Irina Kaliteevskaia

IMAGES OF KING AND COURT

IN *THE BOOK OF STATES* BY DON JUAN MANUEL

AND *THE POEM OF PALACE LIFE* BY PEDRO LOPEZ DE AYALA

MA Thesis in Medieval Studies

Central European University

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May 2005

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Thesis submitted to the Department of Medieval Studies,
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Chair, Examination Committee

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Thesis Supervisor

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I, the undersigned, Irina Kaliteevskaia**,** candidate for the MA degree in Medieval Studies declare herewith that the present thesis is exclusively my own work, based on my research and only such external information as properly credited in notes and bibliography. I declare that no unidentified and illegitimate use was made of the work of others, and no part of the thesis infringes on any person's or institution's copyright. I also declare that no part of the thesis has been submitted in this form to any other institution of higher education for an academic degree.

Budapest, 31 May 2005

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Signatu

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Estados – Don Juan Manuel. *El libro de los estados.* Ed. I. R. Macpherson and R. B. Tate. Madrid: Castalia, 1991.

Enxiemplos – Don Juan Manuel. *Libro de los enxiemplos del Conde Lucanor e de Patronio*. Ed. Alfonso I. Sotelo. Madrid: Cátedra, 1980.

Glosas - Shem Tov. *Glosas de Sabiduría o Proverbios Morales y otras Rimas*. Ed. Agustín García Calvo. Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1974.

Rimado - Pero Lopez de Ayala. *Rimado de palacio*. Ed. Germán Orduna. Madrid: Castalia, 1987.

INTRODUCTION

In the court I exist and of the court I speak, and what
the court is, God knows, I know not.
(Walter Map, *De nugis curialium)*

In the sixteenth century the Spanish monarchy became one of the most powerful in the world; the Spanish court started to set the fashion for all the European courts. However, two centuries before, in the chronicle of the King Alfonso X, written in the first half of the fourteenth century, even the word to designate the court did not exist. The term *corte* meant an assembly of the representatives of different estates of Castilian society, called by the king in order to justify the most important decisions. The king was migrating around the country, and the people who surrounded him changed frequently. Some come from the side of his enemies, others being sent out by the king on commissions.

The process of the transformation of the royal court of Castile into the powerful Spanish courtly society was closely connected with the strengthening of the royal power that is regarded to have been initiated by Alfonso X (1252-1282). It was, however, complicated by the constant wars (with Moors and European monarchies as well as internal wars for succession), the minorities of a number of Castilian kings, economic problems, and so forth.

Nevertheless, both processes – the strengthening of the royal power and the transformation of the court – were going on. As an indicator of the existence of a court society the most convenient is to study the appearance of a particular type of self-consciousness among the people who surrounded the king, with the distinctive image of the king and of the court they belonged to. In this thesis I examine these

images as they are represented in a few, selected literary works of the fourteenth century, the period when significant changes seem to have happened.

Overview of the historiography

The interest in courts as an important social and cultural reality has been provoked by the books of N. Elias. He claims that the establishing of "absolute" power happened not only due to the "individual actions of individual people," but also to a profound change in the Western society as a whole. He connected this change with the emergence roughly at the same time of new models of behavior for the nobility, a so-called "civilizing" of behavior that demanded moderation and restraint, modeled first of all at the royal or princely courts by means of social and psychological mechanisms. This generated a new type of society – a court – which succeeded in changing of the upper class of independent knights into a new upper class of courtiers.[1] This society (or rather societies) flourished in France in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, as he demonstrates in the book *Court Society*, dedicated to the French court of the period as a closed group, dictating to its members a particular lifestyle, manners, forms of consciousness, and identity. All spheres of the life of courtiers were determined by the fact of their position in relation to the king's person.[2]

The Civilizing Process, first published in 1939, was noticed only in sixties, as a result of the discussion concerning the necessity of bringing together sociology and

[1] N. Elias, *The Civilizing Process: Sociogenetic and Psychogenetic Investigations*, tr. E. Jephcott (Maldon, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 1994), 187-191. Originally the book was published as *Über den Prozess der Zivilisation* in 1939.
[2] N. Elias, *The Court Society* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1983) (hereafter: Elias, *Court Society*).

history, and still remains the most authoritative research on the topic.[3] It was, nevertheless, criticized in part, first of all by medievalists. Thus, not underestimating importance of Elias's research, the Germanist C. S. Jaeger criticizes his theory for negating the role of ideas, ideals, and their creators in the origin of the "civilizing process," understood rather as a result of a changed social reality. C. Jaeger, in his turn, regards "courtesy" as "an instrument of the urge to civilizing, of the forces in which that process originates, and not and outgrowth of the process itself."[4] As a motive force of the process he sees the alliance of government with an educational system. Thus, he insists on paying much more attention to intellectual history, and sees the real origins of the process in the earlier epoch; the chronological limits of his research are 939-1210, the period when he finds the appearance of these ideas.

Basically the same idea is developed in A. Scaglione's *Knights at Court*:

> Literature is not merely an epiphenomenon arising out of social reality, it is part of the cultural forces that both reflect and motivate real behavior… The sociological perspective will therefore see society both as the point of genesis of the work of art and as its point of destination.[5]

Thus, he also examines the literary medieval sources from the Saxon emperors up to the Italian Renaissance, looking for connections between the image of the knight and the courtier. One of his conclusions is that the new ideals of "honor founded on loyalty to the king" did not completely replace the chivalry ones, which remained "on the level of daily practice" up to the beginning of the twentieth century.[6]

[3] C. S. Jaeger, *The Origins of Courtliness: Civilizing Trends and the Formation of Courtly Ideals, 939-1210* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985) (hereafter: C. Jaeger, *Origins of Courtliness*).
[4] C. Jaeger, *Origins of Courtliness*, 9.
[5] A. Scaglione, *Knights at Court* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 3-4 (hereafter: Scaglione, *Knights at Court*). On medieval historiography from this perspective see also G. Spiegel, *The Past as Text* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997).
[6] Scaglione, *Knights at Court*, 305-309.

With the application in the seventies of cultural anthropology a number of works appeared examining courts through the objects, created and used in court societies. For example, F. Pipponier researched the interrelation of court costume and social life at the Angevin court in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries;[7] the newer book of S. Crane analyzes the garment as a means of self-identification in England and France in the fourteenth and beginning of the fifteenth century,[8] and A. G. Dickens, takes the point of view of the impact increasing of refinement on medieval court objects during the Middle Ages,[9] and so forth.

A great many works analyze court literature in itself and as a source for the study of court society, like the book of J. Lemaire *The Representation of the Life of the Court in French Literature*,[10] the research on the interaction of the court and the courtly literature of the northern Netherlands by F. P. Van Oostrom,[11] or the work of J. Bumke, who examines German literature of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries "in its relationship to the social and cultural environment that determined the life of nobility during the period."[12] Another group of research works looks at the perceptions of the art and artists at the court and the way a craftsman was transformed into an artist, for example, the works of M. Warnke and T. Kauffman.[13]

Some works describe the courts as a complex whole, as the research of M. G. A. Vale on the courts of Northwest Europe (mainly the English one, compared to the

[7] F. Piponnier, *Costume et vie sociale: La cour d'Anjou XIV-XV siécle* (Paris: Mouton, 1970).
[8] S. Crane, *The Performance of Self: Ritual, Clothing, and Identity During the Hundred Years War* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002).
[9] A.G. Dickens, "One Monarchy and Cultural Revival: Courts in the Middle Ages," in *The Courts of Europe: Politics, Patronage, and Royalty 1400-1800*, ed. A. G. Dickens (London, Thames and Hudson, 1977), 8-31.
[10] J. Lemaire, *Les visions de la vie de cour dans la litterature française* (Brussels: Académie royale de langue et de literature françaises, 1994).
[11] F. P. Van Oostrom, *Court and Culture: Dutch Literature, 1350-1450*, tr. A. J. Pomerans (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992).
[12] J. Bumke, *Courtly Culture: Literature and Society in the High Middle Ages*, tr. T. Dunlap (Berkley: University of California Press, 1991), 16 (hereafter: Bumke, *Curtly cultura*).

courts of Flanders, Brabant, France, and others).[14] In 1998 a collection of articles was edited in Belgium describing the different aspects of being at the Burgundian court from the fourteenth through the sixteenth centuries, from its structure and functions to the role of women at the court.[15] In Russia another collection of articles appeared in 2001 describing medieval princely courts from different perspectives,[16] including an article by O. I. Varyash about dynastic conflicts and the role of the court in the Pyrennean peninsula.[17]

Almost none of these publications referred to Spanish, including Castilian, examples. I know very few texts that touch upon the courts of Castile, and all of them are quite descriptive and superficial. Thus, the book of I. Gonzales Alvárez about the image of society in the *Poem of Palace Life* simply retells the text of the poem;[18] B. Leroy in her book about power on the Iberian peninsula gives a very brief review of the problems which I am interested in.[19]

The complexity of the Castilian case consists in the disputability of the problem of the base of royal power itself as well as its image. The Spanish historian J. M. Nieto Soria points out that the royal court "is the natural and immediate scenario

[13] M. Warnke, *The Court Artist: On the Ancestry of the Modern Artist*, tr. D. McLintock (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993); T. D. Kaufman, *Court, Cloister, and City: The Art and Culture of Central Europe, 1450-1800* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995).
[14] M. G. A. Vale, *The Princely Court: Medieval Courts and Culture in North-West Europe 1270-1380* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).
[15] *A la cour de Bourgogne: Le duc, son entourage, son train,* ed. J.-M. Cauchies (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998).
[16] *Двор монарха в средневековой Европе: Явление, модель, среда* (The Court of the Monarch in the Medieval Europe: Phenomenon, Model, Milieu), ed. [N. A. Khachaturyan] Н. А. Хачатурян (Moscow: Aleteya, 2001) (hereafter: Court of the Monarch). In 2004 a second volume was issued under the same title, but I did not have a chance to examine it closely yet.
[17] [O. I. Varyash] О. И. Варьяш, "Двор в династических конфликтах пиренейского средневековья" (The Court in the Dynastic Conflicts of the Pyrennean Middle Ages), in *The Court of the Monarch*, 81-92 (hereafter Varyash, Court in Dynastic Conflicts).
[18] I. González Alvárez, *El rimado de palaçio: Una visión de la sociedad entre el testimonio y el tópico* (Vitoria: Diputación Foral de Alava, Departamento de Cultura, 1990).
[19] B. Leroy, *Pouvoirs et sociétés politiques en péninsule Ibérique, XIVe-XVe siècles* (Paris: Sedes, 1991).

of the exhibition of the royal power."[20] He himself disputes the generally accepted thesis about the peculiarity of the Late Medieval Castilian political system, lying first of all in the lack of sacred legitimation of the royal power. A detailed and versatile review of the historiography of the problem is presented in his book *Ideological Bases of the Royal Power in Castile (the Thirteenth - Sixteenth Centuries).*[21] Here I want to mention only the article of T. F. Ruiz "Unsacred Monarchy: The Kings of Castile on the Late Middle Ages." The author shows that sacral symbols never played a decisive role in Castile. Thus, anointing and coronation, crucial in France and England, in Castile after 1157 "could be summoned from obscurity, used for one occasion, for a specific purpose and, soon afterward, forgotten, put aside." The Castilian rulers rather expressed their power in secular symbols and ceremonies, mostly of a military nature, constructing rather an image of a king-warrior, king-knight.[22]

Denying this view, J. M. Nieto Soria in the *Ideological Bases* and more recent research, *Ceremonies of Royalty,*[23] tried to prove that the construction of E. Cantarowicz may equally be applied to the Castilian reality. He claims that the absence of explicit indications of rituals in the sources do not mean their absence. His ideas received an answer from P. Linehan, who said: "While I find myself in disagreement with both Ruiz and Nieto, in the case of Ruiz that disagreement concerns details whereas in the case of Nieto it is (as in the terminology of the title of

[20] *Orígenes de la monarquía hispánica: Propaganda y legitimación (ca. 1400-1520),* ed. J. M. Nieto Soria (Madrid: Dykinson, 1999), 58-62.
[21] J. M. Nieto Soria, *Fundamentos ideológicos del poder real en Castilla (siglos XIII-XVI)* (Madrid: Eudema, 1988), 19-33.
[22] T. F. Ruiz, "Unsacred Monarchy: The Kings of Castile in the Late Middle Ages," in *Rites of Power: Symbolism, Ritual, and Politics Since the Middle Ages*, ed. S. Wilentz (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985), 109-144. It is the revised translation of the article "Une royautée sans sacre: la monarchie castillane du Bas Moyen Âge," in *Annales E. S. C.* 3 (May-June 1984): 429-453. See also his articles "Images of Power in the Seals of the Castilian Monarchy: 1135-1469," in T. F. Ruiz, *The City and the Realm: Burgos and Castile 1080-1492* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1992), xiv (hereafter: Ruiz, *City and Realm*), first published in *Homenaje a Don Claudio Sánchez Albornoz* IV (1986).
[23] J. M. Nieto Soria, *Ceremonias de la realeza: Propaganda y legitimación en la Castilla Trastámara* (Madrid: Nerea, 1993) (hereafter: Nieto Soria, *Ceremonias*).

his book) fundamental."[24] Among other things he pointed out the absence of the capital and capital church in Castile, impossible until the end of the *reconquista*, representations of equestrian rather than enthroned kings on seals (shown by T. Ruiz in the article mentioned), the lack of anointment or coronation in the case of many kings, and so forth.

P. Linehan examines one century, until 1350.[25] In the preface to a collection of his articles, T. Ruiz wrote:

> The fact remains that the kings of Castile were, with few exceptions, neither crowned nor anointed; moreover, the arguments for sacral kingship even without the usual rituals are found mostly in fifteenth-century sources and not in the crucial period running from the late twelfth century to the rise of a new dynasty in the 1360s.[26]

Indeed, the book of Nieto Soria, where he demonstrates the sacral character of the royal rituals and ceremonies in Castile, deals only with the period after the coming of Trastamara (in 1366 Henry II of Trastamara proclaimed himself king, and in 1369 he killed Peter I). Thus, most authors seem to agree that some changes happened in the fourteenth century, and that is why I think it is worth examining it more.

Concerning the institutional structure the first more or less systematic description of the Castilian court as a system of administrative, judicial, and household institutions appeared in 1968 in a published series of lectures of L. García de Valdeavellano about the history of Spanish institutions.[27] Although the description of the institutions connected with the royal court is distributed among several chapters ("C*uria regia* and royal council," "Administration," "Territorial administration,"

[24] P. Linehan, "Frontier Kingship: Castile 1250-1350," in *La Royauté Sacreé dans le monde Chrétien*, ed. Alain Boureau and Claudio Sergio (Paris: Éditions de l'École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, 1992), 71-79.
[25] I have not seen his book *History and the Historians of Medieval Spain* (1992) where the critique is more extensive.
[26] Ruiz, *City and Realm*, 10.
[27] L. García de Valdeavellano, *Curso de historia de las instituciones españolas: De los orígenes al final de la Edad Media* (Madrid: Revista de Occidente, 1968) (hereafter: Valdeavellano, *Instituciones españolas*).

"Judicial administration," and partly "Royal estate"),[28] the analysis is quite detailed, and there is no other more elaborated research concerning Castilian court, so this book has not lost its relevance. Still, there are several works dealing with the other courts of the peninsula, with more or less extensive comparisons to the court of the Castilian kings. Thus, one of the latest books about the Aragon court, by M. Van Landingham, researches the court ordinances of 1276, regarding it both as a text caused by momentary necessities and as an official program fixing the royal strategy. She compares the ordinances with the *Siete partidas* of the Castilian king Alfonso X.[29] The problem here is that, although the *Partidas* can be regarded as the representation of the strategy and are important from this point of view, they came into effect much later, and this needs further research.

Another piece of research worth mentioning is the book by R. C. Gomes, *The Court of the Kings of Portugal at the End of the Middle Ages*.[30] The author gives a complex overview of the structure and life of the Portuguese court, making comparisons with the Castilian court. This work will be useful for further research both because of its methodology and factual information.

Thus, analysis of the Castilian royal court remains relevant to the broader question of the evolution of political institutions. This question, as was shown by the work of N. Elias, A. Scaglione, and others, should be examined in connection with the evolution of the image of royal power. In the case of Castile it is particularly important because of arguments on the nature and bases of the monarchy in the Late

[28] Ibid, 450-462, 485-499, 500-517, 555-570, 587-508.
[29] *Siete Partidas* – a juridical work of the jurists of Alfonso X, based on Roman Law and *The Especulo,* the previous code of law, most likely promulgated in 1255 (see J. F. O'Callaghan, *Alfonso X, the Cortes, and Government in Medieval Spain* [Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998], 1-12).
[30] R. C. Gomes, *A corte dos reis de Portugal no final da Idade Média* (The Court of the Kings of Portugal at the End of the Middle Ages) (Linda-a-Velha: Difel, 1995).

Middle Ages. The fourteenth century seems to be a turning point and worth particular attention.

I. PRIMARY SOURCES

In order to try to find some clue to the problem of the evolution of the royal court in Castile connected to the evolution of the image of royal power in the fourteenth century, I compare two literary works by the most important writers of the century. Other works of these authors and one poem of a Jewish poet were also used for comparison. The point here is not to refer to the legislative sources; they mainly reflect the royal strategy or program, but not the perception of it by the people surrounding king and, thus, can not say a great deal about the processes that occurred.

All the texts I have chosen are close to each other in several respects. All of them were written by people who were in personal contact with the Castilian monarchs of the century. The two main authors (namely Don Juan Manuel and Pedro Lopez de Ayala) where the members of noble families and held some offices at the royal court (the former for a period, the latter for his whole life). Both of them were very influential in politics, in the literary process of the kingdom, and the Iberian peninsula.

All texts I use are didactic, partially directed to the ruler, which puts them into the tradition of a mirror of princes, and to the nobility as a whole. At the same time, they describe the social situation as the authors see it. This allows analyzing them at the same time as texts that present their authors' images of the king and the court and as the texts that formed this image.

Don Juan Manuel and his *Book of States* and *The Book of Examples of Count Lucanor and Patronius*

Don Juan Manuel was born in 1282 in Escalona, the youngest son of Infante Don Manuel – son of King Ferdinand III (1214-1252) and brother of Alfonso the

Wise (1252-1282). He was orphaned at the age of eight (his father died the year he was born and his mother in 1290) and inherited possessions and the office of *adelantado*[31] in the kingdom of Murcia. His active political life started with the death of Sancho IV (1284-1295) and the struggle for the succession that followed (Ferdinand IV, son of Sancho IV, was nine years old at the time). For Don Juan Manuel the result was that he married Constanza, the daughter of Jaime II, king of Aragon. Then, during the minority of Alfonso XI (1312-1330) and after the death of the former regents in 1312, he became a member of the new regency council, in constant rivalry with other two regents.

After Alfonso XI declared himself of age in 1325, he discredited Don Juan Manuel, but then, in order to win him over, married his daughter, Constanza, and gave him the office of the *adelantado of the border* plus to that of Murcia. Soon, nevertheless, the king killed Juan Manuel's ally, Juan the One-eyed, and started the negotiations concerning marriage with the daughter of Alfonso IV of Portugal.

