should go in person to the said island on account of the defence and protection of the same.' Another article asked whether King Pedro's subjects might be willing to participate in a military expedition: 'Thirdly whether the said matter can be effected with his natural subjects or with foreign men or with both foreigners and his natural subjects jointly.'<sup>27</sup>

King Pedro IV ended his sermon to the corts with one of the few attempts at allegory to appear in a surviving royal speech. The *thema* provided the example for this last section. Absalom was the judge, who said that he would reign in Hebron, which, said the king, symbolised those lacking in intelligence, which further signified Sardinia: 'And the people of that [island] are lacking in intelligence and show it well because at the false inducements of the judge they reject us, who are their natural lord, and follow him, who is our subject; because of this they must be punished.' It was to devise and finance this punishment that the corts had been summoned and it was to this end that King Pedro IV had personally planned, written and declaimed this political and religious diatribe against the Judge of Arborea.

<sup>26</sup>*Consuetudines Feudorum*, Bk. II, c.vii.

<sup>27</sup>*Cortes de los antiguos reinos de Aragón y de Valencia y del Principado de Cataluña* (Madrid, 1894 ff.), vol. 3, 10.



## Conclusions

Firstly, there is good evidence to support the theory that King Pedro IV was not only personally involved in the research and planning of his histories but also in that of his speeches to the *corts*. The two letters from the king to the Abbot of San Victorián, previously unpublished, clearly show one of the processes by which the king gathered information for his speeches and indicate that their content had been carefully planned some time before they were to be delivered: in this case, at least two weeks before.

Secondly, the existence of the manuscript of a speech written in the king's own hand, with its significant deletions and alterations, also in his hand, provides documentary evidence for the king's personal role in composing and refining his speech. The speech itself, moreover, is of considerable complexity, using *exempla* from the Bible, other religious works, and classical works to construct a convincing argument in support of the king's political stance and persuasive propaganda to sway the *corts* into agreeing to his demands. The evidence of this speech, especially when taken in conjunction with the well-known role played by Pedro IV in composing the chronicles of his reign, is a powerful indicator that in Aragon, during his reign at least, royal propaganda was not, as in contemporary France, the product of lawyers and churchmen, but of the king himself.

There are, however, qualifications to be made. This kind of evidence does not exist in great quantities for kings of Aragon other than Pedro IV. There is evidence in the official proceedings of the *corts* that King Joan I composed, as well as wrote in his own hand, the speech he made to the *Corts* of Monzón in 1388 (see note 24) but this speech is hardly comparable to the speeches of his father, Pedro IV, being very much shorter and simpler in style and content. Similarly, there is considerable evidence for Pedro IV's other son, Martín, as Infant, making simple speeches in the *corts ex tempore* in Aragonese in reply to his father's opening *proposicio* but these speeches are obviously not comparable. Some circumstantial indications exist that as king, Martín I engaged in background research before giving his speeches: on 3 January 1398 he wrote to the archives asking for the book of speeches made by his father to the *corts*,<sup>28</sup> possibly in preparation for planning his first opening *proposicio* made to the *Corts* of Zaragoza on 29 April 1398. During the rest of January 1398 Martín I also sent for a number of other books which might have been of use to him in composing his speech but there is no definite link.<sup>29</sup> However, there is very little evidence for the most attractive alternative – that Martín I's speeches were written by, or with the help of, humanist chancery officials such as Guillem Ponç and Bernat Metge.<sup>30</sup>

