The King's Dashing Attire c. 1200

Alfonso II and Pedro II of the Crown of Aragón in the Liber Feudorum Maior and Liber Feudorum Ceritaniae

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From the second quarter of the 12th century, the Iberian Peninsula was a place of political combustion. With the founding of the Almohad Caliphate and the separations of the kingdoms of Castile and León and of Navarre and Aragón, the regions now known as Spain were in a moment of deep territorial change and adaptation. In the case of the Crown of Aragón, the testament of Alfonso I ‘the Battler’ (r. 1104–1134) had left the kingdom in an agitated state. This king deposited the Kingdom of Aragón in the hands of the monastic orders of the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem, the Templars, and Hospitallers. Amid this political turmoil, and after the political forces rejected the king’s last will, Ramiro, the deceased king’s brother was forced to leave his monastic life to marry and produce an heir. It was in 1136 that Princess Petronila of Aragón was born (died 1173), after which her father, known as Ramiro II ‘the Monk’ (r. 1134–1137), resumed to his monastic life. At that point, it was necessary to decide how to handle the difficult situation of the Crown of Aragón, which now only had a female heiress. In 1150, Petronila wedded Ramon Berenguer IV (1113/14–1162), Count of Barcelona. Petronila was indeed queen of Aragón, but she never acted as such, since Ramon assumed governance over these two territories, as a prince in Aragón and a count in Catalonia, until his death.¹

The Crown of Aragón was first unified with the Catalan counties under Alfonso II (r. 1164–1196), the son of the aforementioned Petronila and Ramon. The reign of Alfonso II ‘the Troubadour’ began after a consort period led by nobles and ecclesiastical figures, as the young prince had not been old enough to rule when his father died.² At the end of Alfonso’s reign, two manuscripts

1 For more about the period before the union of the Aragonese and Catalan territories, see: Antonio Ubieto Arteta, *Cómo se formó Aragón* (Zaragoza, 1982); Thomas N. Bisson, *Història de la Corona d'Aragó a l'Edat Mitjana* (Barcelona, 1988); José Angel Sesma Muñoz, *La Corona de Aragón* (Zaragoza, 2000).

2 Esteban Sarasa Sánchez, “Presentación,” in *Alfonso II Rey de Aragón, Conde de Barcelona y Marqués de Provenza. Documentos (1162–1196)*, ed. Isabel Casabón (Zaragoza, 1995), 1–6, esp. 4.

were created for the preservation of Aragonese judicial, financial, and political documentation, the *Liber Feudorum Maior* (hereafter *LFM*; c. 1195) and the *Liber Feudorum Ceritaniae* (hereafter *LFC*; c. 1200), both kept in the Archivo de la Corona de Aragón (hereafter ACA) in Barcelona. These judicial lay manuscripts shed light on what was a complex arrangement at the time, namely the unification of Aragón and Catalonia territorially and politically but not judicially, with the Crown of Aragón and the counties of Barcelona remaining independent in their judicial aspects.

Moreover, the manuscripts are among the few preserved judicial lay manuscripts with illuminations.³ This makes them an outstanding visual source for medieval royal courts and feudal ceremonies, because of their display of vestments, gestures, and social dynamics. At a stylistic level, two hands can be clearly differentiated in the illuminations of the *LFM*, hands that have recently been referred to as 'A' (more archaic in style) and 'B' (with a more 'advanced style').⁴ However, upon examining the vestments in the illuminations, it can be speculated that another 'hand' or 'style' was involved.⁵ Hand B was probably second to work on the manuscript, after and often over some of the more linear-style illuminations of hand A.⁶ Also attributable to Hand B are greatly detailed illuminations like folio 1r of the manuscript (Figure. 12.1), where King Alfonso II is seated in front of Ramón de Caldés, the jurist responsible for the compilation of the volume. A group of people stands behind the king as he converses with Caldés. This is likely the hand that created folios 78v (Figure. 12.2) and 93r (Figure. 12.7). For the other style, hand A's participation can be noticeable, who most likely worked on the manuscript before hand B. In the past, scholars have often referred to these depictions as 'archaic' in that they

3 Adam J. Kosto, "The *Liber feudorum maior* of the counts of Barcelona: the cartulary as an expression of power," *Journal of Medieval History* 27 (2001), 1–22, esp. 2.

4 Shannon L. Wearing, "The Death of the Patron: Agency, Style and the Making of the *Liber Feudorum Maior* of Barcelona," in *Romanesque Patrons and Processes*, eds. Jordi Camps, Manuel Castiñeiras, John McNeill, and Richard Plant (London, 2018), 327–336, esp. 330.

5 There are some elements that might point to a third hand or workshop, one closer to style B based on the slenderness of some of the figures and their facial features. See footnote 38. Overall, the manuscripts contain illuminations at four different stages of completion. For a chemical analysis of the miniatures and pigments, see: Georgios Magkanas, Héctor Bagán, and José Francisco García, "Estudio de las miniaturas y del texto del *Liber Feudorum Maior*" (December 2018). Available at: <http://www.culturaydeporte.gob.es/archivos-aca/dam/jcr:1e686429-6b7b-4db3-a7d3-86d77c2d7e5d/lfm-informe-ub-2018.pdf>. Accessed 2019 Apr 15.