Juan Manuel was greatly offended, and declared war on the king, looking for help from the king of Granada.[32] During this war Alfonso XI, trying to avert the sympathy of the new king of Aragon, Alfonso IV, from Don Juan Manuel, married him to his sister Leonor in 1329, while Juan Manuel married Blanca Nuñez de la Cerda, a member of the family that claimed the Castilian throne (his wife Constanza had died in august of 1327). He also organized the engagement of his daughter, who did not become a queen of Castile and stayed half-imprisoned in the royal castle Toro with Infante Don Pedro of Portugal. At the end of 1329 he finally signed an armistice with the king in order to unite against the Moors of Andalusia. Together they seized

[31] About this office see p. 58 of the present thesis.
[32] This war is mentioned in the *Book of States* - see p. 38 of this thesis.

Algeciras in 1344. In 1348 he died in his castle, Garcimuños, and was buried in the monastery of Peñafiel, which he had founded in 1318.[33]

Don Juan Manuel is regarded to be the first Castilian writer who clearly understood and formulated his own function. In the prologue to *The Book of Examples of Count Lucanor* he wrote: "Don Juan, son of the very noble infante Don Manuel, wrote this book, wishing that all people would do in this world such things that would be useful for their honor, and estates, and state, and they would approach closer the way to save their souls."[34] He also grounds his writing strategy. Thus, in *The Book of States* he writes that people understand anything better by means of resemblances, and that is why he compiled the book as questions and answers; [35] and in the second prologue to *The Book of Examples* he explains that writes it as physicians:

> When they want some medicine to reach the liver, because the liver attracts sweet things, they mix that medicine they want to use for the liver with sugar or honey or something sweet; and because of the attraction which the liver has for the sweet thing by pulling it to itself, it takes with it the medicine that is supposed to treat the man.[36]

He articulates, moreover, the basis for using a romance language (Castilian) by the fact that he wants it to be useful "neither for very educated people nor for intellectuals."[37]

[33] A. Giménez Soler, *Don Juan Manuel: biografía y estudio crítico* (Zaragoza: Academia Española, 1932) (hereafter: Giménez Soler, *Don Juan Manuel*).
[34] *Enxiemplos*, 67 ("Este libro fizo don Johan, fijo de muy noble infante don Manuel, deseando que los omnes fizioesen en este mundo tales obras que les fuesen aprovechosas de las onras e de las faziendas e de sus estados, e fuessen más allegados a la carrera porque pudiesen salvar las almas").
[35] *Estados*, 72-73 ("Et porque los omnes non pueden tan bien [entender] las cosas por otra manera commo por algunas semejanzas, conpus este libro en manera de preguntas et repuestas que fazían entre sí un rey et un infante su fijo, et un cavallero que crió al infante et un philósofo").
[36] *Enxiemplos*, 70-71 ("E esto fiz segund la manera que fazen los físicos, que quando quieren fazer alguna melizina que aproveche al fígado, por razón que naturalmente el fígado se paga de las cosas dulçes, mezclan con aquella melizina que quieren melezinar el fígado, açucar o miel o alguna cosa dulçe; e por el pagamiento que el fígado a de la cosa dulçe, en tirándola para sí, lleva con ella la melezina quel a de aprovechar").
[37] *Enxiemplos*, 68 ("Pero Dios sabe que lo fizo por entençión que se aprovechassen de lo que él diría las gentes que non fuesen muy letrados non muy sabidores. E por ende fizo todos los sus libros en romance, e esto es señal çierto que los fizo para los legos e de non muy grand saber commo lo él es").

He also was the first writer who cared about the survival and quality of the manuscripts containing his works. Both in the *General Prologue* and in the prologue to the *Book of Examples* he complained about the errors that appeared in the text during the rewriting and said that because of this he was writing a volume with all his works so that anyone could check if something was wrong in another manuscript and not blame him.[38] This manuscript was meant to be kept in the Dominican friary in Peñafiel, founded by him in 1318, but was lost. Both these texts contain a list of the works of Juan Manuel, with minor differences.[39]

Thus, some titles of his unknown works are preserved, namely *The Book of Songs* (*Libro de las Cantigas*), *Rules on How to Compose Verses*, (*Reglas como se debe trovar*), *The Complete Chronicle* (*Crónica complida*), *The Book of the Military Devices* (*Libro de los ingenios*), and *The Book of Knighthood* (*Libro de la Caballería*), written before 1325 and quoted several times in *The Book of States*. The rest except *The Brief Chronicle*, (*Crónica abreviada*) are preserved mainly in manuscript *S* 6376 of the National Library of Madrid from the second half of the fifteenth century. This contains *The Book of the Knight and the Squire* (*Libro del caballero y del Escudero*, 1326), *The Book of States* (*Libro de los Estados*, 1327-1332), *The Book of Examples* (*Libro de los exemplos*, 1330-1335), *The Brief Chronicle* (*Crónica abreviada*), *The Book of Hunt* (*Libro de la caza*), Prologue to the *Book of Examples of Count Lucanor and Patronio, The Book of Councils* (*Libro de castigos* / *Libro infinido*), *Treatise of the Arms* (*Tratado de las Armas*), *The General Prologue* (*Prólogo general*), and *Treatise on the Beatitude [of the Assumption of the Virgin]* (*Tratado de la beatitude* [*de la Asunción de la Virgen*]).[40]

[38] *Estados*, 67-68, *Enxiemplos*, 68.
[39] *Enxiemplos*, 19.
[40] Giménez Soler, *Don Juan Manuel*, 176.

The main topic of the *Book of States* (dated 1327-1332)[41] is how one can achieve salvation by fulfilling the duties corresponding to his state. The book consists of two parts or books: one about the secular life, and the other about the clerical life. In the prologue to the first part the book is called both *The Book of the Infante* (*Libro de infante*) and *The Book of States*. The whole book is structured as a dialogue between a teacher and a pupil. The plot is that there is a man, Julio, an educated Castilian clergyman, who is traveling around the world, preaching and teaching people the Scriptures. He was edified on secular problems by his pupil, Juan Manuel himself.[42] He comes to an anonymous pagan country where there is no law but people "do not make offence or harm to the other," called here "the law of nature" (as opposed to the law given by someone").[43] Otherwise everything is allowed. Julio wants to demonstrate that this law applies only to the terrestrial, but not to the heavenly, life and thus is lower than the law of Christ.

The king of this kingdom, Moraván, has an only son, Infante Joas, and he is afraid that he will turn against the world when he experiences the sufferings and death that exist in it. He finds him a tutor, Turín, who is supposed to protect the boy from this knowledge; but occasionally the infante sees a dead man on the street, and, asking what has happened and why, comes to the notion of the soul. He asks what he should do in order to guard his soul, considering his state. The king is advised by Turín to invite Julio, a very educated man, who can explain that the best state in which to save the soul is that of emperors and the kings. Thus the conversations between Julio and Joas start.

[41] Ibid.,176.
[42] *Estados*, 100 ("Et por las grandes guerras quel acaesçieron et por muchas cosas que vio et que pasó, despartiendo entre él e mí, sope yo por él muchas cosas que pertenecen a la caballería, de que yo non sabía tanto, porque só clerigo, et el mío ofiçio es más de pedricar que usar de caballería").

First Julio explains why given law is better than the law of nature, that the only law that lets people save their souls is that of Christians; and then he explains its bases. After the king, the infante, and Turín are baptized, Julio starts to describe all the states of people and the possibilities for salvation and dangers that accompany them, answering infante's question. Thus, he describes, in order, the states of the emperor, the king, the lords, the officials, and so forth. The second book is dedicated to the states of the clergy. It starts with the presentation of the functions of clergymen, and then he turns to arguments against Jews, Muslims, and pagans. The part of the most interest for the present work is that concerning secular states.

This text is regarded as lying between the traditions of examples and the mirrors of princes. Nevertheless, it differs from both. The tradition of the "mirror of princes" appeared in Castile at the beginning of the thirteenth century. At the close of the century it was greatly influenced by the treatise *De regimine principum* of Giles of Rome, written for a prince, the future Philip IV of France, about 1280.[44] Although it was translated into Castilian only in 1340 (by Fray Juan García de Castrojeriz for the future king Peter I), it was quite widespread even earlier, and theoretically Don Juan Manuel could have known it before he wrote *The Book of States*. Nevertheless, its influence on Don Juan Manuel could hardly be direct, although the idea of the

[43] *Estados*, 106-107 ("…todas las leys del mundo son en dos maneras: la una es ley de natura, la otra ley es dada por alguno. La ley de natura es non fazer tuerto nin mal a ninguno. Et este ley tanbién la an las animalias commo los omnes, et aun mejor…").

[44] Giles of Rome (1243/47-1316), archbishop of Bourges, was a Franciscan and probably a disciple of St. Thomas of Aquinas. The main sources in the treatise *De regimine principum* were the texts of Aristotle. In 1282 the treatise was translated into French and spread all over Europe. The Castilian translation was made in 1340 for the future King Peter I. Subsequent reissues of the translation demonstrate that it kept its popularity until the beginning of the seventeenth century (Ch. Briggs, *Giles of Rome's 'De regimine principum:' Reading and Writing Politics at Court and University, c. 1275-c.1525* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999], 9-19). About *De regimine principum* concerning the court see Scaglione, *Knights at Court*, 83-86.

education of a Christian prince is central in *The Book of States*.[45] Don Juan Manuel abandoned the narrative strategy of the genre in order to facilitate this perception.

The narrative strategy he used derived from the text of the *Legend of Barlaam and Josafat*, the Greek version of a very popular Christian legend, believed to have been composed by San John Damascene (676-749) based on stories that a wise man from India told him.[46] The main character of the legend is a son of an Indian king, Josafat, isolated by his father in the palace so that he will not see the miseries of the world. He, nevertheless, meets a young man who teaches him the Christian doctrines, so that prince is baptized, rejects the crown, and keeps going the way of a hermit's life. Although the plot was taken over by Don Juan Manuel, he completely changed the concept. The refrain of the first part of his book is the anxiety of the king that Joas will change the state in order to save his soul, and Julio demonstrates him that the secular states are no worse for the goal of salvation. This connection also approximates *The Book of States* to the tradition of the books of examples, quite widespread in Castile – both belong to the type of the "frame novel" in the classification of María Jesús Lacarra ("novela marco"), where the collection of examples consists of the principle story, interrupted with subordinate stories functionally supporting the main idea.

Another text of Don Juan Manuel that I also use in the research is *The Book of Examples of Patronio and Count Lucanor* (1330-1335, the prologue was added later, in 1342),[47] written right after *The Book of States*. It is preserved in various manuscripts of the fifteenth century, with some differences and variants. It consists of two prologues and three parts: 1) fifty examples; 2) proverbs (one hundred in the

[45] *Historia de la literatura española*, Vol. 1, *Edad Media*, ed. J. Menéndez Peláez (Madrid: Editorial Everest, n. d.), 288-289 (hereafter: *Literatura española*).
[46] *Estados*, 44.
[47] Giménez Soler, *Don Juan Manuel*, 176.

second chapter, fifty in the second, and thirty in the third); and 3) a doctrinal treatise. The first part which I deal with comes from "direct insertion" ("inserción directa") in the classification of M. J. Lacarra, the most common structure for medieval books of examples of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries,[48] where all the stories were attributed to one fictitious narrator with the use of a direct style. Here, at the beginning of each story, Count Lucanor asks his councilor Patronius for advice concerning some particular problem, and Patronius narrates an example for him, concluding with a maxim on how the count should behave or react, and a distich presenting the moral of the story.

The sources of his stories are quite well studied. He used well-known stories, included in different collections of examples of his time, but more or less transformed them. The most numerous examples are of Dominican and Arab origin. The former are explained, first, by the influence the order had on the Don Juan Manuel, and by the fact that they were one of the most active groups in spreading the genre. The Arab influence is explained by both the tradition of adoption of oriental stories for Christian books of examples and the influence of the Arab literature in the Castile, mainly after the time of Alfonso X. He initiated translations of the Arab texts into Castilian, like *Calila e Dimna*, translated in the middle of the thirteenth century, with the majority of the stories coming from the India with additions of Arab, Persian, and other traditions.[49] Some stories are based on chronicles. Most of them have little to do with the reality, but use historical names in order to make the narration sound more solid.

Pedro Lopez de Ayala and his *Poem of Palace Life*

[48] M.J. Lacarra, *Cuentisica medieval en España: los orígenes*, (Zaragoza: Universidad, 1979), is referenced in *Literatura española*, 282-284.
[49] *Literatura española*, 280.

Pedro Lopez de Ayala, author of *The Rhymes of Palace Life* was descended from the old noble family of Ayala. This family appeared in the eleventh century, when Alfonso VI knighted Don Vela, son of King Don Sancho of Aragon, in Burgos around 1047 and granted him lands in Castile. Pedro Lopez de Ayala was born, to all appearances, in 1332, in Vitoria[50] or Quejama.[51]

During his childhood he was for a period a page of King Peter I,[52] then a page of the infante of Aragon, Don Fernando, whom his father also joined, but soon both of them returned to the Castilian king. At his court he was a captain of the Castilian fleet, confronting the Aragonese, and then the *mayor alguacil* of Toledo.

After the war between Peter I and his half brother, Henry of Trastamara, began in 1366, P. Lopez de Ayala and his father stood by Peter I for a time, but then went over Henry's side, because "things went in such a way that all the others who left him agreed not to come back to him any more."[53] From that point onwards Pedro Lopez de Ayala served only the kings of Trastamara.

In the battle at Nájera (April 3, 1367) he was the *mayor alferez* (his duty was to hold the standard), and he was among the others captured by Edward the Black Prince, but in September he was released and returned to his king. There his career began to rise fast. In 1371 he again received the office of *mayor alferez* of the standard, in 1374 he was nominated as *alcalde* and *merino* of Vitoria, and in 1375 as *mayor alcalde* of Toledo. Finally, in 1379, he received the office of *mayor merino* of Guipúzcoa, which had belonged to his father.

[50] J. Fradezas Lebrero, "Texto íntegro" in Pero Lopez de Ayala, *Libro de la caza de las aves* (Madrid: Castalia, 1969), 8.
[51] G. Orduna, "Introducción" to *Rimado*, 11.
[52] There is a mention of it in the "Crónica del Rey don Pedro Primero," by P. Lopez de Ayala himself, in *Crónicas de los reyes de Castilla desde don Alfonso el Sabio hasta los Católicos don Fernando y doña Isabel*, ed. C. Rossel (Madrid: Real Academia Española, 1934), 1: 431 (hereafter *Cronica de Pedro I)*.
[53] *Crónica de Pedro I*, 409: "É de tal guisa iban ya los fechos, que todos los más que dél se partian avian su acuerdo de non volver más á él".

Courtly offices were added with diplomatic commissions. In 1376 Ayala was sent to the Aragonese king, Peter IV, and achieved some success there. From 1378 to 1396 he took part in seven ambassadorial missions to France, first under Henry II, and later under John I and Henry III. On November 27, 1382 he participated in the battle at Roosebecke, staying by the French monarch's person, and after the victory the king granted him a pension at the rate of 1000 golden francs for the duration of his and his successor's lives.[54] During these embassies Ayala became acquainted with French courtly literature and university centers in Paris, which influenced his own writing. He also took part in the negotiations with the English King Richard II, which resulted in a peace treaty. In 1385, as Castilian ambassador, he visited Avignon.

In 1385 John I gave battle at Aljubarrota, despite the remonstrance of his advisors, including Lopez de Ayala, to refrain from this battle as well as from the whole war with Portugal, which the king lost. Pedro Lopez de Ayala was again captured and imprisoned in the Obidos fortress. The captivity was long and, as the sources say, severe. There Ayala wrote his treatise *The Book of Falconry*[55] and some poems which were later included in the text of *The Poem of Palace Life*. He was liberated after his wife, Doña Leonor de Guzman, with the help of the grandmaster of Calatrava and the kings of Castile and France, paid 30,000 golden doubloons ransom for him. When exactly this happened has not been ascertained, but in March of 1390 he again appeared in active politics and took part in a mission sent by the Castilian king to the duke of Lancaster, who claimed the Castilian throne.[56]

[54] C. Conde, *Un pueblo que lucha y canta (Iniciación a la literatura española de los siglos XII a XV)* (Madrid: Editoria Nacional, 1967), 215.
[55] Pero Lopez de Ayala, *Libro de la caza de las aves* (Madrid: Castalia, 1969), 51-52: "Y Señor, hace gran tiempo que fui y **estoy alejado de vuestra presencia** y vista por largo espacio de tierra, empero siempre la vuestra buena y verdadera y honesta amistad tuvo siempre en mí todo su valor. Y Señor, como en las quejas y cuidados sea gran consuelo al paciente tener memoria de sus amigos, en consecuencia, Señor, en la mi gran aflicción o queja **que tomé desde algún tiempo acá en la prisión do estoy**, tuvo por consuelo acordarme de vuestra verdadera amistad."
[56] G. Orduna, Introduction to the *Rimado*, 24.

Under Henry III his position became even stronger. During the minority of the king he was a member of the regency council, took part in a mission to Paris and Avignon, and, finally, in 1399 received the office of the grand chancellor of Castile from the king. At that time Ayala was already 76 years old and he used to stay in his castle in Alava. Probably he passed his affairs on to his son, Fernán Pérez. He began to spend the summer months together with his wife in the Hieronymite monastery of St. Michel del Monte in Miranda, which he had established earlier. It is considered that there he wrote four chronicles of the Castilian kings. In 1407 Ayala dictated and confirmed his will and apparently died early in 1407.

At the end of his life he devoted himself to writing almost completely. His four chronicles are devoted to the rule of the four kings at whose courts he had served (the last one ends in 1396), *The Poem of Palace Life*, *The Book of Falconry* and made many translations. He translated a treatise of Isidore of Seville, commentaries on Job by Gregory the Great, a treatise of Boethius, Titus Livy, Boccacio, and Giles of Rome, etc.

The composition of *The Poem of Palace Life* is reminiscent of the composition of the famous *The Book of Good Love* (*Libro de buen amor*) of Juan Ruiz, archpriest of Hita. It is a collection of Ayala's poetic works, written at different times. *The Poem of Palace Life* differs in subject and aim; therefore it is difficult to define the genre of the poem as a whole. It is a religious and moral treatise, an admonition to kings, and satire on contemporary society; the author himself called the poem "a confession."[57]

Dating the poem is also difficult. As was already said, different parts were written in different periods of Ayala's life. The only possible statement here is that one of the parts was written simultaneously with *The Book of Falconry* during his

[57] *Rimado*, 256, v. 717.

Portuguese imprisonment in 1385-1388/1389. It is possible that some parts were written earlier. The poem was finished, to all appearances, not long before the author's death in 1407.

In the first part Lopez de Ayala confesses to the Trinity, and one at a time accuses himself of infringing the Ten Commandments. Then he discourses on the seven mortal sins, on the seven deeds of mercy, on the five senses, and on the five spiritual deeds of mercy. The theoretical reasoning on these topics is accompanied by examples from the scriptures.[58]

The next part is dedicated to the vices of society. It begins with a description of the vices of the clergy including the papacy, then there are parts describing rulers, kings, princes, emperors, seniors, and their advisors, confidants, and tax collectors. Then the poet turns to merchants, jurists, and knights, and, finally, describes the injustice of royal justice and royal officials.[59]

Part of the work, the title of which is traditionally extended to the whole poem, is written from the point of view of a poor knight, deceived at the royal court where he had come in order to receive his salary. Everyone he asks to help him cheats him and somehow forces him to give them the remaining property.[60]

The next part begins with a description of kings surrounded by their courtiers, than follow parts devoted to the ideal organization of the state and justice, and a description of the good monarch.[61] The second part of the poem is devoted only to religious matters, including a long meditation based on the *Book of Job*.[62]

Researchers hold the idea that the verses of the poem were probably read aloud to the monks at the convent of St. Michael in the Mountains (*San Miguel del*

[58] Ibid., 117-155, v. 1-190.
[59] Ibid., 155-203, v. 191-423.
[60] Ibid., 203-213, v. 424-476.
[61] Ibid., 213-243, v. 477-639.