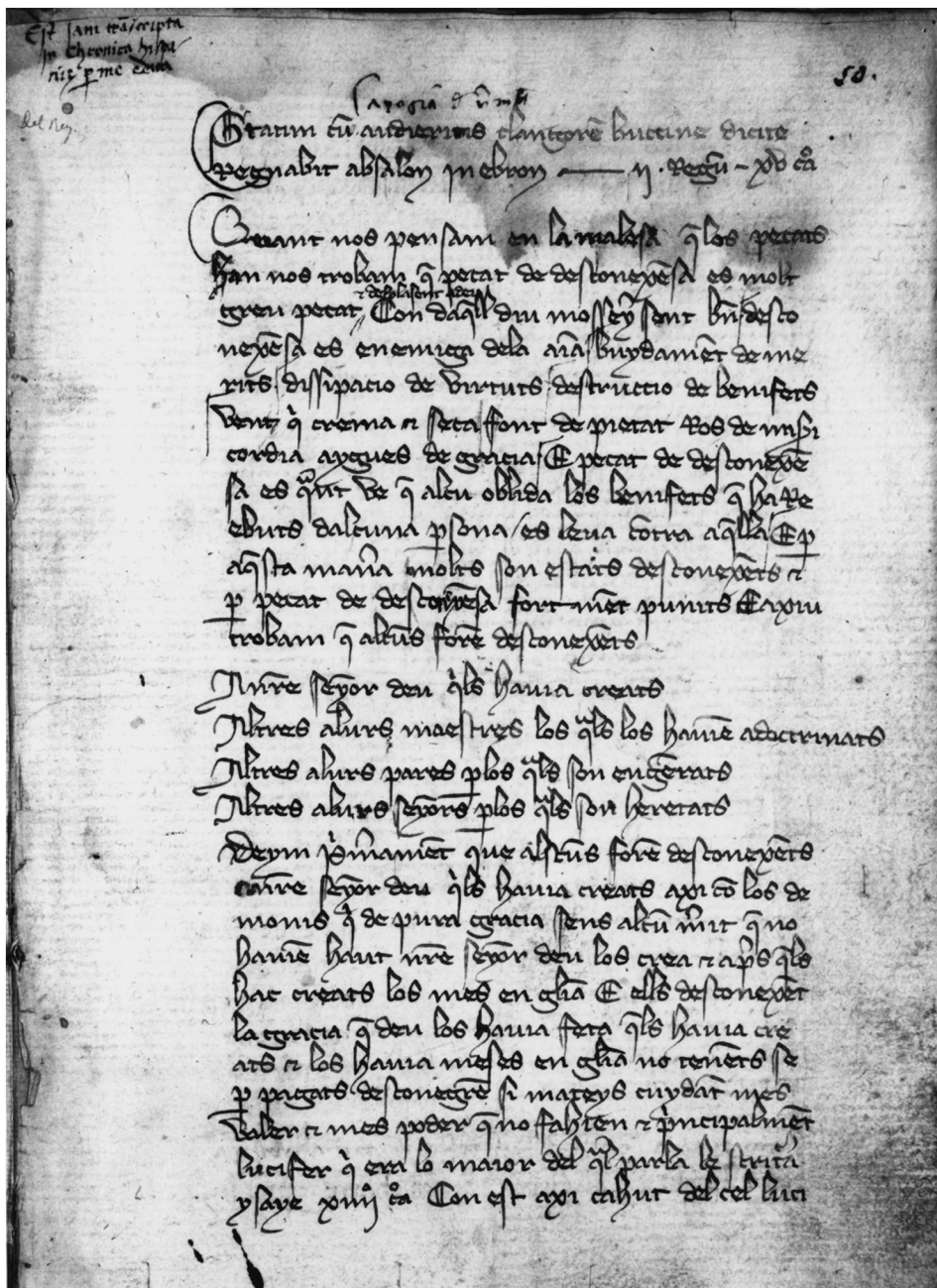
<sup>28</sup>A. Rubió y Lluch, *Documents*, 1, doc. CCCCXXXIX, 392.

<sup>29</sup>A. Rubió y Lluch, *Documents*, 1, doc. CCCCXLI, 393–4; doc. CCCCXLII, 394; and doc. CCCCXLIX, 395.

<sup>30</sup>For a discussion of this possibility see P.M. Catedra, 'Acerca del sermón político en la España medieval. A propósito del discurso de Martín el Humano en las cortes de Zaragoza de 1398', *Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona*, 40 (1985), 34–5; and M. de Riquer, *Historia de la Literatura Catalana*, 3 vols. (Barcelona, 1964), vol. 2, 344.

Notwithstanding its great importance, the volume of evidence for Pedro IV's personal involvement in writing his own speeches is small, and that for his sons even smaller, although there is every chance that further work in the archives will reveal more. Perhaps of equal significance is the negative evidence: as yet no documents have emerged to support the alternative hypothesis that Pedro IV's, Joan I's and Martín I's speeches were written by royal officials. It is, in fact, likely that in dealing with such important political issues these kings would have sought advice from others on the content and style of their speeches but any substantial work by official speechwriters might have been expected to leave some traces in the extensive archive of the kings of Aragon.