Monte).[63] The presence of the secular parts in the poem has led to the supposition that it was also widespread in the courtly milieu, the more so as it contains strong elements of counsel to a king. I am interested here in these secular parts in particular.

The book containing the poetry of Pedro Lopez de Ayala, collected under the title *Poem of Palace Life* (Rimado de Palaçio), remains in two manuscripts from the middle of the fifteenth century. They are kept in the National Library of Madrid and in the royal monastery El Escorial. The fragments of the poem were published for the first time in 1829 in the *History of Spanish Literature*, and in 1864 it came out as a whole.[64] The division into parts and chapters was added by the publishers. Then it was often republished and widely researched by textologists.

Santob de Carrión and his *Glosses of Wisdom or Moral Proverbs*

In the second chapter I also use the poem of the Jew Santob de Carrión (also known as Shem Tov ben Isaac Ardutiel) in order to demonstrate an alternative image of the king that appears in the middle of the fourteenth century. Almost nothing is known about his life. Almost all the information comes from the scanty remarks in the poem, besides the fact that he lived in Carrión de los Condes and was not young when wrote the *Glosses*. Several Hebrew writings by him are also known.[65]

The poem is dated by the dedication to King Peter I[66] as the new king, clearly demonstrating that it was written soon after the death of Alfonso XI in 1350. The dedications remain in manuscripts M (9216 of the National Library of Madrid, from the middle of the fifteenth century) and E (b.IV.21 of the Library of El Escorial, also

[62] Ibid., 243-523, v. 640-2107; 300-523, v. 909-2107.
[63] C. L. Wilkins, *Pero Lopez de Ayala* (Boston: Twayne, 1989), 69.
[64] J. Simón Díaz, *Manual de bibliografía de la literatura española* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1980), 107.
[65] K. R. Scholberg and A. Meir Habermann, "Santob de Carrión," in *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, CD-ROM, version 1.0 (Keter Publishing House Ltd., 1997) (hereafter: *Encyclopaedia Judaica*).

from the fifteenth century). The same manuscript E, together with the manuscript N, from a private library in Madrid, keep the dedication to Alfonso XI himself at the very end of the poem. In the fourth (and last) preserved manuscript, C (3355 of the Cambridge University Library), the oldest, written in *aljamiado* (Spanish written in Hebrew characters); the first leaves are missing and it has this part already corrected and referring to Peter I.[67] This leads researchers to suppose that the poem was written in the last years of the life of Alfonso XI, and after his death Santob added the interpolations directed to his son.[68]

The first dedication to Peter I also demonstrates that Santob had personal relation with Alfonso XI. He speaks about some debt that the king left due to him, and he hopes the new king will solve this problem.[69] At the end he again refers to it as to the "mercy" the king promised him. The nature of this relationship is not known. A. García Calvo supposes that it could be some pension promised to the poet, but it was rather a loan received by the king from the Jew.

The poem itself presents a relativistic concept of the world and the idea of the necessity of the keeping to the middle in all aspects of human life. The main sources of the poem are considered to be the *Talmud*; the work of Hunayn ibn Ishaq, a Syrian physician, *Apophthegmata Philosophorum*, one of the most popular gnomic texts of the century; the gnomic collection of Gabirol (Solomon ben Judah) *Collection of Pearls*, and other gnomic works.[70]

The poem is reminiscent of the rest of my sources in its didactic character and fact that it could be read in the king's surroundings, being addressed to the king directly, and even corrected in order to please the monarch.

[66] *Glosas*, 47-48, l. 1-28.
[67] Ibid., 144, l. 2717-2719.
[68] Ibid., 157.
[69] Ibid., 48, l. 21-28.

II: THE KING

Quite developed representations of the images of a king can be found in all the analyzed texts. In Don Juan Manuel's *Book of States* the king's role is described among others, but quite briefly. It follows the discussion of the role of emperor and points out that the status of king is the highest after that of the emperor and "between the conditions of emperors and of kings there is no other difference but that the emperors are [chosen] by election and after they have to be confirmed,"[71] and also that everyone should serve and obey the emperor, including kings. All the rest is the same and, thus, the author does not find it necessary to describe the king's role explicitly. Nevertheless, some points can be found implicit in those parts of the text which are not dedicated only to the king, and also some maxims related to the emperor can be applied to the king's status. In *The Book of Examples of Count Lucanor and Patronius* Don Juan Manuel does not make any general maxims on the topic, but rather gives some particular advice to a magnate that can be applied to any person of high rank possessing lands.

Santob gives a very clear picture of the ideal ruler and his duties. In his image the world ruler appears in several interpolations and is represented as an exceptional part of this world. Agustín García Calvo, the editor and commentator of the text, tends

[70] Ibid., 21-22.

[71] *Estados*, 250 ("… entre el estado de los enperadores et de los reys non ay otro departimiento sinon que los enperadores son por selección et después an a ser confirmados… Et aun todas las gentes le[s] son tenudos de los servir et de los obedeçer a ellos et conplir los sus mandamientos et guardar las sus leys, commo quier que algunos reyes tienen que por algunas razones non son tenudos a esto… et así, señor infante, pues vos he dicho todo el estado de los enperadores [et] en[tre] el estado de los reys et de los enperadores non ay otro repartimiento sinon esto que desuso es dicho, **tengo que do vos declaré el estado de los enperadores, que fincó declarado el estado de los reys, pues todo esto es uno**"). Cf. J. Bumke about the German courts of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries: "We know very little about the people who made up society at court. What we find out in our historical sources pertains almost exclusively to the imperial court." (J. Bumke, *Courtly Culture*, 55).

to explain these interpolations by the poet's fear of the king: he presented a "theory of moral doubt and relativity,"[72] and had to exclude the king and his virtues from this picture, mainly because his goal was to get something from the monarch.[73] Nevertheless, A. García Calvo himself points out that it does not actually disrupt the whole picture. At the same time, this image of the ruler corresponds with the Jewish traditional concept of monarchy.[74] Anyway, as a text which not only reflects the position of the author but in a way influences and changes the world that perceives it, these parts of the text are worth reading.

A rather detailed image of the king is depicted in the poem of Pedro Lopez de Ayala. Several parts are dedicated to monarchs and their close surroundings:[75] "The Rulers" ("Los Gobernantes"),[76] "Justice" ("La Justicia"),[77] "The Officials of the King" ("Los oficiales del Rey"),[78] "The Deeds of the Palace" ("Los fechos de palaçio"),[79] "Government by Principles" ("Regimiento de prínçipes"),[80] "Power" ("El poder"),[81] and "The Good Monarch" ("El buen monarca").[82] Lopez de Ayala partly describes the state of things in the world, as Don Juan Manuel (although much more critically), partly gives advice to a ruler. Lopez de Ayala himself refers to the authority of Giles of Rome and says that he is not going to explain how the princes should rule their lands, because this information can be found in his book *De regimine*

[72] He states it quite clearly with the following verse: "But this is a sign / that there is no certain good / in the world, neither bad / that would be veritable" (*Glosas*, 61, l. 377-380: "Mas ésta es señal / que non ha bien çertero / en mundo, nin ha mal / que sea verdadero").
[73] A. García Calvo. Commentaries to the *Glosas*, 165.
[74] L. I. Rabinowitz, "King, Kingship" in *Encyclopaedia Judaica*.
[75] Although the division of the poem into parts and their titles were done by the publishers, it is useful to refer to them here.
[76] *Rimado*, 165-178, v. 234- 297.
[77] Ibid., 188-191, v. 342- 353.
[78] Ibid., 191-194, v. 354- 372.
[79] Ibid., 203-213, v. 424- 476.
[80] Ibid., 213-225, v. 477- 553.
[81] Ibid., 233- 236, v. 592- 614.
[82] Ibid., 237- 243, v. 615- 639.

principum.[83] He, nevertheless, gives some instructions very close to those of Giles of Rome, and most of his maxims in general are much influenced by him.

The term "king"

The meaning of the word *rey* (king) appears in two analyzed texts. Don Juan Manuel writes: "And *regimen* in Latin means the thing which should be strictly ruled, and *rex* means the ruler of the realm, and thus the emperors hold the name of the empire, and the kings that of the realm." [84]

Ayala's etymology of the word *rey* is also taken as a calque from Latin, but differs from the Juan Manuel's one: "this name of 'king' descends from [the expression] 'to rule well.'"[85] This concept comes from the book *De regimini principum* of Giles of Rome.

The difference between two of them seems to be significant. For Juan Manuel the king is first of all related to a realm, to a land, while Lopez de Ayala underlines the functional part of the royal condition: the king is one who rules properly.

The relations between God and a king

The relations between the king and God in the analyzed texts of Don Juan Manuel appear in the story about a Castilian knight delighted with France in the time of Saint Louis. A French knight answers that the kingdom is in such a good condition because "the king knows to guard God and his deeds, and God guards him and his

[83] Ibid., 242-243, v. 638-39 ("**Quál rregimiento deuen los prínçipes tener**, / es escrito en los libros que solemos leer; / **Egidio [el] rromano**, omne de grand saber, / en **Rregimine prinçipum**, lo fue bien compomer. // **Non curo de escriuirlo, pues ý lo fallarás**; / mejor que lo diría, allí lo tu verás; / nobles enseñamientos, que plazer tomarás; / por ende de dezirlo, escusado me avrás").
[84] *Estados*, 266 ("Et *regimen*, en latín, quiere decir cosa que debe seer regida derechamente, et *rex* quiere decir regidor del reino, et así los enperadores lievan el nonbre del imperio, et los reyes del reino").

affairs." The author concludes that the first thing that the ruler (in this case the emperor) should do in order to guard himself is "to guard God, who is the guardian of all things, and if he guards God, God will guard him."[86]

The explanation how is it possible to arrange things in order to achieve the grace of God and not to incur his anger refers only to an emperor, but presumably may be extended to a king. It consists of the model of daily routine of a ruler. The main points are the prayers and elements of the spiritual life, the chivalrous entertainments and physical exercises, relationships with the courtiers, and resolution of the problems of the empire and the petitions of the subjects. These points will be examined below;[87] here it is important to draw attention to the fact that personal piety remains the main objective of the ruler.

If these conditions are fulfilled, the reward will be high according to the high rank of the ruler: "Because, believe, that as high a state God gives to a man in this world, thus he gives him in the other, if in this one he serves as he should do."[88]

Lopez de Ayala describes the king's position as an office[89] given to the king by God in order to govern and defend his people. This office of the king in the poet's explanation looks like an agreement between the king and God. God helps those who reign over their people and govern them in peace and calmness; he "protects them

[85] *Rimado,* 165, v. 236 ("Este nombre de **rrey** de **buen rregir** desçiende; / quien ha buena ventura bien así lo entiende...").
[86] *Estados*, 188 ("'Amigo, non vos marabilledes desto **ca el rey sabe guardar a Dios et a los sus fechos**, **et Dios guarda a él et a los suyos**!' Et así, señor infante, por estas razones, et otras muchas semejanças, devedes entender que **la primera cosa que el enperador debe fazer para guardar a sí mismo es guardar a Dios, que es guardador de todas las cosas, et guardando a Dios, Dios guardará a él**").
[87] Ibid., 179 ("Et **la mas señalada cosa** que ha de fazer [es] quel su talante et la su voluntad sea siempre en Dios, gradesciéndol los vienes quel fizo, et el su coraçón que sea muy omildoso et muy quebrantado et dolorido **por los yerros en que cayó contra Él**").
[88] Ibid., 176 ("Ca bien creed que quanto Dios en mayor estado pone al omne en este mundo, tanto gelo da mayor en el otro, si en éste lo sirve commo deve").
[89] As W. Ullmann points out, in the late medieval period the term *officium* "came to designate the particular functions and duties of public service" (W. Ullmann, *Principles of Government and Politics in the Late Middle Ages,* 2d ed. [London: Methuen & Co., 1966], 135-136) (hereafter: Ullmann, *Principles of Government*).

from wars and all disturbances; / they can answer God with their office," and "gives good advice, to those who want to believe Him, and they can maintain their lands in justice."[90]

The most elaborated relationships between God and a king are in the Santob's poem.[91] The world is based on two things: the law (given by God) and the king, put by God to guard the fulfillment of divine order. The king does it by means of fear of punishment. The divine law for Santob is the protection of the weak against the powerful.[92] Earlier in the poem the king appears in the same position with respect to the law as all his subjects. It is reminiscent of the argument of Lopez de Ayala about the common nature of the king and people, appearing once in the "*Poem of Palace Life*:" "We descend from one father and one mother with them [kings], / they and we have the same nature, / we have to live and die by the same law, / except for the obedience, that we loyally owe them."[93] Santob also puts the king into the same alignment with all the other confirmations of the indifference of justice to the position of the person.[94]

[90] *Rimado*, 166, v. 238-240 ("**Quiera, por su merced, Dios bien les ayudar, / que puedan los sus pueblos rregir e gobernar / con paz e con sosiego**, que grant cuenta han de dar / a aquel Rrey verdadero, que la sabrá tomar. // **Dios les guarde de guerras e de todo bolliçio; / puedan bien rresponder a Dios de su ofiçio**; / mas, mal pecado, anda todo fuera de quiçio; / quien les dize el contrario, non tiene[n] que es seuiçio. // **Dios les dé buen consejo, que lo quieran creer, /** e puedan en sus tierras justiçia mantener; / segunt que lo yo entiendo mucho es menester, / que veo los sus pueblos sospirar e gemer").

[91] The idea of a direct relationship between the king and the deity and of the king's power as an embodiment of the God's will was common for the Jewish understanding of the nature of kingship. The royal power in this case could not be other than supreme and absolute (L. I. Rabinowitz, "King, Kingship" in *Encyclopaedia Judaica*.

[92] *Glosas*, 145-146, line 2749-2760 ("Dos son mantenimiento / mundanal: una, **ley**, / que es ordenamiento, / e la otra, el **rey**, // que **l' puso Dios por guarda** / que ninguno no vaya / contra lo que Dios manda / (si non, en pena caya), // por guardar que las gentes / de fazer mal se <teman,> / **e que los omres fuertes** / **a los flacos non coman**"). Here I use the line numbers from the edition of A. García Calvo for the more convenient orientation in the text.

[93] *Rimado*, 165, v. 237 ("De una padre, de una madre, con ellos [reyes] desçendemos; / una naturaleza, ellos e nos auemos, / **de biuir e morir, por una ley tenemos**, / saluo obediençia, que le leal deuemos").

[94] *Glosas*, 96, l. 1379-1380 ("…al rey non avantaja / sobre su oficial").

Thus, Santob's model of an "agreement" between God and king approximates to that of P. Lopez de Ayala: God gives the king his life so that he will be "a guard and a defender of this flock, bring people into his service, and keep them apart from war and disturbance."[95]

The justice and defense of the people

Royal judicial function is not developed in *Estados*. The purpose of the good ruler is defined here quite vaguely: "…the greatest good for the land is a good lord; because for many people that are in the land, it will never be well guarded nor put in proper order. And even when the magnates and people are not as good as they should be, if the lord is good, he will bring them to the good life, and adjust the land and put it into a good state."[96] Thus, the main function of a ruler is to "order" the land and bring the subjects to the good life. It means implicitly the judicial function, but the author does not concentrate on it. In the daily routine of the emperor it is mentioned, that "while walking the road or riding or hunting he should take the petitions that [people] give him and make them to be guarded, and he should order solving them after they have been studied in his council after vespers, in a way that he would guard everybody in the right and in justice."[97] Thus, this function is known to Don Juan

[95] Ibid., 146, l. 2761-2768 ("**Dé Dios vida al rey** / nuestro mantenedor, / que **guarda** desta grey / es e defendedor; // Las gentes de su tierra / todas a su serviçio / **traya**; **aparte** guerra / della e mal bolliçio").
[96] *Estados*, 159-160 ("Otrosí, que el **mayor pro que puede aver en la tierra es aver buen señor**; ca [por] muchos buenos [omnes] que en la tierra [sean], nunca será la tierra **bien guardada** nin **ordenada** commo debe. Et aun quando los grandes omnes et las gentes non sean tan buenas commo eran mester, si el señor bueno fuere, él los traerá a buena [vida] et endereçerá la tierra et la porná en buen estado").
[97] Ibid., 178. ("Otrosí, en quanto andudiere por el camino, o anda cabalgando o caçando, debe tomar las peticiones quel dieren et fazerlas guardar, et dévelas mandar librar quando estudiere en su consejo después de las viésperas, **en tal manera que guarde a todos en derecho et en justicia**").

Manuel and seems important, but does not occupy the main place in his view of a ruler.

Both of the other authors regard it as the most important royal function. This topic calls forth more allegories and metaphors then any other in the poems. In both cases justice is understood as the social function of balancing the relations between subjects, and defense appears as the defense of weak against the high and mighty of the realm.

Santob dedicates the most extensive interpolation at the end of the poem to it. The poet addresses King Don Pedro as the ideal king; an ideal king for Santob is he who achieves harmony among his subjects. This harmony is understood here first of all as a social accord: one "who [can] with the powerful ones, the weak, / and with the young ones, the old // maintain content / in honor and peace: // the deeds are complete / of the king who achieves it…"[98] This entire social harmony is described in terms of the justice of the king, who endeavors for good and repels the bad in overcoming the law of nature, "defends a sheep, / and grasps // a wolf and a mountain goat."[99] The only sources of justice are God and the king, and the judge is no more then a messenger of the law of God and the king.[100]

In the *Poem of Palace Life* this idea is followed throughout all the secular part of the poem. The author sees that a great deal has to be done, because the "people of the king" are "sighing and groaning."[101] "Orphans and widows," "innocent miserable sinners," suffer from new payments imposed by the magnates, prelates, knights, the

[98] Ibid., 144, l. 2707-2712 ("…que con los fuertes flacos / e con mançebos viejos // mantener avenidos / en onrra e en paz: / **sus fechos son conplidos** / **del rey que esto faz**'").
[99] Ibid., 144, l. 2713-2717 ("…**con el bueno trebeja** / e al malo enpoxa; / efiene la oveja / e la cabrilla coxa // del lobo e del zebro.")
[100] Ibid., 98, l. 1429-1437.
[101] *Rimado*, 166, v. 240 ("Dios les dé buen consejo, que lo quieran creer, / e **puedan en sus tierras justiçia mantener**; / segunt que lo yo entiendo **mucho es menester**, / **que veo los sus pueblos sospirar e gemer**").

king's representatives and favorites, and so forth.[102] Being forgotten by kings, justice is, according to the poet, "the precious stone of the royal crown," shining like a star in the land where it is kept; the king who loves justice will always be beloved by God, the throne of his power will always be firm, and he "will be girt with the most noble sword."[103] Both images of the precious stones of the royal crown and of the king's sword appear in *Castigos e documentos del rey don Sancho*.[104] The royal crown refers to virtues such as the fear of God, faith, chastity, and so forth (but not to justice), and justice is allegorically represented by the king's sword.[105]

Further, Lopez de Ayala names justice "the son of noon, of morning, the dawn."[106] As all such images, this one was taken by Lopez de Ayala from existing and respected texts (for example, *Castigos e documentos del rey don Sancho* compares the just king with the sun that illuminates and warms the land above which it rises). The metaphor has a biblical origin (*Malachias*, IV, 2) and was traditionally applied to Christ. Taking this biblical reference into consideration it is possible to infer here some parallels between the just king and Christ.

In the *Glosses* this parallel is more evident. The allegory of the king's virtues as a judge and defender is quite close to that of Lopez de Ayala: "all the sum of them [virtues] / is very complete in him [King Don Pedro]; his virtues are the stars, and he

[102] Ibid., 166-173, v. 242 -271.
[103] Ibid., 188, v. 343-345 ("La justicia es virtud atán noble e loada, / que castiga los malos, la tierra tiene poblada, / déuenla guardar rreyes e la tienen oluidada, / **seyendo piedra preçiosa de su corona onrada**. // Al rrey que justiçia amare, Dios siempre le ayudara, / e la silla del su rregno, con él firme será; / en el çielo començó e por siempre durará: / desto el Señor cada día, muchos enxienplos nos da. // A ésta traen la paz e verdat aconpañada; / **rresplandesçe como estrella**, en la tierra do es guardada; / el rrey que la touiere çeñirá muy noble **espada**; / mas bien cate, si la ouiere, que la tenga bien tenprada").
[104] The didactic text, finished in 1292 and attributed to the King Don Sancho IV. It consists of sermons and morals taken from different sources.
[105] "…E la espada que se entiende por la justicia es guarda de todo…" (*Rimado,* 188-189, footnote of G. Orduna).
[106] *Rimado,* 190, v. 348 ("…ca la **noble justiçia** nonbre tiene verdadero: / **el sol de mediodía**, **de la mañana**, **luzero**").

is the sphere // of the sky, that maintains / the earth in balance."[107] The concept of Santob is in the natural, eternal law of antithesis, the total contradiction of everything in the world. The king, who surpasses it, may only be identical with God (Whose law it is at the same time).[108]

Analyzing the features of the theocratic king, W. Ullmann mentions his unique functions as a protector of the kingdom and preserver of the "public peace."[109] At this stage it allows putting both Shen Tov's and Lopez de Ayala's views into the context of theocratic kingship. Santob is the closer to the both notion of the king as the "law incarnate" (*lex animata*) and *lex regalia*, not that articulated in the text of Lopez de Ayala and absolutely alien to Don Juan Manuel.[110]

The bad king

Don Juan Manuel does not pay much attention to the problem of the unjust ruler. He only mentions that the harm of the betrayal of a *natural*[111] by a lord is much

[107] *Glosas*, 144, l. 2721-2726 ("…toda la suma dellas / en él es muy entera; / sus **mañas** son **estrellas** / e **él** es la **espera** // del **çielo**, que sostiene / a **derecho** la tierra").
[108] A. García Calvo, Commentaries to the *Glosas*, 219.
[109] Ullmann, *Principles of Government*, 126-127.
[110] On the notion of *lex regia* see S. Bertelli, *The King's Body*, tr. R. B. Litchfield (University Park: Pennsylvania University Press, 2001), 35-38; E. H. Kantorowicz, "Kingship under the Impact of Scientific Jurisprudence," in *Twelfth-Century Europe and the Foundations of Modern Society*, ed. M. Glagett, G. Post, and R. Reynolds (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1966), 89-111.
[111] In Juan Manuel's explanation the *natural* is one who lives in the territory of a lord. "And because, as the wise say, the long usage turns into the *naturaleza*, those [families.] who for a long time were born, lived, and died in one domain, and do not know another one, already have the *naturaleza*" (*Estados*, 260: "Et la razón porque los omnes son naturales de los señores es por[que] ellos et los donde ellos vienen son poblados et visquieron en su heredat. Et porque, segund dizen todos los sabios, que el luengo uso se torna en naturaleza, por ende los que de luengo tienpo nasçieron et vivieron et murieron en un señorío, et non saben de otro, esle[s] ya naturaleza"). The ties of the lord with the *naturals* are stronger than with the "common" vassals, the only reason for which is the personal agreement between the parties (for the difference between the vassal and the *natural* see *Estados* 257-260). H. Grassotti explained this term as reflecting the official relationship between the native population of the country and the monarch, used by the monarchy against the feudal lords (H. Grassotti, *Las instituciones feudo-vasalláticas en León y Castilla* [Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sull'alto Medioevo, 1969], 2:1031-1042, hereafter: Grassotti, *Instituciones feudo-vassalláticas*). Another view, about the purely "feudal" character of these ties, was expressed by Russian Hispanist O. Aurov in the article "Castilian territorial commune (concejo) in the system of the feudal power: legal and sacral aspects" (О. В. Ауров, "Кастильская территориальная община (консехо) в системе феодальной власти: правовые и

greater then the opposite.[112] Apparently this refers to his personal experience and his fight against the Castilian king, whose *natural* he was, and mirrors his "vassalocentric" image of things. If it happens that the lord betrays his *natural* by one of three prohibited things listed by Don Juan Manuel (to kill him without having listened and judged; to deprive him of his estates without a judgment; to make baseness or insult with his wife), the *natural* may "denature," break off his ties with the lord. This shows clearly a feudal understanding of the relations between the king (the lord) and the magnates (his *naturals*).

Both P. Lopez de Ayala and Santob, on the contrary, face the more complicated problem of the unjust, bad king. Santob represents the possibility of "immoderate" power, saying that power should always go together with temperance, because power extenuates arrogance and insanity (here the author refers to the role of king as a source of social harmony, a defender of the weak against the powerful, which is again his judicial function), while temperance raises the simplicity and prudence (reasoning from the syntax of the sentence temperance should be a quality of the ruler as well as power).[113] In the context of his representation of the nature of royal power, however, the service (and obedience) of the people to the king are beyond any doubt. Any speculation on the possibility of changing a bad ruler here seems absolutely impossible. In the beginning of the poem, claiming that there is no

сакральные аспекты," in *Власть, право, религия: светское и сакральное в средневековом мире* [Moscow: Institute of General History of the Russian Academy of Science, 2001], 177-221).

[112] *Estados*, 261 ("…mas segund la verdat en sí que quanto traiçión, non quiera él [don Johan] decir más, que sin dubda mayor maldad fazízn los señores en fazer estas cosas contra sus naturales, que en fazerlas sus naturales contra ellos").

[113] *Glosas*, 145, l. 2733- 2748 ("**Es metad muy fea / poder con desmesura**; / nunca Dios quier' que sea / luenga tal vestidura, // que si muy luenga fuesse, / muchas acortaría, / e el que la vistiesse / muchos despojaría. // **El poder con mesura** / **es cosa muy apuesta**, / comm' en rostro blancura / con bermejura buelta, // **mesura, que levanta** / **sinpleza e cordura**, / **e poder, que quebranta** / **sobervia e locura**").

true good nor indubitable bad in the world, the poet makes a reservation that there are still two true things: one is service to God and the other – to the king.[114]

In the *Poem of Palace Life* this problem seems more ambiguous and the attempt to solve it contradicts the theocratic royal image in a way. First, Lopez de Ayala states that the monarch has the same nature as all others, and then that he has the same law as his subjects. This makes the ruler not the source of the law, but its object. Then, if the king does not fulfill his duties, he should be discharged.[115] There is also a passage about the unjust king, that is, one who kills people and who should be called "a butcher" in contrast to the just king, who is the light of the sun.[116] This view originates in the author's personal experience, inasmuch as he himself left the legitimate king Peter I and went over Henry II's side. In the *Chronicle of the King Don Peter I*[117] under the year 1366 he wrote that when the king left Burgos most of his people did not follow him, because "there were some whose parents he killed, and they had always been in a great fear"[118] (this recalls the image of the cruel king as a butcher). At this point, still, Lopez de Ayala and his father are listed among those who stayed with the king. Further, the author writes that "things were already in a such state, that all the rest, who left him, decided not come back to him any more."[119]

Then the idea appears of the bad king as a punishment for the people. Speaking about good judges as a great honor and benefit for the king, Lopez de Ayala

[114] *Glosas*, 61, l. 381- 388 ("**Bien çierto el serviçio** / **de Dios es, çiertamente**; / mas por catar al viçio / olvídanlo la gente; // e otro bien par déste, / **el serviçio del rey** / **que mantiene la gente** / **a derecho e ley**").
[115] Ibid., 165, v. 236- 237. ("…el que bien a su pueblo gouierna e defiende, / este es rrey verdadero, tírese el otro dende. // **De una padre, de una madre, con ellos desçendemos**; / **una naturaleza**, ellos e nos auemos, / de biuir e morir, **por una ley tenemos**, / saluo obediençia, que le leal deuemos").
[116] Ibid., 190, v. 348 ("Por el rey matar omnes, non llaman **justiçiero**; / ca serís nonbre falso, mas propio es **carniçero**…").
[117] *Crónica de Pedro I*, 393-593.
[118] Ibid., 539 ("...ca avia algunos dellos á quien matára los parientes, é estaban siempre con muy grand miedo").
[119] Ibid., 540 ("É de tal guisa iban ya los fechos, que todos los más que dél se partian avian su acuerdo de non volver más á él").

compares this with the correlation between the people and the king: "For the sins of the king the judge is bad, / like for that [sins] of the people, the ruler is bad; / but as much as the judge is observed in error, / thus the king has God as a guardian,"[120] and later, in a paraphrase (the last part of the poem) from the *Book of Job*, he speaks about obedience to the ruler and underlines the same idea: "And God against us, because we deserve it, / gives a bad governor, and this is because we want / to fall under his anger and never consider / finishing creating evil nor begging forgiveness from him."[121]

Both of these contradictory statements may be found in the Thomist conception of the bad ruler. Thomas Aquinas himself admits the right of "public authority" (concept which is not clear in application to the medieval world, since all the examples come from Roman history) to depose or restrict the power of the tyrant. He further says, however, that if there is no possibility to do it, the people should appeal to God: "But to deserve to secure this benefit from God, the people must desist from sin, for it is by divine permission that wicked men receive power to rule as a punishment for sin…"[122] In Lopez de Ayala's poem the contradiction may proceed not only from the Thomist example, but also from the inconsistency between the theoretical image of the king he had created and personal experience.

Peace and war

[120] *Rimado*, 235, v. 604 ("Por pecados del rrey, es malo el jugador, / **así commo es del pueblo, ser malo el rregidor**; / mas quando el alcalle es guardado de error, / entonçe tiene el rrey a Dios por guardador").
[121] Ibid., 387, v. 1344 ("E **Dios** contra nos, **porque nos lo meresç[i]mos**, / **da un mal gouerrnador**, e esto porque quisimos / caer en la su saña e nunca comedimos / partirnos de fazer mal, nin perdón a El pedimos").
[122] St. Thomas Aquinas, *On Kingship: To the King of Cyprus*, tr. G. B. Phelean, ed. I. T. Eschmann (Toronto, Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1982).

All three authors regard peace as one of the biggest goods for the land.[123] Santob does not speak much on this topic, but Don Juan Manuel and Lopez de Ayala do it quite extensively and give quite different views. The former starts with the statement that the war is indeed a dreadful thing, and even the word itself is terrible. It causes "poverty, misery, and grief," "dishonor and death, and destruction and pain, and neglect of duty to God and devastation of the world, and decrease of law and justice."[124] In this respect one of the examples of Count Lucanor and Patronius is remarkable. The count tells Patronius that he is already old and prepares himself for the highest judgment and does not know how to redeem his sins. One of the greatest sins of his life was that always, from his birth, he had lived in a state of great wars, sometimes with Christians, and sometimes with Moors, and he had often struggled against kings, his lords and neighbors. "And when I had it with Christians, although I was always warned not to raise any war through my fault, I could not stop myself from bringing great harm to those who had not deserved it."[125] Here war is bad because it was waged against Christians and innocent people (probably by innocent people the writer meant not the population of the belligerents, but the rulers of the neighboring countries).

He continues, in *The Book of States*, one should avoid the war as much as possible, except for one reason: dishonor, "because the magnates, who are highly

[123] *Estados*, 159 ("…et uno de los mayores vienes que puede aver en la tierra es la paz…"); *Glosas*, 146, 2765-2768 ("…las gentes de su tierra / todas a su serviçio / traya**; aparte guerra / della e mal bolliçio**…"); *Rimado*, 221, v. 526 ("Por ende, christiano non deue ser llamado / el que la paz non quiere e está deseredado / del noble Testamento, que así fue ordenado / del Saluador, que paz en nos ha dexado"); *Glosas*, 110, l. 1753 ("Fasta bien puesto aya / en salve el su regno, / el rey cuerdo non vaya / guerrear el ageno").

[124] *Estados*, 207 ("Ca por la guerra viene pobreza et lazeria et pesar, et nasçe della desonra et muerte, et quebranto et dolor, et deservicio de Dios et despoblamiento del mundo, et mengua de derecho et de justicia").

[125] *Enxiemplos*,ex. 3, 88 ("Vos sabedes muy bien que yo non so ya muy mançebo, e acaesçióme assí: que desde que fui nasçido fasta agora, que siempre me crié e visqué en muy grandes guerras, a vezes con cristianos e a vezes con moros, e lo demás siempre lo ove con reyes, mis señores e mis vezinos. E **quando lo ove con cristianos**, **commo quier que siempre me guardé que nunca se levantase**

appreciated and valuable should die, but not to be dishonored."[126] As an example he tells the story of his own war with the Castilian king.[127] Although the king, as the author writes, was much more powerful, he did not make a peace with the king that would dishonor him, and finally, with the help of God, because the right was his, he achieved the most honorable peace.[128]

> Thus, the emperors, and also all the great lords, should do the most for one thing, that is to guard their honor. And when because of this it happens to them to have a war, it is advisable that they have done many things to get ready for it.[129]

That is why the author turns to particular advice about the preparation, prosecution, ruses of war, and some particular features of Moorish ways of fighting.[130] It is important to notice that Don Juan Manuel does not make any difference here between the emperor, the king or any other magnate.[131]

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ninguna guerra a mi culpa, pero non se podia escusar de tomar **muy grant daño muchos que lo non merecieron**").

[126] *Estados*, 207 ("Et por ende, deve omne escusar quanto pudiere de non aver guerra. Et todas las otras cosas debe omne ante sofrir que començar guerra, salvo la desonra; ca non tan solamente la guerra, en que ha tantos males, mas aun la muerte, que es la más grave cosa que puede seer, debe omne ante sofrir que pasar et sofrir desonra, ca los grandes omnes que se mucho preçian et mucho valen, son para seer muertos mas non desonrados").

[127] Juan Manuel declared war on King Alfonso XI because the king disaffirmed the marriage with his daughter Constanza, ratified by Cortes in 1325, and in 1327 married the Portuguese infanta, Maria. The war was ended in 1329 with the help of the bishop of Oviedo (J. F. O'Callaghan, *A History of Medieval Spain* [Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1975], 408) (hereafter: O'Callaghan, *A History of Medieval Spain*). Speaking about himself in the third person through Julio, Juan Manuel says: "…and I always found him in big wars, sometimes with magnates of the land, and sometimes with the king of Aragon, and sometimes with the king of Granada, and sometimes with both. And now, when I left him, he was in a very big war with the king of Castile, who used to be his lord" (*Estados*, 100: "…et siempre le fallé en grandes guerras, a vezes con grandes omnes de la tierra, et a vezes con el rey de Aragón, et a vezes con el rey de Granada, et a vezes con amos. Et agora, quando de allá partí, estava en muy grant guerra con el rey de Castiella, que solía ser su señor").

[128] *Estados*, 208 ("Et don Juan dizía que fata que oviese emienda del mal que reçibiera et fincase con onra, que lo non faría [alguna pleitesía por que saliese de aquella guerra]; ca lo quel pasava con los suyos, o que perdía, o quanto mal le benía, que todo era daño o perdida, mas non desonra; et que él se tenía por uno de los que eran para ser muertos, mas non desonrados").

[129] Ibid., 208 ("Et así los enperadores, et aun todos los grandes señores, la cosa del mundo por que más deve[n] fazer es por guardar su onra. Et quando por esto les acaesçe de aver guerra, conviene que faga[n] muchas cosas para se parar a ella").

[130] Ibid., 209-236. This part is common for tradition of mirrors of princes.

[131] Later, speaking of dukes, he writes: "Et porque comarcan [los duques] con reys et con grandes señores, viven sienpre en grandes g[u]erras" (*Estados*, 256).

As an example of a person with a sinful and bellicose life whose soul was finally saved, Patronius gives the example of Richard the Lion Heart.[132] When the fleets of the kings came to the "overseas countries," they saw hordes of Moors on the shore, so that they could not go ashore. And Richard, knowing of his sins, decided that it was his chance to obtain the forgiveness of the Lord by a brave fight with the Muslims, and he jumped into the water. Everybody followed him, the struggle was won, and Richard's soul was saved. This is the pattern of behavior of the king-knight, not the king-wise ruler, staying above all his subjects.[133]

The poem of Pedro Lopez de Ayala shows another picture. One of the most important functions of the king (after the judicial one) is to strive for peace in his kingdom. A long passage of the poem describes war as the worst evil and peace as the "good state." War is inspired by cupidity; it destroys the kingdom and leads to robbery; it contradicts the precepts of Christ. One who does not hope for peace and wants to risk war puts his seeds into the sand; trying to earn, he loses a hundred times more. Everyone can enrich himself, except a king, who "does not make treasures, and his body is ulcerous." [134] But, if a kingdom is preserved in peace, no one will attack it while they see that it is prospering, the population is growing and becoming rich, building sturdy walls, and keeping good and well armed warriors.[135]

War can not avail the king. A general image of the young and therefore militant king appears in the *Poem*, advised by his flattering councilors to begin a war

[132] This example refers to a real episode of the Third Crusade.
[133] On the "chivalrous" and "courtly" types of kings, see Elias, *Court Society*, 146-160.
[134] *Rimado*, 220- 221, v. 519-527.
[135] Ibid., 222-223, v. 529-535. The description of the advantages of peace for the properly ruled population as compared to the disasters of a war resulting from a bad government was remade by Thomists from Aristotle's concept of the common good. Nevertheless, Thomas of Aquinas played an important role in the development of the theory of the 'just war,' defending the common good (Ph. Contamine, *War in the Middle Ages* [New York: Basil Blackwell, 1984], 286).

necessary only for their enrichment.[136] This passage of the *Poem* has a parallel in *The Chronicle of the King Don Peter I.* Narrating the beginning of the war between Castile and Aragon[137] Lopez de Ayala describes the royal council where Peter I (very young at the time) asked what to do with an Aragon captain who stung his honor.