## Appendix 1



Dem p'manet q' jurge darborca es de t'one per adu co  
 li ha comstar cor guardat q' ell es de nacio s'ardesta  
 res nacio q' tota t'aps es esten en p'uitur r q' hama  
 pupat en p'oria domes a en n'olt com en aqua tin  
 Centar co ha comstar anos q' p' p'mio de den somfeto  
 rey r p'or en aqua tin r anos se dulla egualar diet  
 aq'tes p'mles q' dix adonias in p'egri p' la t'eg p'eg  
 nabo que d'edir vo p'egriare r on en p'adon r g'ran  
 ne al rey d'amee d'iglla r agri fa p'obra r faet aq's  
 corasta ala d'etatar de n're p'or d'ym diu m'p'ed  
 sent paul ad romanos xij es q' p'otestari p'et'it  
 der ordinacioni p'et'it q' d'edir q' ala p'otest co  
 rasta ala ordinacio de den comstarata co no es p'  
 testat se es p'ncipar ho p'oria q' no d'egri d'ordona  
 cio de den q' fa cora aqua fa p'adammacio de q'ha  
 p'mcio

Dem en ap's q' jurge darborca es de t'one  
 per a son maestre co li ha son castich passat cor  
 lo jurge darborca pare d'ag't r'mies sos in. f'ille  
 aq't q' and es jurge r son f'erre m'p' p'ha darbo  
 rear co p'or t'ey n're pare p'at co los amara co  
 manals an. caualles caralad p'lo nodu p'en ales  
 n'res manes r los m'ost' p'en p'ur lo p'or t'ey  
 n're pare r nos r amara la n're nacio r ell p' m'  
 q'at ha fet tot lo comen cor tota t'aps p'ed l'ur  
 de p'ur la n're corona r ha tota t'aps l'uraro de p'  
 r alor' r tot lo de n're nacio q' p'arrit q' p'ag'ta  
 de t'one p'ed q' ha fet adu r anos q' de qu'es es p'  
 n'r axi co fore no r p'ed q' fore de t'one p'ed a  
 l'ur' maestres vo placia adu q' ell no d'ulla p'  
 n'r axi en l'ia com p'en aq'te

n're p'or n're  
 q'ha p'ed p'one  
 d'no p'ed



Dem en ays q' jurge es estar de coneyter a son  
 pare co no li ha son manamier suar Car anos es  
 cort q' son pare era loyal a son suidor als p'pors  
 p'pors en jactme z n'p'os au z pare n'p'os E per  
 desta raho los r'ances dessa angden ell z tal  
 re f'aire son ap'co d'ap'ur los h'ayem dit z ma  
 nals q' fossen los r' leysals suidors h'us p'p'os z  
 amassen la coronaz nacio n'ra E volch q' fill  
 maior seu q' h'auia nom q' q' ap' p'mort son  
 jurge d'arborca f'eeles cauallers de ma del p'por  
 p'p' n'p' pare z volch tot m. de fills p'p' sem mu  
 llers de n'ra nacio q' ap' son E lo p'por p'p' n'p'  
 pare los amana z los homana mes q' am' q' de  
 de p'p' p'p' ap' de fills E ap' la mort del p'  
 p'p' p'p' n'p' pare nos no en p'mam dels ap'co  
 de fills seu lo cauallers z a son f'ayez li do  
 nam titol de comte de guciens z son lo p'm com  
 re q' nos cream a li f'arem molt honradamier la  
 festa E en l'engoma nos m'oram ap' all en la sua  
 posada tot ass' l'us f'arem y donar l'us honore  
 q' coneguesen q' nos los amauem E ell obliuans  
 totz aq's benif'ers z honore ha nos f'etes moltes  
 males obres f'etes q'is direm E p'ral co no ha suar  
 lo manamier de son pare de raho seu hail la mala  
 greia q' dona nos a son fill can d'ed q' tot d' q' de  
 de la sua c'gnacio fossen suidors dels suidors de de  
 fills ap'at jurge ha de f'ere tot de tot q' ha de  
 m'agto ell z fa c'gnacio suidors dels n'p'os suidors

Dem en ays q' jurge d'arborca es de coneyter a son  
 p'por co li ha r'ecada f'echar tot p'p' n'p' a son p'  
 n'p' es costum q' fa sagamier de f'echar q'nt lo  
 p'por f'eeles p'p' n'p' dels homans E aq'l q' fa sagam  
 mier de f'echar li p'met suar dy. co de ap' co es