> And his confidants were in such a position that the king did not love them any more so much as he used to, and he did not accept them so well in privacy, and they understood that if the king would have necessity in a war, he would appreciate them more (because they had collected in his favor a big quantity of people and money.[138]

The councilors told the king that the captain had outraged him, and this act should not be set aside. The king considered this opinion and started the war, because "he was very young at the age of twenty-three years, and he was a man of very great heart and of very great bellicosity, and he always loved war, and believed those who advised him this."[139] Thus, honor, the unique grave cause for a war in the idea of Juan Manuel, yields to the common sense and common good in the concept of Lopez de Ayala. This makes the difference between their conceptions of the kingship radical.[140]

The age of a king

The attitude of Pedro Lopez de Ayala towards the age of the king is evident from the previous example. Being himself in the regency council during the minority

[136] *Rimado*, 219, v. 513 ("El rrey es muy mançebo e la guerra quería; / cobdiçia probar armas e ver caballería; / del sueldo non se acuerda, nin qué le costaría; / el que le conseja guerra mejor le paresçia," and further).
[137] The case in point is about the war started in 1356, when the Catalan squadron seized two Genoese vessels in the Castilian waters in spite of the protest of Peter I (Aragon and Genoa were at that moment in the state of war), J. F. O'Callagan, *A History of Medieval Spain*, 421.
[138] *Crónica de Pedro I*, 474 ("…é los sus privados del Rey eran en estado que ya el Rey non los quería tanto como solía, é non les iba tan bien en la privanza, é entendieron que si el Rey oviese menester de guerra que los presciaria más, (ca ellos avian cobrado grand cabdal en la su merced de gentes é de dineros)…").
[139] Ibid., 474 ("E el Rey lo fizo asi segund le consejaron; ca el Rey era mancebo en edad de veinte é tres años, é era ome de grand corazón é de grand bollicio, é amaba siempre guerras, é creyó á los que le consejaron esto").
[140] Santob speaks about honor differently: "I say that the poor man / is a principle without honor, / and in the same way the reach / is a lout with honor. // Who is full with pride / because of the increasing of his honor / gives to understand / that does not deserve it, and so forth (*Glosas*, 85, l. 1053-1060: "Digo

of Henry III, and being aware of all disturbances coming from the minorities of several Castilian kings of the century (Ferdinand IV [1295-1312], Alfonso XI [1312-1350], and Henry III [1390-1406]), he saw the reason for the impractical actions of the king and higher influence the surroundings had on him because of his young age. In the context of this chronicle the reference to the age of Peter I is quite unexpected, inasmuch as it seems to be an excuse for the actions of the king, although the chronicle in general is regarded as the justification of Lopez de Ayala's treason and, thus, very critical of the king.

The same passage of the *Poem* about the bellicose young king describes in general the difficulties a young king faces with after the succession. Right after the death of the monarch all the powerful of the kingdom, without paying attention to his will, start to rob the realm and force the king to double their rents. But the young king, although giving them his charters, says that they will pay him twice more after he starts to rule.[141] The last words are evidence of the fact that here the author refers to the minorities of kings, probably the minority of Henry III, described in his last chronicle[142] or the minority of Alfonso XI, who was declared of age in 1325, as soon as he was 14 years old, and immediately started a very strict campaign against the magnates. As German Orduna writes, here Lopez de Ayala presents how the cupidity and abuse of the nobility leads to the revenge of the king (meaning especially Alfonso

que omre pobre / es princep' desonrrado: / ansí es el ricomre / un lazrado onrrado. // Quien s' enloçaneçió / por onrra que l'creçia, / a entender bien dio / que non la mereçia").

[141] *Rimado*, 216-217, v. 496-502 ("…Mas, a buena fe – dize –, maguer me han enojado, / e cuidan que lo suyo agora han bien pleiteado, / ellos lo pagarán con el doblo logrado / todo quanto han fecho después que yo rregnado").

[142] *Crónica del Rey don Enrique Tercero*, in *Crónicas de los reyes de Castilla desde don Alfonso el Sabio hasta los Catolicos don Fernando y doña Isabel*, ed. C. Rossel, vol. 2 (Madrid: Real Academia Española, 1930), 161-247. I do not have access to the chronicle at the moment in order to quote the precise words of the king as they are there.

XI).[143] It is possible to add that in the same way he excuses royal cruelty because of the fact that when the king was very young the nobles injured him.

Santob also witnessed the succession of Peter I to Alfonso XI, probably at the time when was finishing the poem. This fact determined the dedication to the King Peter I, where this succession is described as follows: "when King Don Alfonso passed away, people were left like when an ill person does not have a pulse, because none of them realized what a great improvement would come with the king's successor."[144] The poet compares this with the dried rose whose time is gone, but leaves after itself the most valuable rose water. Peter I was not under age, but he was still quite young (as was mentioned by Lopez de Ayala). In the construction of Santob this problem does not appear. The king is the king independent of his age.

J. M. Nieto Soria points out that in Castile of Trastámara the funeral ceremonies in connection with those of the enthronement demonstrated the continuity of royal power, the existence of the immortal body of the king regardless of the mortal nature of his real body.[145] Although the position of Nieto Soria is quite arguable, the passage of Santob can be regarded as at least a trace of this concept or as an attempt to introduce it into Castilian practice.

A young king also appears in Juan Manuel's *Book of the examples*. In one example[146] Patronius narrates a tale about a young king who stopped listening to a wise advisor, but turned to young ones. The result was that "carrying his estate this way, in a short time his acts resulted in a situation where his manners and the customs

[143] *Rimado*, 217 (footnote of G. Orduna).
[144] *Glosas*, 47-48, l. 9-24 ("Quand' el rey don Alfonso / finó, fincó la gente / commo quando el pulso / falleçe al doliente; // ca luego non cuidava / que tan grant mejoría / a <cab'>ellos fincaba, / nin omre l'entendía. // Quand' la rosa es seca / e de su tienpo sale, / **el agua della finca** / **rosada, que más vale**: / sí vos **fincastes dél**, / para mucho turar / **e librar lo que él** / **cobdiçiava librar**…").
[145] Nieto Soria, *Ceremonias*, 97-118.
[146] *Enxiemplos*, ex. 21, 154-159.

of his body as well as his estate, everything, was much deteriorated."[147] The situation is reminiscent of Lopez de Ayala (the problems come from the age of the king and his listening to bad advisors), but the result, the problem itself, is different. In the first case it is war that causes all possible harm for the realm. In the case of Don Juan Manuel the result is the deterioration of king's manner and the customs of his body and estate.

The relation of the king towards his estate

There is no great difference between the attitudes of the authors towards a young king, but the representation of the problems that can arise from it shows the most important difference in the images of the king, that is, the difference between understanding the relations between the king and the kingdom. In the cases of Santob and Lopez de Ayala this image is quite clear from the previous analysis. Royal power ensues from God. The king is the highest judge and defender of his subjects; his position approximates the position of God. In the case of Santob it is more evident: the king is one who can break the law of nature by bringing social harmony to his subjects, and this is his main aim. Lopez de Ayala, more influenced by Thomist ideas, represents it as a "contract" between the king and God, where king's office, his main task, is to preserve the common good. But concerning the position of Don Juan Manuel hitherto it is clear that his image of the king and his aim was different.

In order to clarify Juan Manuel's view it seems to be valid to turn to the *Book of the Examples of Count Lucanor and Patronius*. The idea of Juan Manuel about the duties of the king (and of any other ruler) is expressed in the clearest way in example

[147] Ibid., ex. 21, 156.

41 "About what happened with one king of Cordoba whose name was Alhaquem."[148] Count Lucanor asks Patronius what he should do so that people will not mock him for his invention of some new devices for falconry. Thus, his advisor tells him a story about a king of Cordoba, who

> although he maintained his kingdom quite well, did not work to make another honorable thing or something of great fame, like good kings used to and have to do, because the kings not only have to guard their kingdoms, but for those who want to be good it is advisable to do such things which would improve their kingdoms by right and would be done in a way that during their life they would be eulogized by people, and after their death they would leave good words about good deeds that they have done. And this king did not work on it, but slept and rested and stayed dissolute in his house."[149]

At the end of the story the king finished building the mosque of Cordoba, which became the most "noble" mosque in Spain, and, "thank God, now it is a church, and it is called Santa Maria de Cordoba." Juan Manuel does not mention here any common good or justice or defense of the subjects, but the posthumous fame which is to be achieved by the good king. This assumption is confirmed in *The Book of States*, where Julio says that the emperor "should take care of those things that he should do for the benefit and salvation of his soul, and for the augmentation of his honor, and his benefit, and his estate."[150]

Thus, the attitude towards the kingdom differs a great deal in the case of Juan Manuel and the other two authors. Juan Manuel perceives the kingdom as a possession or estate, the well-being of which is for its owner the same as the well-being of his body. He should establish it as any master should establish his house.

[148] Ibid., ex. 41, 241-245. Probably refers to an Arab oral tradition (footnote of A. I. Sotelo, 241-242).
[149] Ibid., ex. 41, 243 ("Señor conde -dixo Patronio-, en Cordova ovo un rey que avía nombre Elhaquem. Commo quier que mantenía assaz bien su regno, non se travajava de fazer otra cosa onrada nón de grand fama de las que suelen e deven fazer los buenos reyes, **ca non tan solamente son los reys tenidos de guardar sus regnos**, mas los que buenos quieren seer, conviene que tales obras fagan porque con derecho **acrescienten** su regno e fagan en guisa que en su vida sean muy loados de las gentes, e después de su muerte finquen buenas fazañas de las buenas obras que ellos obieren fechas. E este rey non se trabajava desto, sinon de comer e folgar e estar en su casa viçioso").
[150] *Estados*, 179 ("…deve cuidar en las cosas que deve fazer para aprovechamiento et salvamiento de su alma, et acreçentamiento de su onra et de su pro et de su estado").

Moreover, private details of everyday life seem to be equal and influence the state of the whole kingdom, even the empire. In the example about the emperor and his disobedient wife[151] it is said that "when the emperor said that he wanted to eat, she said that she wanted to fast, and if the emperor wanted to sleep, she wanted to wake up, and if the emperor liked something, then she did not like it." All this led to a "great prejudice against his estate and his people."[152]

Some advice to a ruler

Don Juan Manuel's advice to a ruler is very particular (including advice concerning war, mentioned above) and refers to the monarch himself. In *The Book of States* he describes how the day of the emperor should look. Juan Manuel describes the ways people of different estates should save their souls, so in this case he pays attention to the spiritual life of the monarch. In the morning he should entrust himself to God and ask his mercy, then he should listen to the mass and pray to the body of Jesus Christ. After that, if he needs to move, he should do it, and on the way he may go for a hunt, "reasonably and guardedly, to have pleasure and using it enough for the office of the knighthood."[153] On the way or during the hunt the emperor should accept the petitions given to him.[154] In case he does not have to move, the time that he would spend on the way he should dedicate to solving the problems of empire, and if there are none he can ride or hunt "in a convenient way."[155] He also tells a story about "an emperor" who rode a horse and hunted every day, and during this time everyone who

[151] *Enxiemplos*, ex. 27, 186-199. The emperor is called Frederick (II), used by Juan Manuel in order to achieve an impression of reality in the story. It makes the example even more significant.
[152] Ibid., ex. 27, 188-189 ("Assí que, si el emperador quería comer, ell dizía que quería ayunar; e si el emperador quería dormir, queríese ella levantar; e si el emperador queríe bien alguno, luego ella lo desamava…e vio que sin el pesar e la vida enojosa que avía de sofrir qiel era tan **grand daño para su fazienda e para las sus gentes**, que non podía ý poner consejo").
[153] *Estados*, 177.
[154] Ibid., 178.

wanted came to him and gave him petitions that he resolved after coming back home and before going to sleep. Juan Manuel's conclusion is that "in this way he solved the problems of the empire better than if he had stayed at home and not gone riding."[156]

Hunting was an inalienable element of the noble life from the early Middle Ages and served not only as an entertainment, but also a military school, training for endurance and the ability to stay in the saddle for a long time. By the second half of the fourteenth century hounds and falcons became signs of the gentility; they were taken for walks and visits, the falcon represented sitting on a lord's arm underlined the nobility of the knight. In France in 1396 Charles VI issued an ordinance that prohibited hunting by dishonorable people. At the same time this entertainment was never in favor with the church. For the clerics the hunt was prohibited at least from the seventh century,[157] but the prohibitions did not work well. The editor of the *Treatise of Falconry* of P. Lopez de Ayala, J. Fradezas Lebrero, explains it by the fact that people knew the treatises about the hunting better then breviary.

Indeed, judging from the quantity of these treatises, they were very popular from the twelfth century on. There were treatises composed by or for the King Henry II of England, Emperor Frederick II, Castilian King Alfonso XI, and others. The first treatises in Castilian were the translations and compilations from other European languages.[158] Both Don Juan Manuel and P. Lopez de Ayala wrote treatises about

[155] Ibid., 179.
[156] *Rimado*, 179 ("Et por esta razón tenían que librava mejor los fechos del imperio que si estudiese en casa et non cavalgase").
[157] D. Evans, "The Nobility of Knight and Falcon" in *The Ideals and Practice of Medieval Knighthood III: Papers from the Fourth Strawberry Hill Conference, 1988*, ed. C. Harper-Bill and R. Harvey (Woodbridge [UK]: Boydell Press, 1990), 79-99.
[158] E.g. the anonymous *Treatise about the Diseases of the Hunting Birds,* presumably from the second half of the thirteenth century, compiled from the Latin text included by Albert Magnus in the encyclopedia *De animalibus* and an unknown text, to which is also partially traced *The Book of Falcons, Sparrow-hawks, Horses, and Dogs* by Heinrich Mynsinger (*Das Puoch von den Valcken, Habichen, Sperben, Pfäriden und Hunden*), a short Latin text of a certain Valerian, and a chapter *Physica Avium* from the treatise on falconry compiled for Henry II in the form of a letter to Ptolemy from three pupils (*Tratado de las enfermedades de las aves de la caza,* introduction by B. Maler

falconry.[159] The treatises about falcons are mainly dedicated to the care, training, and treatment of the birds. The great interest in the texts is explained by the fact that falcons, in contrast to hounds, lived not in the special buildings, but in the owner's living quarters, and even the most honorable owners used to take part in the training and daily care of these expensive birds.[160]

Upon arriving, the ruler should eat "with temperance and measure" and also "with his people, and not solitarily."[161] A bit later Juan Manuel says that after the council the king should sit at dinner

> in order to have pleasure and joy with his people. And even if he can not or does not want to eat, he should not refuse to sit at the table, because each emperor, and also every other lord, should sit at the table twice a day, if it is not a day of fast. And if it is, instead of the diner he should order to bring wine to him and to the others who are with him.[162]

Lopez de Ayala mentions that the king is obliged to solve the problems of the people surrounding him even during the meal. It demonstrates that the tradition of the repast, very significant form of sociality from the early Middle Ages, did not lose its importance as a demonstration of the ruler's confidence. It came to modern times with court culture. Sharing a meal with the king underlined the confidence, the level of the proximity to the royal person, and moreover shaped a certain community of people

[Stockholm: Kungl. Vitterhets historie och antikvitets akademien: Almqvist & Wiksel International, 1957], 1-13).

[159] *Libro de la caza del Príncipe don Juan Manuel* (Madrid, 1879); P. López de Ayala, *Libro de la caza de las aves* (Madrid: Castalia, 1969).

[160] There is evidence for it in the famous epos *Song of My Cid* (*Poema del Mio Cid* [Mexico, n.d.], 7: "Los ojos de Mío Cid mucho llanto van llorando / hacia atrás vuelve la vista y se quedaba mirándolos. / Vio cómo estaban las puertas abiertas y sin candados, / vacías quedaban las perchas ni con pieles, ni con mantos, / **sin halcones de cazar y sin azores mudados**") and in *The Book of Falconry* of P. Lopez de Ayala (P. López de Ayala, *Libro de la caza de las aves* [Madrid: Castalia, 1959], 94-95): "El halcón duerma en tu cámara, o en la del que tuviere cargo de cuidar de él, y tenga candela toda la noche ... Pero yo siempre lo dejé suelto y cerca de mi cama, si es halcón de que me pagué."

[161] *Estados*, 177 ("Et desque llegare a la posada, [deve] **comer con sus gentes, et non apartado**. Et desque oviere comido et bebido lo quel cunpliere **con tenprança et con mesura** a la mesa…").

[162] Ibid., 178 ("Et desque esto fuere fecho, dévese asentar a çena, paratomar plazer et gasajado con sus gentes. Et aunque él non pueda o non quiera comer, non debe por eso dexar de se asentar a la mesa, ca todo enperador, et aun otro señor cualquier, se debe cada día dos vezes asentar a la mesa, sinon fuere

close to a king. The king in his turn appeared as the one who feeds people and thus claims their support. The symbolic importance of a royal banquet did not diminish, but may even have increased at courts of modern sovereigns.[163] After the repast the king should listen, if he wants, to the jugglers, whose songs "about the knighthood or about good deeds that would move the inclinations of those who hear them to be good."[164]

The next advice to a ruler is to talk to the people "for a good reasonable period of time," in a way that they would "have pleasure and joy of him and learn from him good examples and good advice."[165] Lopez de Ayala also writes about the king as an example for the people, but he should rather show example by his actions, not by his explanations: "The kingdom is governed by the example of the king, / if he is very just and has good customs, / such will be a vassal, repaying him; if he is of another manner, everything will go wrong."[166] This role of the king is elaborated in the treatise of Giles of Rome, *De regimine principum*,[167] and appears in the poem of

día de ayuno. Et si lo fuere, en lugar de la çena debe demandar quel den del vino, a él et a las otras gentes que fueren con él").

[163] On the lord's dinner see S. Bertelli, *The King's Body: the Sacred Rituals of Power in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, tr. R. B. Litchfield (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001), 191-212; S. F. Weiss, "Medieval and Renaissance Wedding Banquets and Other Feasts," in *Food and Eating in Medieval Europe*, ed. M. Carlin and J. T. Rosenthal (London: The Hambledon Press, 1998), 159-174 (hereafter: Weiss, "Wedding Banquets"). The importance of feasting in the Scandinavian Middle Ages is touched upon by A. Gurevich, *Historical Anthropology of the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Polity Press, 1992), 186-187; the importance of the royal feast in general is marked by A. Hagen, *A Hanbook of Anglo-Saxon Food: Processing and Consumption* (Norfolk: Anglo-Saxon Books, 1992), 95-96.

[164] Concerning the music at a feast see Weiss, "Wedding Banquets", 159-174.

[165] *Estados*, 177 ("Et el enperador debe fablar et departir con sus gentes en tal manera que tomen plazer et gasajado con él et aprendan dél los bienos exenplos et buenos consejos").

[166] *Rimado*, 241, v. 635-637 ("Si fuere bien rregido el rrey o el señor, / a todo el su pueblo, aurá con grant amor; / [ca] quel él en sí fuere, o bueno o mejor, / tal querrá paresçerle luego el su seruidor. // Por enxiemplo del rrey, el rregno es gouernado; / si él fuere muy justo e bien acostunbrado, / tal será el vasallo por le fazer pagado; / si de otra maña fuere, todo irá errado. // Betiza e Egica dos rreyos godos fueron, / de muy mal rregimiento e así se mantouieron; / luego los sus priuados aquella ley seguieron: / la c(o)rónica lo cuenta, todos quál fin ouieron;" the chronicle mentioned here is *Primera Crónica General*, about it see *Rimado*, 241, footnote of G. Orduna.

[167] Ibid., 241 (footnote of G. Orduna).

Santob, who says: "Look at the king; / follow his example: / he works more for people, / than people for him."[168]

After the king goes to his chamber to sleep, and then, after hearing the mass, he should be present at his council concerning "great deeds of the empire." The usage of the word "empire" may be significant; speaking of the king, Juan Manuel usually refers to the realm as the estate, not the kingdom. It, among other terms, allows me to infer that the difference between the emperor and the king in the conception of Juan Manuel was in reality much greater than he points out. The deeds of the empire were not equal to the deeds of the emperor's estate.[169] In the council the emperor should make arrangements concerning petitions in such a way as to "guard everyone in right and in justice."[170] Here the concept of justice in charge of a ruler appears, but it seems to apply to the emperor rather than to the king.

Those things that the others can not accomplish the emperor should not commit to anybody, and he should not delay or abandon resolving them. Lopez de Ayala advises the same; and this is also recommended by Giles of Rome.[171] It is interesting that Santob suggests the opposite: "Something that you want to make importunately / make slowly; / because, if you hasten, / it is expedient to prevent // from making the error, / that will appear from the haste, / and the delay will be / longer because you are in a hurry."[172]

Coming back to Don Juan Manuel, he suggests that a ruler not to do things that others should accomplish, because, first of all, in doing them, he will leave those

[168] *Glosas*, 91, l. 1233-1236 ("En el rey mete mientes; / toma enxnplo dél: / más lazra por las gentes / que las gentes por él").
[169] *Estados*, 177 ("Et desque oviere dormido deve oír sus oras, et las oras oídas, debe estar en su consejo, [departiendo] sobre los **grandes fechos del enperio**").
[170] Ibid-, 178 ("…et dévelas [peticiones] mandar librar quando estudiere en su consejo después de las vísperas, en tal manera que guarde a todos en derecho et en justicia").
[171] Ibid., 177-178; *Rimado*, 241, v. 632 (see also the footnote of G. Orduna).

problems that he should resolve, and, second, because he should guard his body from doing "not very great things." Emperors especially should not lose time on such things during a war.[173]

After everything is done, the ruler should go to his chamber, and with him should stay only those in whom he has the greatest confidence, in order to give his body rest from disturbances and the labor he suffers. Before going to sleep he should pray and thank God. If he did something wrong, he should think about it and endeavor to improve it as soon as possible. And if it happens that he can not fall asleep, he should take care of the things that he should do for the salvation of his soul and increase of his honor, his profit, and his estate. In order not to forget them later, he should always have in his chamber something to write down things he was worrying about in order to accomplish them the next day. If he still can not fall asleep after that, he should order "some good stories, from which he would take good examples" to be read him because it may divert him from his worries and he will fall asleep, "and in case he can not fall asleep, he will learn some good things that will be wholesome."[174]

An example from *The Book of Examples* contains some particular information on how *a king* should care for his possessions. The king there tests his sons, and only the youngest deserves being his heir. The son asked to be shown a town from within, its streets, where and how big the treasury was, the mosque,[175] all the nobility of the town, and people that lived there. Afterwards he went out and checked all the

[172] *Glosas*, 110, l. 1757-1764 ("Lo qu' aína quisieres / fazer, faz de vagar; / ca, si prissa te dieres, / convién'te d'enbargar // en endreçar errança / que naçrá del quexarte, / e será la tardança / más, por apresurarte").
[173] *Estados*, 178.
[174] Ibid., 179-180.
[175] It is interesting that almost every time Juan Manuel speaks about *a* king, without mentioning if he means a Christian or Moor, it is possible to discover through the details that he speaks about a Muslim ruler. Another example is the traditional story about the "naked king," which in Juan Manuel's interpretation likened the idea of the fabric visible only by the legal sons of their fathers because "the Moors do not inherit property of their fathers if they are not their real sons," and he could enlarge his own possessions in this way (*Enxiemplos*, ex. 32, 213).

warriors, mounted and unmounted, and made them show themselves in a tournament. At the end he examined the walls, towers, and fortifications of the town.[176]

In the part, closest to the tradition of mirror of princes ("A Good Monarch") Lopez de Ayala, in his turn, is in a way more general and deals rather with the external outlook of a realm: he lists nine features that should be kept by the king in order to emphasize his great power.[177] These things are divided into three groups with three points in each. The first group is about royal representation: the honorable ambassadors,[178] charters with beautiful script and seals, made formally correct ("with a day, month, and era,")[179] and well made golden or silver coins.[180] The next three points are related to the estate. The king should take care of the appearance and strength of the walls, towers, and gates of towns,[181] of the diversity and corresponding to the royal dignity of his residences,[182] and of the condition of the officials.[183] The third group refers to the royal house and includes the chapel,[184] council,[185] and royal table and chamber.[186]

Lopez de Ayala pays much more attention to the outlook of royal power, to its external representation, including those people who represent it. In the example of Don Juan Manuel, the young prince checks the knights and their military possibilities. The ruler of Lopez de Ayala should care for the nobleness, richness, fairness, and

[176] *Enxiemplos,* ex. 24, 170-171.
[177] *Rimado*, 237, v. 616 ("Nueve cosas yo fallo, con las quales tú verás / el grant poder del rrey en que lo consçeras; / las tres de muy lonje tierra las entenderás; / las seis son en el rregno quales aquí sabrás"). G. Orduna argues that only some of the ideas of this part of the poem can be found in the treatise of Giles of Rome, in absolutely different contexts, so *De regimine principum* can not be considered the source of this part of the poem. It rather proceeds from Castilian collections and compendiums, compiled from treatises of oriental origin (*Rimado,* 237-238, footnote of G. Orduna).
[178] Ibid., 238, v. 617-618.
[179] Ibid., 238, v. 619.
[180] Ibid., 239, v. 620.
[181] Ibid., 239, v. 622.
[182] Ibid., 239, v. 623.
[183] Ibid., 239, v. 624.
[184] Ibid., 240, v. 626.
[185] Ibid., 240, v. 627-628.
[186] Ibid., 240, v. 629.

consciousness of his officials and of those who directly surround him,[187] and, second, for their manifestly special position next to him. The poet especially notes that the door of the king's chamber should be closed to "idle people."[188]

Both Don Juan Manuel and Pedro Lopez de Ayala widely use the terminology of the vassal state,[189] but in the Don Juan Manuel's works it is much more articulated. Although he writes that the status of the king is almost the same as that of the emperor, structurally the description of the king occupies much less space than the emperor's. The emperor rather makes a pair with the pope. Juan Manuel says:

> As God made in the sky two great luminaries (one is the sun, in order to illuminate the day, and the moon, to illuminate the night), in the same way he took for good that would be on the land two states: the state of pope, that have to maintain the church, which is the maintenance of the Christians, and the clergy, and all the states of the religion, and also the versed in the religion, and that of the emperor, who has to maintain in justice and in right all the Christians, especially those who obey the empire of Rome.[190]

Factually, the status of king does not differ from the status of the other "great lords." Almost everywhere when he refers to the king he also mentions other noble "conditions."[191] The main character in *The Book of Examples* is the count; and Patronius sometimes, as an example for Count Lucanor, adduces the actions of kings

[187] Ibid., 239, v. 624 ("…ofiçiales **onrados**… / todos de **conçïencia**, **rricos** e **abonados**, / **que en guardar la justicia**, sean bien **avisados**;) 240, v. 627 ("Otrosí en su consejo, aya omnes **onrrados**: / ançianos caballeros e notables prelados, / buenos omnes **maduros**, **dotores** e **letrados** / estén cabe a su estrado, todos bien asentados").

[188] Ibid., 240, v. 629 ("…su camara guarnida, mucho bien apostada, / e de gente baldía, su puerta muy dubdaba").

[189] About Iberian feudalism see Valdeavellano, *Instituciones españolas*; Grassotti, I*nstituciones feudo-vassallaticas*. The new view on the problem is represented in P. Bonnassie, *From Slavery to Feudalism in South-Western Europe*, tr. J. Birrell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

[190] *Estados*, 154 ("Que así commo Dios fizo en el çielo dos lumbres grandes (la una es el sol, para que alumbrarse el día, et la luna, que alumbrase la noche), et bien es así tobo por bien que fuese[n] en la tierra dos estados: el estado del papa, que debe mantener la iglesia, que es mantinimiento de los cristianos et la clerezía et todos los estados de religión et aun los legos en lo spiritual, et el [del] enperador, [que] debe mantener en justicia et en derecho todos los cristianos, señaladamente a los que obedeçen al enperio de Roma").

[191] E.g. *Estados*, 181: "[Et] commo quier que yo esto digo señaladamente de los enperadores, tanbién reys, commo grandes señores, commo todos los omnes de todos los estados que esto fiziesen, tengo que farían en ello mucho de su pro, et que serían guardados de fazer nin de decir cosa de que daño les pudiese venir."

without pointing out any differences that could come from the difference in their positions. The difference between the kings and other great lords is only hierarchical and quantitative. Narrating about the counts, he says:

> And this condition [of the counts] is very strange and fits many kinds of people, because in many lands it happens that the infants, sons of the kings are counts, and there are other counts that are richer and more powerful than some dukes and even than some kings, and there are other counts that sometimes have more than five hundred knights...[192]

Thus, the usual difference between the king and another lord is the number of knights and the magnitude of wealth leads to greater power. The goals, functions, and rights, relations towards God and the land of the kings is exactly the same as those of the counts or dukes. Such was the personal relation of Juan Manuel towards the kings of his time; he did not feel attached to any of them, changed the lords freely and declared his own wars against them.

Lopez de Ayala uses the same terminology, and once lists different kinds of lords in a manner very close to that of Don Juan Manual ("The kings, and the princes, and the emperors, / and the dukes, and the counts, and other lords, / rule their lands with their populations / so that where lived hundred, remain three inhabitants").[193] But then, in the course of the poem, the image of the king becomes separated and erected above the others by different relations to God and to the realm. Having once changed the ruler, Lopez de Ayala was looking for the ways to justify it, because the position of the king in his understanding was quite different from that of Juan Manuel. He was not always only a vassal, but the official and the confidant of the Castilian kings.

[192] Ibid., 264 ("Et éste es un estado muy estraño et caben en él muchas maneras de omnes, ca en muchas tierras acaesçe que los infantes, fijos de los reys, son condes, et otros condes ay que son más ricos et más poderosos que algunos duques et aún que algunos reys, et otros condes ay que an abés más de cinquenta cavalleros").

[193] *Rimado*, 165, v. 234 ("Los rreyes e los principes e los enperadores, / los duques e los condes e los otros señores, / gouierrnan las sus tierras con los sus moradores, / que a do morauan çiento, fincan tres pobladores").

The king of Santob is much higher than his subjects; by overcoming the laws of nature and standing outside of them he approaches divinity. This not only demonstrates the personal material interests of the poet towards Peter I, but also gives an alternative image of the king, presented in the royal surroundings of the time.

III: THE COURT

The term "court"

In the fourteenth-century Castile the term "corte" (from Latin *curtis*) did not yet have exactly the connotations that formed later. Thus, in *The Chronicle of the*

King Don Alfonso X,[194] probably written between 1344 and 1350 by the chancellor of Alfonso XI Fernan Sanchez of Valladolid,[195] the term designated the enlarged curia, the assembly of the representatives of the magnates, clergy, knighthood, and municipal councils (*conçejo*). Pedro Lopez de Ayala in his chronicles for this type of council used this word only in plural: *cortes*; this form has preserved in Spanish (the national legislatures of Spain and Portugal are still called "Cortes").[196] For the community of people surrounding the king, the author of *The Chronicle of Alfonso X* used the terms *casa del rey* ("the royal house") and *consejo real* ("the royal council").[197] The singular *corte* in the chronicles of Lopez de Ayala indicates the community of the royal confidants, people personally close to the king. This word is used more widely in the chronicles then in the *Poem of Palace Life*. Yet the other terms are still used in the Lopez de Ayala's chronicles (as well as in other contemporary texts) to designate the same community. These are *consejo real* and *casa del rey*, already mentioned, *palaçio real* ("the royal palace"), and the expression *sus ricos omes y los otros que y eran* ("his magnates and the others who had been there") or *sus omes / los suyos del rey* ("his men" / "men of the king"). Analysis of the chronicles shows that although the meaning of these expressions was quite close, all of them had particular connotations. Thus, under the "house of the king" Lopez de Ayala usually meant a royal household and the court as the administrative institution, while the term "court" is mainly used to designate the community of people closest to

[194] *Crónica del Rey don Alfonso Decimo*, in *Crónicas de los reyes de Castilla desde don Alfonso el Sabio hasta los Católicos don Fernando y doña Isabel*, ed. C. Rossel, vol. 1 (Madrid: Real Academia Española, 1934), 3-68.
[195] B. Sánchez Alonso, *Historia de la historiografia española: ensayo de un examen de conjunto* (Madrid: J. Sánchez de Ocaca, 1947).
[196] The "cortes" are genealogically connected to the *curia regis*, appeared with the "admission of the non-noble representatives of the cities to the council." It first happened at the "cortes" of León of 1188, and soon extended over Castile (T. F. Ruiz, "Oligarchy and Royal Power: The Castilian Cortes and the Castilian Crisis 1248-1350," in *Parliaments, Estates and Representation* 2 [1982]: 95-101; reprinted in Ruiz, *City and Realm*, xii).
[197] The analysis of these terms in the earlier texts is in Varyash, *Court in Dynastic Conflicts*.

the king, staying next to him at some particular moment.[198] The only place where the term *corte* is used by Pedro Lopez de Ayala in the sense of "the palace," to designate a place rather then a community, is the part of *The Poem of Palace Life* usually called *The Palace Deeds* ("Los fechos de palaçio.")[199]

The term "court" is neither well defined in the works of Don Juan Manuel. Thus, in *The Book of States* he mentions the court of the emperor, meaning the institution of power, close to the term *casa* in Lopez de Ayala's works:

> And concerning the officials, the emperor should look for and designate those who match each office, because some are the officials for his court, and others he have to make the officials for his lands and regions, to maintain and guard them in justice, and others he should put in each town...[200]

In *The Book of Examples* by the "court" he rather means the space.[201]

Such vagueness of the terminology clearly demonstrates that the court was not a completely formed institution, as it would become later. It had just started to absorb the functions of different institutions of the preceding epoch, transforming from the household of the biggest magnate into the central political power institution. The terminology demonstrates it quite well: it was at the same time the household of the magnate (*casa del rey*), the community of royal vassals (*omes del rey*,) the king's confidants, his council (*consejo del rey*), and the place where the king stayed (*palaçio*

198 L. García de Valdeavellano regards the terms "corte," "casa," and "palaçio" as absolute synonyms (Valdeavellano, *Instituciones españolas*, 488-489). I tried to show that it was not exactly so in my previous thesis, dedicated to the Castilian royal court as seen in the works of P. Lopez de Ayala: "The Royal Court of Castile in the Second Half of XIV c. through the Eyes of Pedro Lopez de Ayala" (Moscow: Russian State University for the Humanities in 2004); here it does not seem relevant to adduce all the argumentation.

199 *Rimado*, 204, v. 428 ("Grand tiempo ha que cuidaua **esta corte** saber; / agora me pareçe que non sé qué fazer: / querría, si pudiese, al rrey fablar e veer...").

200 *Estados*, 204-205 ("Et quanto en fecho de los ofiçiales, deve el emperador catar que los ponga tales quales pertenecen en cada ofiçio, ca unos son **ofiçiales para su corte**, et otros que ha él a fazer ofiçiales para las tierras et comarcas, para los mantener et guardar en justicia, et otros que a de poner en cada villa…").

201 *Ejemplos*, 120 ("E el cardenal rogol que quel consentiese que oviesse aquel obispado un su tío, hermano de su madre, que era omne bueno ançiano; mas que, pues él cardenal era, que **se fuese con él para la Corte**, que asaz avía en qué le fazer bien. E don Yllán quexósse ende mucho, pero consintió en

del rey). But all these notions were blending – the officials of the royal household acquired state importance, the vassals became officials, and in the end all the people around the king obtained power; through the possibility of giving the king advice they hoped to influence him directly.

The fact of the being next to the king was especially important on account of the absence of a permanent residence of the royal court in this period; it was still migrating. This determined the frequency of the formula "those who where there" in the chronicles of the period. An absence of a clear administrative structure made the court an even more vague institution.

Nevertheless, the court existed as a community with the king as the central and determing figure. That is why the difference in the images of the king caused a difference in the images of the community of people surrounding the king: the court and the courtiers.

The officials

The system of royal officials constituted the institutions of the central state machinery. In the *Siete partidas* of Alfonso X the officials are divided into three categories: so-called officials of "power," kind of the royal "privy chancellery" (*Partidas* relate to the royal chancellery, royal council, and royal chapel), the court officials of the "guard and maintenance" of the monarch's person (royal guards, judges of the royal court, and "domestic" palace offices, like majordomos, chamberlains, and so forth), and officials, whose duties were the protection and administration of particular territories of the kingdom (primarily *adelantado* and

lo que el cardenal quiso, e **fuesse con él para la Corte**. E desque ý llegaron, fueron bien reçibidos de los cardenales e de quantos **en la Corte eran** e moraron **ý** muy grand tiempo").

merino).[202] Analysis of texts of the fourteenth century clearly shows that these three categories where not divided strictly. The chronicles of Lopez de Ayala demonstrate that the king used to give offices to his confidants, and the members of his council usually also held some other positions. It is possible to make only one division: the officials who where supposed to stay next to the king at all times (e.g. the chancellor, the majordomo, the guards), and those whose offices forced them to stay in particular territories, most of the time remote from the royal court as such (different kinds of royal representatives).

This division may also be traced in the analyzed texts. In *The Book of States* Julio tells the infant that:

> And as for the officials, the emperor should consider appointing such [people] who conform to each office, because some officials are for the court, and others he has to make officials for the lands and regions in order to maintain and guard them in justice, and others he has to put in each town, and others [the dwellers] of towns put by themselves, and others who collect the rights and the rents in the empire.[203]

Lopez de Ayala, in the part concerning governors, also writes first about the local governors,[204] then about the knights,[205] and afterwards turns to the "favorites and relatives of the king," speaking mainly about royal advisors.[206]

Although the same people could hold different offices at different times (like Pedro Lopez de Ayala, who was an *alferez*, *alcalde merino* of different regions, and at the end became a great chancellor,[207] here I will focus mainly on the particularly court

[202] Valdeavellano, I*nstituciones españolas*, 489, 496.
[203] *Rimado*, 204-205 ("Et quanto en fecho de los ofiçiales, deve el emperador catar que los ponga tales quales pertenecen en cada ofiçio, ca unos son **ofiçiales para su corte**, et **otros** que ha él fazer **ofiçiales para las tierras et comarcas**, para los mantener et guardar en justicia, et otros que a de poner en cada villa, et otros que ponen los de la villa entre sí, et otros que recabdan los derechos et las rendas del enperio").
[204] Ibid., 167-171, v. 243-259.
[205] Ibid., 171-173, v. 260-271.
[206] Ibid., 173-178, v. 272-297.
[207] Speaking about the local royal representatives, Lopez de Ayala says: "Then a merchant comes to me to speak aside …" (*Rimado*, 192, v. 361: "Viene despues a mí aparte a fablar un mercador…")

positions, because at each time the holders of these offices constituted the surroundings of the king.