q' soit en fensio de noua forma fidelitatis entre  
 les q's es la q. l'apar les autres Que si se p'cedem  
 q' l'apar p'ea alcuna cosa p'ustamier p' cas for  
 rumar lo d'apall' h'en andar acobrar con sa  
 colmen q' la p'etecor tot seys Encara lo d'apall' deu  
 p'uir son seys de p'donare de les cor deu lo p'uir  
 a p'correr de cor r de loca r p'matez p' p'ar agul  
 de mort p' son seys E nos podem dir tot lo co  
 rram de h'uraz q' a p' co nos deuia andar a  
 cobrar p' q' l'apar de castella p'ustamier nos  
 h'aura tot ell sen h'eg ab agl' corra nos q' tot  
 re nos p'ardya ens moch Gra r se es efforsar  
 r sefforsar de deservetar nosen E a p' co nos  
 deuia p'uir de p'apona ha fer tot lo corram  
 cor a p' co p'donamier nos deuia andar ell  
 se es p' p'ar p'donamier ab son poder r p' co  
 barur ab nostre p'apla r nre lochmies don pe  
 dro de luna r lo ha mort ab altres p'udors  
 nres r p' co captegut d'ello p'ud loamier a p' co  
 q' fore morte q' no es acostumar entre lo  
 nos q'as de p' co enemichs E a p' co nos deuia  
 andar de p' co les ell se ha p'etecur nres  
 d'ro p' co lo trehur q'us deuia donar castu  
 ayn de de p' co d'ro E a p' co nos deuia an  
 dar de loca ell ab p' co falsos p'audes r p'udor  
 d'ro ha rurar los p'arros ala p'ia p'ur r ha los  
 fer rebellar corra nos r sin ha fer de cor les  
 obres q'us ha fetes odemostre q'ha fer son po  
 der r ha de deservetar nosen p' co q' podem dir  
 q' agl' juraz d'arborca nos ha creencia la f'ed



rar dret als parrs los parrules q hanem co  
 mides de nra poficio Tanto q co oneros lo  
 so dela fortuna deus Regnara ablaten en edro  
 E ablaten del rar dir co amargor del parrer signi  
 fica lo parrer q es amargor nra q podem ess dire  
 san parrer pla parrer q anem parrer ell lo q nos ha  
 fer parrer en parrer dna deada pla sua parrer  
 en lo q parrer qdem mofa parrer bona ter  
 e no comulhar cor lo mal q parrer parrer so es  
 dela ter q parrer qdem en lo parrer del algar  
 parrer a ell ablaten <sup>qdem mofa parrer qdem mofa parrer</sup> <sup>qdem mofa parrer qdem mofa parrer</sup>  
 tates qne agues qdem nra dno de parrer ha  
 qdem mofa parrer nra qdem mofa parrer ablaten parrer  
 parrer qne hanem parrer qdem parrer en lo est  
 mofa parrer qdem parrer qdem mofa parrer nra dno  
 comulhar ab ell no comulhar q nos agues qdem  
 des los colles qdem nra parrer parrer parrer  
 nosen de la colles qne pla qne la concordia parrer  
 q ab nos hanem parrer parrer parrer qdem parrer  
 da nos hi cone de parrer es nos gran amargor  
 e podem dir los parrules q son estures y parrer  
 dno en Ecto parrer amargor nra amargor  
 q del rar dir deus qn la pau la ma amargor es  
 molt amargor parrer amargor qne anes qdem parrer co  
 me se de fer parrer parrer lo cone anes qdem qdem  
 ab nos parrer cor lo parrer parrer los parrer de  
 ne mofa qdem de mofa parrer los dret dela con  
 na e parrer ne ha des cobrar qdem parrer qdem  
 ablaten es lo parrer mas dno q parrer en edron  
 q del rar dir co parrer de sen q parrer parrer lo

noble enella lo qe es sobre de pen a mostra ho lo con  
 a pñeños falsos del pñeño pñeño nos q som lñr pñor  
 natal a pñeño a ell qe pñeño nre pñ q deu effer  
 pñeño a pñeño pñeño nos no li pñeño donar pñeño  
 nuda de do pñeño qñe pñeño de pñeño dammar  
 qñe pñeño nre de pñeño a pñeño a pñeño a pñeño nre  
 natal a pñeño pñeño a pñeño a pñeño a pñeño ma  
 nades corte qñe doners consell a nuda a pñeño  
 humillar lo pñeño anos de pñeño a pñeño

x fñeña haia fñeño mñor

Aquest original es tot fñeño a ma dñeño a pñeño en pñeño a pñeño fñeño pñeño a pñeño  
 qñeñ La fñeña Lñeña pñeño Lo qñeñ ha fñeño a pñeño a pñeño a pñeño  
 en fñeño testamer a ma pñeño le pñeño a pñeño a pñeño a pñeño a pñeño  
 a pñeño a pñeño a pñeño a pñeño a pñeño a pñeño a pñeño a pñeño a pñeño  
 fñeño a pñeño a pñeño a pñeño a pñeño a pñeño a pñeño a pñeño a pñeño a pñeño