Six chapters of *The Book of States* are devoted to the officials of noble people and to the ways they can save their souls or fail in it.[208] It is important to underline that Juan Manuel does not speak exclusively about the royal officials. They are included by him into the general state of "officials of the house of lords." Moreover, he points out that they do not necessarily belong to the "state of noble defenders," because most of them "are of the state of town-dwellers and of merchants."[209] Later the author mentions: "Although these people [bourgeoisie and merchants] have most of the offices, the kings and the lords prefer to give to the noble defenders all the offices that are so honorable that they should belong to them."[210]

In the following part, listing these "honorable offices," Julio tells the infant mainly about the "officials of the lands" (*de las tierras*): "And these are [offices] like *adelantamientos* and *merindades*, and in some places *alcaldías* and *alguaziladgos*, and in their houses *mayordomadgos*, and the standards, and the upbringing of their children."[211] Four first terms designate the offices mainly with judicial functions.[212] Different levels and kinds of all these offices existed (e.g. *aclaldes de corte*, *alcaldes ordinaries*, *alcaldes del rastro*, *adelantados mayores*, etc.), but here Don Juan Manuel

[208] *Estados*, 278-292.
[209] Ibid., 279 ("Señor infante, quando vos fablé desuso en el estado de los oficiales, vos di a entender que los oficiales **non avían a seer del estado de los nobles defensores**. Et esto fiz porque **los más de los ofiçiales**, tanbién **de las tierras** commo **de casa de los señores**, **son del estado de los ruanos et de los mercadores**").
[210] Ibid., 280 ("Et commo quier que los más de los oficios an estos omnes, pero todos los ofiçios que son tan onrados que pertenecen para los nobles defensores, tovieron por bien los reys et los señores de gelos dar").
[211] Ibid., 280: ("Et éstos son así commo los **adelantamientos** et **merindades**, et en algunos lugares, **alcaldías** et **alguaziladgos**, et en sus casas, **mayordomadgos**, et los **pendones** et la **criança de sus fijos**").
[212] Al*calde* – from Arabic *al-qâdi*, "judge;" *alguazil* – from Arabic *al-wazîr*, "vizier;" *adelantado* – participle from the verb *adelantar* – "move ahead," "advance," calque from the Arabic office name *muqáddam*, formed in the same way from the respective verb *qáddam* (J. Corominas and J. A. Pascual, *Diccionario crítico etimológico castellano e hispánico* [Madrid: Gredos, 1980], 1:127, 162; 2:438) (hereafter: Corominas, Pascual, *Diccionario*).

certainly means the royal representatives at the local level (in the larger territories as well as in the towns and smaller settlements).[213]

Then Don Juan Manuel comes to the offices that require staying with the lord. About the majordomo[214] he says that he should look after all the incomes and expenses of the lord. The majordomo can harm his lord because of cupidity, bad intentions, carelessness, lack of prudence, offence of ones the lord relies on in order to flatter the lord or because of bad intentions towards these people or with the purpose of getting something from them. All this makes the office at the same time good and dangerous for salvation.[215]

Alférez ("the standard bearer"), one, who holds the standard, is in a much better position from the point of view of Juan Manuel, because he has many more possibilities to save his soul.[216] The only danger for his soul might be if he would cause "some misfortune because of which the lord would be killed or defeated or put to flight" because of bad intentions or the fear. [217] Julio also makes a remark that he himself had heard about many standard bearers who had their hands cut off and were killed holding the standards of their lords, which should have guaranteed their salvation.

The last office out of the "domestic" ones that should be given to the "noble defenders" is an upbringing of the lord's children. This office is regarded as very

[213] For description of these offices see Valdeavellano, *Instituciones españolas*, 494, 508, 562-566.
[214] This office was taken over from the Merovingians by the West Gothic kings of the peninsula; in the *Siete Partidas* it was defined as the chief office in the royal house, responsible for its maintenance (Valdeavellano, *Instituciones españolas*, 490, 592).
[215] *Estados*, 283.
[216] *Alferez* – from Arabic *al fáris*, "horseman," derivation from *fáras*, "horse" (Corominas, Pascual, *Diccionario*, 1:154). During battles he galloped at the head of royal troops with the royal standard; in court ceremonies he held the royal sword, symbol of his judicial power. He had to lead the army if the king did not take part in a battle, was charged with the punishment of guilty in the loss of royal estates, and was regarded a defender of the realm and the king's interests, and also a support of noble widows and orphans (Valdeavellano, *Instituciones españolas*, 489).
[217] *Estados*, 283-284 ("Et quanto el alférez, que tiene el pendón, puede fazer mucho bien, et non puede fazer en el su [ofiçio] ninguna cosa que sea peligro para el alma, salve si fuese tan sin ventura que, por

important because if the children are well educated ("if his pupils are good, and with good manners, and with good customs, and very clever") the people of the land will be safe. These mentors will have a great deal of honor and good from the lords they have educated, and people will love them (this shows that the lords should give this office to noble people).[218] Yet they can make great harm by flattering their pupils, concealing their transgressions, and praising them in case they have done something improperly, because such tolerance leads to great harm of their bodies, estates, and the people they should maintain.[219]

Another group consists of those offices which the lord should give to those who were brought up in his house ('people of the family,' *omnes de criazón*).[220] This habit originated from a first stage of the traditional system of the upbringing of a knight, which had started to develop in the beginning of the twelfth century at least. Initially it was connected with the institution of holding hostages.[221] The lord took the son of his vassal, educated him, and sometimes (but not necessarily) armed him at his

alguna intención o con miedo, fiziese alguna desaventura por que el señor fuese muerto o bençido o desbaratado").

[218] Ibid., 280-281. O. Aurov pointed out that in accordance with the privilege of Cuellar of 1256 in the thirteenth-second half of the fourteenth century mentors were excused from the main payments if they possessed a property worth no less then 100 *maravedis* (the Spanish coin) (O. Aurov, "Deuen leer las estorias…": Истоки и развитие сословной идентичности кастильского рыцарства [XII – середина XIV веков] [Deuen leer las estorias…": Sources and Development of the Estate Identity of the Castilian Knighthood, the Twelfth – Middle of the Fourteenth Centuries] [Moscow: Institute of General History of Russian Academy of Science, 2005] sent via e-mail).

[219] *Estados*, 284.

[220] It is worth noting that Juan Manuel introduces himself in the text as the *omne de criazón* of the main character and the bearer of the wisdom of the book, Julio. This, first, brings together Julio and the real tutors of Don Juan Manuel, and, second, underlines the especially close relationships between the autor and the character, making them in a way entirely like-minded (*Estados*, 99-100: "Et seyendo yo ý [Julio en Casttiella] más mançebo que agora, acaesçió que nasçió un fijo a un infante que avía no[n]bre don Manuel, et fue su madre doña Beatriz, condesa de Saboya, mugger del dicho infabte, [et le] pusieron no[n]bre don Johan, et luego que el niño nasçió, toméle por criado et en mi guarda. Et desque fue entendiendo alguna cosa, puñé yo en le mostrar et le acostumbrar lo más et lo mejor que yo pude, et desque moré con e´l grant tiempo et entendí que me podía escusar, fui pedricando por las tierras la ley et fe católica").

[221] O. Aurov retells an episode from the *Life of St. Benedict* by St. Ardo Smaragdus about a son of Count Vitiza (offspring of emigrants from Visigothic Spain), the future St. Benedict of Anian. He and his brother were raised at the court of Pepin the Short. When he was fifteen, he started to take part in marches with Pepin, and later with Carloman (O. Aurov, "Образ жизни кастильского рыцаря XIII

expense, dubbed him, and married him off, which gave him, especially in case of a non-wealthy pupil, a better starting position. The lord, in his turn, obtained a vassal who was supposed to be very faithful, being, first, de facto a member of his family and, second, owing him all his achievements.[222] Don Juan Manuel says that the lords used to take young men of the bourgeoisie and merchants and bring them up in their houses. Because of good treatment a great many of them became good people and achieved great honors and riches. The lords prefer to choose officials from among these people,

> and the kings and lords were doing and do it [now] because the *people of the family* and those from towns do not dare to so much as the noble defenders, and the lords do not have to do them such great honor, neither be ashamed of them as of the noble defenders, and they can rely on what they collect with fewer obstacles. And if they make some error, the lords may punish them through the body or property with less shame and obstacles (emphasis added).[223]

This passage witnesses that the kings also used to give some offices to people of lower status, but Don Juan Manuel does not point out any difference between the upbringing in a house of a lord and upbringing at the royal court. There is also no difference between chivalrous breeding and comportment and court breeding and comportment, between chivalrous identity and court identity.

Among the offices that usually belonged to these people the first is that of chancellor. He had the seals of the lord, orders to make all his charters and letters, and register all these documents. Thus, all documents coming from or to the lord came through the hands of the chancellor, therefore he knew everything about the open and

века" [The Way of Life of a Castilian Knight in the Thirteenth Century], in *Вопросы истории* 8 [2003]: 56-67) (hereafter: Aurov, *Castilian Knight*).

[222] Aurov, *Castilian Knight*.

[223] *Estados*, 279-280 ("Et esto fizieron et fazen **los reys et los señores** porque los omnes de criazón et de las villas non se atreven atanto commo los nobles defensores, nin los señores non les deven catar tanta onra nin aver tan grant vergünça commo a los nobles defensores, et puédenles tomar cuenta de lo que recabdan más sin embargo. Et quando cayen en algún yerro, puédengelo los señores más sin vergünça et sin enbargo escarmentar en los cuerpos et en los averes que an").

secret affairs of the lord. The chancellor (as well as the majordomo, above) could harm the lord if he was greedy or malicious or had bad intentions, because:

> showing that he serves the lord, he may protect a great many things that the lord should have by right… Moreover, showing that he does it for the benefit of the lord, he has a great opportunity to make harm for anybody he wants to, and, besides, to one he wants to guard he may protect a great many of his errors… It is evident that neither the lord himself, nor the others, as many as ever are in his house, do not have such possibilities to make such bad things and so secretly, and giving an understanding that he is doing right as the chancellor, if he would like to make harm and would be greedy or malicious.[224]

The next office is that of the physician. This one is regarded by the author himself as "a very strange office, which is partly greater than all the others, and partly not."[225] The reason for it is that the lord entrusts a physician with his own life and the lives of all the members of his family and his court, but at the same time this office does not presume his involvement in any other affairs besides medical ones. Still, the physician may obtain the favor of the lord if he is very intelligent, faithful, with good manners and customs. In this case, since he is forced to speak to the lord quite often, he has a chance to become his confidant and advisor. Of course, if the physician is greedy and has some bad intentions, he has a chance to lose his soul, because he can cause illnesses that he was supposed to treat or prolong the sickness or by a swindle pretend to be more skillful than in reality or reveal some veiled and shameful diseases.

[224] Ibid., 285-286 ("Mas si el chançeller es cobdiçioso, o malicioso o de mala intención, puede fazer muchas malas obras, ca mostrando que sirve al señor, puede encubrir muchas cosas de lo que el señor debe aver con derecho por cobdiçia de lo que él puede levar por aquella razón. Otrosí, mostrando que lo faze por pro del señor, tiene muy bien aparejado de buscar mal al que quisiere, et otrosí, al que quisier guardar puede encubrir muchos de sus yerros... Bien cred que el señor mismo, nin quantos en su casa son, non tienen atan aparejamiento de fazer tan malas obras et tan encubiertamente, et dando a entender que faze[n] derecho, commo el chançeller, si mal quisiere obrar et fuere cobdiçioso o maliçioso").

[225] Ibid., 287-288 ("Otrosí, los fisicos de casa de los señores an un ofiçio muy estraño, que en parte es mayor que todos et en parte non lo es tanto").

Another official of this group is the chamberlain (*camarero*).[226] He should take care of all the treasures "that belong to the increase and decoration of the lord's chamber" and keep the money that the lord should have with him. His people should sleep in the chamber with the lord, guard the door after the lord enters, and dress and undress the lord. Thus, they also have a good chance of knowing many secret things about the lord, and may give him advice in private. All this makes this office similar to the physician's.[227]

Next is the steward (*despensero*), whose duties are to buy and to keep all the food for the lord's house, to divide and distribute it.[228] He should also give to all the other officials what they need for their service and keep the receipts for everything. Of course, all this makes his office very dangerous for his salvation because he does not have any certain income, but keeps such a large property of his lord. He is also often asked to lend to people; and he has many possibilities to conceal a great deal, therefore he often hides the errors of other officials, and they keep what he does in secret.[229]

At the end Don Juan Manuel lists the other offices of the household of "the emperors, the kings, and other lords," namely, cup-bearer ("*copero*"), special butler in charge of bread ("*çatiquero*"), confectioner ("*repostero*"), stableman ("*cavallerizo*"), hawk handler ("*cevadero*"), porter ("*portero*"), messenger ("*mensajero*"), cook ("*coçinero*"), and so forth. All of them can save their souls by faithful service to the lord, as well as have great opportunities to harm the lord and his people.[230]

[226] The office developed from several offices of the Asturian-Leonese court in charge of guarding the king's chamber, bed, and wardrobe (Valdeavellano, *Instituciones españolas*, 491).
[227] *Estados*, 288-289.
[228] Here is an interesting remark concerning life in a large household: the steward should distribute the food that "is eaten in the palace as well as that that is dispensed by portions" (*Estados*, 290: "… tanbién las que se comen en palacio commo las que se dan por raçiones").
[229] *Estados*, 289-291.
[230] Ibid., 291-292.

Thus, the most dangerous offices are those of the majordomo, chancellor, chamberlain, steward, and in some cases physician because they have the possibility to get into the lord's confidence and, second, to conceal certain things.

Speaking about the royal court in Pedro Lopez de Ayala's texts, it is important to underline two features. First, he speaks exclusively about the royal court, not the court of a noble man. Second, although he does not say it directly, the analysis of his chronicles demonstrates that all the positions, described by Don Juan Manuel as belonging to the bourgeoisie and merchants, at the Castilian court in the second half of the fourteenth century were given to very noble people. Thus, Lopez de Ayala himself held the office of great chancellor; the chamberlain and the "great chancellor of the royal seal" of Peter I was an uncle of his favorite Maria de Padilla, Juan Fernandez de Henestrosa, and so forth.[231] The same chronicle tells about the physician and accountant of Peter I, Alfonso Martinez de Orueña, also a nobleman judging from his name, brought up in the home of Master Pablo de Perosa, who was ordered by the king to poison his wife, Queen Blanche of Bourbon.[232] Here the theoretical description of Juan Manuel comes alive: the physician used his possibilities to do harm under the pretext of a cure and to conceal other's secrets (in this case the secret belonged to the king instead of being directed against him, as Don Juan Manuel warns).

[231] In the chronicle Lopez de Ayala describes a moment when the king learned about the death of Juan Fernandez: *Crónica de Pedro I*, 500 ("El Rey Don Pedro, desque estas nuevas sopo en Sevilla, dó estaba, como los suyos eran desbaratados, ovo grand pesar; ca **amaba mucho á Juan Ferrandez de Henestrosa**, **su Camarero mayor**, **é su Chanciller mayor del sello de la puridad**, é mucho su privado, é era tío de Doña María de Padilla, hermano de su madre").

[232] *Crónica de Pedro I*, 512 ("É el Rey mandó á un ome que decian **Alfonso Martinez de Orueña**, que era **criado** de Maestre Pablo de Perosa, **Fisico** é **Contador mayor del Rey**, que diese hierbas á la Reyna con que moriese").

In the poem, Lopez de Ayala also describes the ways court officials can harm the king.[233] They never leave the king alone; every moment someone wants him to solve his problem. In his palace there is no private place for the king. "They go with him to eat, all of them around, it seems that they have detained a malefactor there;" there is one who tries the food, and one who cuts it (*tajador*), and there is a great crowd of people (Lopez de Ayala exaggerates that there are three hundred), but the arbalester (*ballestero*)[234] cannot do anything with them. At his table there are physicians and chaplains, who continue preaching and discussing their problems. The king even can not eat properly. Moreover, before he has finished, a messenger comes with the sealed letters. The messenger is silent, but the news is that a town has rebelled. If Juan Manuel suggests the ruler to eat together with his people,[235] Lopez de Ayala describes it as a suffering of the king.

Then in the chamber the king speaks with the treasurer, who tells him that they do not have enough money to pay the soldiers; then come the knights and demand their salaries, because they can not maintain their people any more. Then the representatives of the *concejo* come and complain that they have been robbed. The author compares the king with an exhausted bull. And, as was already pointed out, even after death the king's will was not fulfilled.[236]

Lopez de Ayala's accent differs from that of Juan Manuel. Both of them point out the ways that officials can harm the king, but in Juan Manuel's description it is mainly by the poor execution of their duties; only a few of the officials can directly

[233] *Rimado*, 213, v. 477 ("Los rreyes e los prínçipes, maguer sean señores, / asaz pasan en el mundo de cuitas e dolores; / sufren cada día, de todos sus seruidores, / que los ponen en enojo, fasta que vienen sudores…").
[234] Troupes of arbalesters guarded the king under the chamberlain's command.
[235] *Estados*, 177.
[236] *Rimado*, 213-215, v. 477-491.

influence the king. Lopez de Ayala demonstrates how the people who surround the king try to influence him directly, to make him help them and solve their problems.

The fact that the straight functions of the officials of the royal household are not represented in Lopez de Ayala's poem is not accidental. The officials that appear in his chronicles are rarely shown fulfilling the essential duties of their offices. The chronicler is mostly interested in their functions and actions that are directly connected to a royal commission (when they either execute it or not). This fact is concerned with the genre of the vernacular royal chronicle itself; it appeared with the goal of propagandizing royal power,[237] starting in Castile with the program of Alfonso X. It determined the general orientation of the chronicles on the royal figure. Still, the fact that the figures of the royal officials were interesting for Lopez de Ayala as a chronicler and as a poet when they came into direct contact with the king is significant. It does not mean that the offices had completely lost their essential functions, but the position at the court in itself was understood as much more significant than fulfilling the essential functions. This significance consisted in the possibility of influencing royal decisions directly, to be present in the place where politics were going on. That is why Lopez de Ayala, compared to Juan Manuel, speaks exclusively about the royal court; for him the royal court was a place where the main political power of the whole kingdom was concentrated. Making a difference between the king and the rest of the lords, he made a difference between the royal court and other noble households.

[237] B. Gene, *Histoire et culture historique dans l'Occident medieval* (Paris: Aubier Montaigne, 1980), 352-356.

The royal council

The term *consejo real* (from Latin *consilium*)[238] designated the closest circle of the royal retinue: members of the royal family, magnates, and prelates (quite often masters of important orders) which formed a council with consultative functions, taking part in making important decisions. Its structure was formally determined only in 1386, by John I. Before that its membership and number of participants was not fixed and always changing, as the chronicles clearly witness (the chronicler often lists the participants in particular councils).[239] Both Don Juan Manuel and Pedro Lopez de Ayala discussed who should be members of the royal council.

Don Juan Manuel, in the words of King Morabán, says that the best number for members of the council is two or three persons, first, because otherwise he would be forced to invite many more people. This would happen because if he invited four or five people, all the rest who considered themselves to be of the similar status and position would be offended. If a lord invited all of them, he also had to invite those who would not be able to give any advice concerning the problem under discussion; moreover, it would be impossible to keep things secret, which is very important. Second, if two or three intelligent people can not resolve a problem, more people will not be able to, either. Third, many people taking part in a council say so many things that they can hardly understand and hear each other.[240]

[238] The term *consilium*, from Latin *consedere*, designated a circle of people of equal or commensurate status, without whose participation a particular decision could not be made, e.g. the community of the experts on law (*jurisprudentes*) of the judge, consulting him during a legal investigation and pronouning of the sentence. A new institution appeared in the time of August – the *consilium principis* -- the council consisted of the closest advisors to the emperor, presided over by himself. It is characteristic that in the time of Diocletian the term *concilium* was changed to the word *consistorium*, derived from the verb *constare*: it underlined the sacral nature of the emperor's figure, in whose presence it was strictly forbidden to sit (Corominas, Pascual, *Diccionario*, 2:177; J.F. Niermeyer, *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon* [Leiden: Brill, 1984], 235).
[239] E.g. *Crónica de Pedro I*, 487, 543-544, etc.
[240] *Estados*, 95-96.

Lopez de Ayala's opinion is the opposite. In the *Poem* it is stated that the council of "one or two or three" is dangerous even for the less important problems: "Where are many heads, there is more understanding," he says,[241] especially it refers to "great deeds."[242] Then he discourses on who should be present. The members should be free of flattery and cupidity; they should always guard a common good. There should be "prelates, knights, doctors, and erudite people, / good men from towns, that are very honorable."[243]

The important point is that specialists in particular problems should be invited to the council in case this problem is under discussion, but who does not understand the problem and is not experienced in it should not be present, because it may cause a great danger. At this point Lopez de Ayala refers directly to Seneca[244] and St Gregory the Great ("because the philosopher, with all his knowledge, / can not guide a ship, neither erect mast").[245]

Apparently, the question about the number of members of the council was quite relevant in the period. When John I fixed it in 1386, it consisted of twelve members, four of whom were usually lawyers. This corresponds with the Lopez de Ayala's idea, and could have been done under his influence, as far as he was an active member of John's court and one of his advisors. The fact of the existence of this argumentation in the poem may demonstrate that even after 1386 the problem was not finally solved, because most of the poem was written later, but not all of it, so it can not be stated definitely.

[241] *Rimado*, 176, v. 284 ("Do ha muchas cabeças, ha mas entendimiento").
[242] Giles of Rome also states the idea of a large council for important decisions (*Rimado*, 175, footnote of G. Orduna).
[243] *Rimado*, 176, v. 287 ("E sean con el rrey al consejo llegados, / **prelados**, **caballeros**, **doctores** e **letrados**, / **buenos omnes de villas**, que ay mucho onrrados, / e pues a todos tañe, todos sean llamados").
[244] As points G. Orduna, probably he did not read Seneca in the original and used some intermediaries (*Rimado*, 177, footnote of G. Orduna).
[245] *Rimado*, 176-177, v. 288-294.

The royal councilors

The idea of the private advice, given by a confidant in secret, is important for both authors. In case of Juan Manuel's *Book of Examples* it may be explained primarily by the composition itself (the dialog between the count and his advisor). As far as *The Book of Examples* is at the same time a kind of the "mirror of princes," each time Patronius gives the count advice concerning his behavior in a particular situation.[246] In the whole text, however, the idea of an advisor, a favorite who can speak with the lord "in confidence" (*in poridat*)[247] is very important. Thus, the first example tells about the way a king checked the faithfulness of his favorite. The reason to do so was that the other royal confidants defamed him because of their great envy.[248] The favorite was saved with the help of the advice of his captive, "very wise man and great philosopher." Later it becomes clear that the favorite was also the king's foster-child, and this was the reason for his confidence.[249]

Another example about bad advisors is very close to the passage of *The Poem of Palace Life*, when advisors inclined a young king to start a war. Lopez de Ayala

[246] *Enxiemplos*, 71 ("E pues el prólogo es acabado, de aquí adelante conençaré la manera del libro, en mantera de **un grand señor** que fablava con un su **consegero**. E dizían al señor, conde Lucanor, e al consegero, Patronio").
[247] E.g. Ibid., ex. 1, 74 ("Acaesçió una vez que el conde Lucanor estava fablando, *en su poridat* con Patronio, su consegero…").
[248] Ibid., ex. 1, 73-80 ("Señor - dixo Patronio -, un rey era que avía un privado en que fiava mucho. E porque non puede seer que los omnes que alguna buena andança an, que algunos otros non ayan envidia dellos, por la privança e bien andança que aquel su privado avía, otros privados daquel rey avían muy grant envidia e trabajávanse del buscar mal con el rey, su señor"). This formula is almost literally repeated in example 18 (*Enxiemplos*, ex. 18, 142: "E este don Pero Meléndez era consegero e muy privado del rey de León; e otros sus contrarios, por grand envidia quel ovieron, assacáronle muy grand falsedat e buscáronle tanto mal con el rey, que acordó de lo mandar matar"). The Leon king is used by Juan Manual, as in other cases, in order to make the example sound more "historical" and thus more real: the story originates from Talmud and appears in other medieval collections (*Enxiemplos*, 142-143, footnote of A. I. Sotelo).
[249] Ibid., ex. 1, 77 ("…que vien sabía él que el rey le avía criado e le avía serviera muy bien e muy derechamente, e que por estas razones, fiara en ´l más que en omne del mundo…")

explains in detail how the advisors can get rich if he follows their advice, and the corresponding episode from the *Chronicle of the King Don Peter I*, cited in the first chapter.[250] In the text of Juan Manuel, Patronius tells Count Lucanor:

> …these your advisors tell you this by chance, because they know that after you are involved in such a thing you will have to do what they want against your will, and that you will have to follow their will when you are in great need, as they follow yours now when you are at peace.[251]

Another case of the intrigues of bad advisors appears in the example of the bull and the lion – both symbolizing royalty. They were great friends and because of that and also because of their strength they subjugated all the other animals; the lion with the help of bull subdued all the predators, and the bull all herbivores. Inasmuch as it caused great harm to all the animals, they asked the fox and the ram, the closest confidants of the lion and the bull, to create hostility among them. They did not do it directly, but through other mediators. The fox (lion's favorite) told the bear that he suspected the bull of searching for a way to do him great harm, and the ram said the same to the horse. Then the bear and the horse communicated it to the royal animals, and "although the lion and the bull did not believe it at all, and even started to suspect that those who were the most honorable in their clans and in their troops said it to them in order to embroil them, but each one started to suspect something because of it."[252] They asked advice of their favorites, and they told them that although the bear and the horse had said it because of a trick, it would be better to beware of the other. It made the suspicions even greater. After that the animals started to demonstrate their

[250] *Rimado*, 219-220, v. 514-518 (v. 518: "Suma deste consejo e fin de las rrazones: / lieuan muchos dineros, arlotes e ladrones;") *Crónica de Pedro I*, 474 (the appropriate quotation was made in the second chapter of this thesis, 40).

[251] *Enxiempos*, ex. 4, 97 ("…ca por aventura estos vuestros consejeros vos lo dizen porque saben que desque en tal fecho vos ovieren metido, que por fuerça abredes a fazer lo que ellos quisieren e que avredes a seguir su voluntad desque fuéredes en el grant mester, así commo siguen ellos la vuestra agora que estades en paz").

doubts in each other more openly. The fox and the ram, "as false advisors, looking for their own benefit and forgetting the loyalty that they owed to their lords, instead of dissuading them, deceived them."[253] As a result, the lion and the bull lost their great power.

At the same time, the position of the advisor may be dangerous and unstable. In another chapter Lucanor tells Patronius that in great problems a man can not advise anything for sure, and sometimes things that seemed to be bad turned out to be good and the other way round. When one gave a piece of advice, if he was loyal and had good intentions, if it turned out to be good, he did not get any other reward, but was told that he did his duty; if it did not result well the advisor always gathered harm and shame.[254]

Lopez de Ayala, although a royal advisor himself, points out only features and reasons of bad advisors. In his opinion advisors usually try to guess the will of the king and then give him exactly this advice in order to flatter him.[255] This is the main problem of kings and of the kingdom.[256] This may be directly connected with the

[252] Ibid., ex. 22, 161 ("E commo quier que el león e el toro non creyeron esto del todo, aún tomaron alguna sospecha que aquellos que eran los más onrados del su linaje e de su compaña, que gelo dizían por meter mal entrellos, pero con todo esso ya cayeron en alguna sospecha").
[253] Ibid., ex. 22, 161-162 ("E el raposo e el carnero, commo falsos consejeros, catando su pro e obligando la leltad que avían de tener a sus señores, en logar de los desengañar, engañároslos…").
[254] Ibid., ex. 12, 123 ("Señor conde Lucanor - dixo Patronio-, en los grandes fechos e muy dubdosos son muy perigrosos los consejos, ca en los más de los consejos non puede omne fablar çiertamente, ca non es omne seguro a que pueden recodir las cosas; ca muchas vezes viemos que cuida omne en una cosa e recude después a otra, ca lo que cuida omne que es mal, recude a las vegadas a bien, e lo que cuida omne que es vien, recude a las vegadas a mal; e por ende, el que a a dar consejo, si es omne leal e de buena entención, es en muy grand quexa quando ha de consegar, ca si el consejo que da recude a bien, non ha otras gracias sinon que dizen que fizo su debdo en dar buen consejo; e si el consejo a bien non recude, sienpre finca el consejero con daño e con vergüença").
[255] Cf. *Estados*, 96: "Turin, said the king, for two reasons in the council of few and of many [people], the lord should first listen to what others say: first, because when he has heard the others, he understands the advice better; another [reason] is that if the lord says first what his will is, the advisors by chance will want to follow it and will not dare to speak against it, and thus it may result in erroneous advice" ("Turín – dixo el rey –, por dos rezones, en los consejos de pocos o de muchos, deve el señor oír ante lo que los otros dizen: la una es porque desque oyó a los otros, major entiende lo que cunple en aquel consejo; la otra es [que] si el señor dize primeramente quál es su voluntad, por aventura los consejeros quererán ante seguir[la] et non se atreverán a decir contra ello, et así podría fincar el consejo errado").
[256] *Rimado*, 173, v. 272-283.

personal experience of Lopez de Ayala. In the *Chronicle of the King Don Juan I* an episode is described about Count Don Alonso, the brother of the king, who revolted and was captured. One councilor recommended passing the case into the hands of two royal judges (*alcaldes*) so that they would solve it "by the right and *fuero*[257] of Castile." The second advisor objected that the royal *alcaldes* might "commit a sin, striving to fulfill your will, if the count would not have any defender; and he would hardly find one, because everyone sees that you are inclined against him," and this issue might harm the image of the kingdom in the world. The councilor suggested putting the question to a discussion of the royal council.[258] This advisor was apparently Lopez de Ayala himself, judging from some turns of speech, like the expression *mal pecado*, literally "bad sins," that became a refrain in the *Poem*. Moreover, Pedro Lopez de Ayala only cites his own discourses at length.[259]

The councilor who gives a king improper advice because of cupidity will have at the end a very bad lot;[260] he should be "committed by the king to the devil." Other points where advice may be harmful, correspond with the narrations of Juan Manuel about court intrigues. These are anger and offence.[261] An advisor should always

[257] *Fuero* is a characteristic form of Spanish customary law, a municipal franchise, granted to a community by a king, magnate or bishop, which confirmed local status and privileges and included rights concerning taxation and self-government.

[258] *Crónica del Rey don Juan Primero*, in *Crónicas de los reyes de Castilla desde don Alfonso el Sabio hasta los Catolicos don Fernando y doña Isabel*, ed. C. Rossel, vol. 2 (Madrid: Academia Real Española, 1930), 94-96 (hereafter: *Crónica de Juan I*) ("E como quier, Señor, que esto Caballero de vuestro consejo aya bien dicho, que este fecho le mandeis ver á los vuestros Alcaldes que le libren por justicia, empero tal fecho como este del Conde Don Alfonso me paresce que non debe ser puesto asi en Alcaldes de la vuestra corte, ca há ome rescelo que, por aventura, teniendo que vos cumplen voluntad, pecasen en este fecho, si el Conde non toviese quien razonase por él; lo qual seria á él grave de fallar, desque viesen que vos avedes contra él mal talante. Otrosi, Señor, fuera deste Regno non seria bien contado, ca dirian que los vuestros Alcaldes non farán si non lo que vos les mandasedes é que por esto les aviades encomendado este fecho ... E, Señor, á mi parece, si la vuestra merced fuera, que vos en esta guisa debedes tener el fecho del Conde Don Alfonso de que demandastes consejo, é que en esto guardades justicia é vuestra fama").

[259] The *Chronicle of King John I* is very indicative because it represents a king as a kind of ideal monarch, listening to reasonable advice; Lopez de Ayala himself usually appears in the role of a wise advisor. Once, for example, he persuaded the king not to refuse the Castilian crown in favor of the Portuguese one, when the king was going to do that (*Crónica de Juan I*, 94-96).

[260] *Rimado*, 173, v. 274-275.

[261] Ibid., 175, v. 282.

incline a king to show mercy, because "charity is the most extolled quality in kings."[262] This may be connected with Peter I, "the Cruel," an unjust king in the structure of Lopez de Ayala.

The ideas of Pedro Lopez de Ayala and Don Juan Manuel concerning the royal council and councilors are quite similar. Both of them perceived the figures of royal advisors as essential in the government. At the same time, Juan Manuel pays much more attention to the concept of the "privacy" of the ruler, while Lopez de Ayala tends to understand the royal council as a more institutionalized organ. This shows a particular tendency in the development of the royal court, taking into consideration the reform of the royal council of Juan I. The council described by Juan Manuel is the council of a magnate, which solves his personal problems. The council in the poem of Lopez de Ayala is the royal council that deals with the problems of the realm.

Concerning the officials, in Lopez de Ayala's work their functions are important because of their personal relations to the king, while for Don Juan Manuel they are primarily executors of their particular functions. This can not be unambiguously interpreted as traces of the evolution of the court, because it proceeds from the aims of the writers: Don Juan Manuel describes the order of things as it should be, estates as they should be hold; Lopez de Ayala rather criticizes the actual picture as he sees it. Nevertheless, it demonstrates the existence of both images in the fourteenth century, which indicates that this period was a period of change. The image Don Juan Manuel, one of the most powerful lords of Castile himself, desired to keep, was not that evident to Pedro Lopez de Ayala, a man who had spent his life at the royal court, serving kings and not competing with them.

[262] Ibid., 174-175, v. 276-281.

The part that gave the title to the whole poem of Lopez de Ayala, *The Deeds of the Palace*,[263] tells about a poor knight who comes to the royal court to get his salary. He tries to meet the king himself, but it appears to be impossible. All the people he meets at the court, from the porters up to the royal advisor, seem to unite against him in order keep him from obtaining his money; on the contrary, with different ruses they relieve him of the rest. Almost from the first lines the knight says that he has been trying to get to the court for a long time, but now does not know how to behave.[264] This is another trace of changes happening with the court in that period. The royal court separated from the rest of the society and became much more a closed institution, quite different from the courts of the other great lords or magnates. Holding court offices started to be a very important sign of belonging to an elite society and people at the royal court started to realize it.

[263] In the Codex of the National Library of Madrid, ms. 4055 it is written on the margin where this part starts: "Here begin the deeds of palace" ("Aquí comiença de los fechos de palaçio," *Rimado*, 203, footnote of G. Orduna).
[264] *Rimado*, 204, v. 428 ("Grant tienpo ha que cuidava esta corte saber; / agora me pareçe que non sé que fazer…").

CONCLUSIONS

The three authors studied in the preceding chapters present images of the king and his court in many respects differently, but with a number of similar features.

Don Juan Manuel describes the king in terms of a "feudal pyramid". In his hierarchy the king is seen as being below the emperor and over all the other great lords, but appears to be much closer to the latter, because the emperor is compared to the pope, and both of them occupy a place much higher then all the rest of the people, like the sun and moon are situated above the earth.

The king is related to his possessions in the same way that any other lord relates to his. This is expressed already in the explanation of the origin of the word *rey* Don Juan Manuel connects it with the world *reino* ("realm"), in contrast to Lopez de Ayala, who explains the term r*ey* with the expression "to rule well." As any other lord should guard his honor and possessions in order to achieve eternal salvation, the king should guard God (that means to have a pious life), his honor, and his estate and achieve the posthumous fame. Thus, war appears to be an affair connected first of all with the private honor and possessions of the ruler, and in the case of the war with Moors, of his devotion, but not with the "common good," or the welfare of the people. The education of the prince is also connected mainly with the "manners and customs of his body and his estate," where both appear to have the same value.

The main function of a king, as well as any other lord, is to keep his possessions in order. Even though H. Grassotti describes the relations as presented by Don Juan Manuel as between the king and his subjects, it seems that he rather presents it in terms of the lord and vassals (for example, in the explanation of how a *natural* may break off his ties with the king). All this corresponds quite well the biographical data known about Don Juan Manuel. He declared war, broke off ties

with kings, arranged marriages between the members of royal families and his daughters, and so forth, feeling quite independent of their power. Thus, this picture can be understood not only as the reflection of his image of royalty, but also as means of propaganda that he used in order to preserve the state of things, where his position was almost equal to that of the king.

Pedro Lopez de Ayala presents quite a different image. He understands the position of the king as an office, given by God in order to govern people in peace and defend them from the mighty, including the great lords, above whom he stands. The main function of the king is to keep justice in the land, that is, to balance the relations between the subjects. Another function of the king is to strive for peace. Peace is understood as the highest good for the realm; war should be avoided as much as possible.

The problem of the unjust king is quite ambiguous. On the one hand, the bad ruler should be dismissed (as Peter I was dethroned by his brother with the support of Lopez de Ayala himself). On the other hand, the unjust ruler is a punishment for the sins of the people. This corresponds to the idea of the divine origin of the royal function, and exemplifies an image that Lopez de Ayala constructed. The wrongs commited by the king may also proceed from his youth (which Castile experienced more than once). In this case those who surround the king and enjoy his confidence are especially important.

If Don Juan Manuel describes the daily routine of the king, Lopez de Ayala is concerned with the means of representing royal power, like coins, seals, letters, ambassadors, the appearance of the towns and royal residences, and so forth, which is significant.

Unlike Don Juan Manuel, Pedro Lopez de Ayala passed almost all his life at the court, holding different offices. After going over the Trastamaras side he remained faithful to them until the end of his life. Being at the same time the royal chancellor and chronicler, he took part in constructing of the image of royal power, and this image can be found not only in chronicles, but in the *Poem* as well.

The third kind of the image of the king is represented by Santob de Carrión. The king appears there in several interpolations whose aim is to underline that the king, as well as God, should be excluded from the general relativist picture of the world, represented in *Glosses of Wisdom*. Here the image of the theocratic king is really elaborated. The king may overcome the law of nature by defending the weak and achieving harmony among his subjects, thus fulfilling the divine law. The image constructed by Santob is the closest to medieval concept of theocratic kingdoms, presenting in a way both the notion of a king as the "law incarnate," and *lex regia*. The idea of the "king's two bodies" appears in the dedication to Peter I, written soon after the death of his father. Although this image is regarded as having been imposed by the material needs of the poet, it corresponds to the Jewish tradition and also represents another image of the ruler that in any case existed in the royal environment in the second half of the fourteenth century.

Although institutionally the royal court was not yet structured and is represented by the sources quite vaguely, it existed as a community of people surrounding the king. For Don Juan Manuel this community does not differ from that surrounding any very noble person. Besides the members of the family, it consists of the different kinds of officials who fulfill their duties. Those of them whose offices are directly connected to the person of the lord or his estates may also become the king's advisors (such as the majordomo, chancellor, chamberlain, steward, and in

some cases, physician). In the representation of Lopez de Ayala the direct functions of officials do not play a major role even though these functions may very well have existed in the court described by the poet. The presence at the royal court makes a person part of that society which shares power by the fact of its closeness to the king and its possibility to influence him. Speaking of the court, Lopez de Ayala means particularly the *royal* court.

The role of the king's advisor and his knowledge as well as personal qualities were very important for both Don Juan Manuel and Pedro Lopez de Ayala. In case of Don Juan Manuel, the decisions made by the king apply to his personal affairs, mainly to the problems of his possession and his honor. The royal council does not differ from the personal consultations with the advisor, it is the best when it consists of two or three royal confidants.

For Pedro Lopez de Ayala this matter was much more complicated, because the questions that he thought should be discussed by the royal council as he sees it needs both representatives of the different estates, and professionals acquainted with the question to be discussed. In reality, John I, at whose court Lopez de Ayala occupied quite an important place, reformed the council in 1386 so that it began to consist of twelve members, including four lawyers.

It is risky to claim, based on these sources, that during the approximately sixty years that divide the creation of the texts, profound changes happened in the development of the royal court of Castile. Still, the existence of the differing views demonstrates that this period was that of profound change in the understanding not only the image and role of the king, but also the image and role of the people connected with power.

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