6 Isabel Escandell Proust, "Una nueva aproximación al *Liber Feudorum Maior*," in *El arte español en épocas de transición*, coord. Comité Español de Historia del Arte (León, 1994), 91–104, esp. 95.

are standardized and schematic in comparison with the more naturalistic features present in the work of the so-called hand B.⁷

The illuminations of the *LFC* are, by contrast, stylistically more homogeneous. They show seated kings and counts in the context of feudal ceremony, with each action contained in a frame-like quadrangular window. In these illuminations, the modifications among the scenes are minor, giving the impression that they emerged from a more regular process of production.

1 Primary Clothing Pieces in the *LFM* and *LFC*

To analyse the decorative programmes of the two ACA manuscripts, it is necessary to first make a statement regarding the relevance of vestments and garments as communication tools that allowed beholders to recognize and categorize the represented figures.⁸ Even more than they are today, in the Middle Ages garments were a social spectacle and a way of differentiating one's rank. The lavish contents of royal treasuries demonstrate the attention and importance bestowed upon vestments in royal courts.⁹ By the 13th century, vestments became a far more distinguishing social factor compared to money itself, a shift attributable to expanding cities and related developments that allowed a growing bourgeoisie to accumulate wealth like never before.¹⁰ Amid these changes, 'fashion' became an ever-changing factor through which the traditional elites could distinguish themselves.¹¹

Between the 11th and the beginning of the 13th centuries, the European dress code experienced an unprecedented regularity, albeit under the undeniable persuasion of Byzantine dress and, on the Iberian Peninsula specifically, with the continued affect of Mozarabic vestments.¹² On the peninsula,

7 Wearing, "The Death of the Patron," p. 330. On folios 83v and 109r, for example, the work of both hands can be appreciated.

8 Here I use the terminology present in the primary sources, i.e. the Aragonese and Catalan words for each piece of clothing.

9 Juan Vicente García Marsilla, "El lujo cambiante. El vestido y la difusión de las modas en la Corona de Aragón (siglos XIII-XV)," *Anales de la Historia del Arte* 24 (2014), 227–244, esp. 233. For more from this author on the relevance of medieval costume, see: García Marsilla, "Fashion is not a whim. Messages and functions of clothing in the Middle ages," *Vínculos de Historia* 6 (2017), pp. 71–88.

10 García Marsilla, "El lujo cambiante," p. 234.

11 Ibid.

12 Carmen Bernis Madrazo, *Indumentaria medieval española* (Madrid, 1956), p. 15. For more on Islamic elements in medieval Christian vestments on the Iberian Peninsula, see: María

the most common attire for men in the Romanesque period was simplified to the *camisa*, an undergarment with form-fitting sleeves, over which a *gonela* (in Aragón; referred to as *saya* in Castile) or *pellizón* was worn, supplemented by a *capa* or *manto* (cape) as needed. The *gonela* was a short knee-length or slightly longer body piece with tight sleeves, the whole ornamented to a greater or lesser extent (Figure. 12.3). The term *gonela* was first specific to this piece, but with time it came to refer to others as well, ultimately becoming interchangeable with *brial*, referring to overgarments in general.¹³ These shifts in terminology have led to much confusion today.

A commonly used garment, present in the *LFM* but not the *LFC*, was the *pellizón*, also referred to in documents as *pellicia* (figures. 12.1, 12.2, 12.3, 12.7). It is a long, ankle-length garment, leaving only the feet visible, generally with wider sleeves than the *gonela*. In the *LFM*, kings and counts – i.e. persons of higher social position – are clad in the *pellizón*, while their subjects wear *gonelas*. A piece only present in the *LFC* is the *gonela amaetada* (Figure. 12.4a),¹⁴ a rather noteworthy vestment that consists of a *gonela* divided in two lengthwise, with a cape usually in the same pattern. Since there are no representations of kings in the *gonela amaetada*, it can be deduced that this was likely not a ceremonial piece but one worn only by noblemen.¹⁵ This might be attributable to the fact that the production of such patterned pieces was less expensive than that of solid-coloured garments.¹⁶

Regarding vestments worn by women in these two manuscripts, the range is more limited than that of their male counterparts, consisting of a long *pellizón*, which in the *LFM* covers the shoes as well in an unusual way that gives the women almost column-like figures. Married women are always represented with a veil covering their heads. Meanwhile, the future bride on folio 78v (Figure. 12.2) of the *LFM* has her head uncovered, leaving visible her long

Martínez, "Influencias islámicas en la indumentaria medieval española," *Estudios sobre patrimonio, cultura y ciencias medievales* 13–14 (2012), 187–222.

13 Bernis Madrazo, *Indumentaria medieval*, pp. 16, 20.

14 ACA, *Liber Feudorum Ceritaniae*, Cancillería Reg. 04, fol. 7v.

15 Carlos Miguel Polite Caverro, Alberto Carnicero Cáceres, Martín Alvira Cabrer, *Guía de indumentaria medieval masculina*, 2010, Available at: http://fidelisregi.com/Indumentaria_Medieval_Masculina_Nobles_en_los_reinos_hispanos_1170_1230.pdf, 25. Accessed 2019 Jan 12. For more on medieval fashion, see: Margaret Scott, *Medieval dress and fashion*, London, 2007; Rainer C. Schwinges, Regula Schirta, Klaus Oschema, *Fashion and clothing in late medieval Europe*, Basel, 2010; Phillip Steele, *A History of fashion and Costume. The medieval world*, Vol. 2. New York, 2005.

16 Raymond Van Uytven, "Showing off One's Rank in the Middle ages," in *Showing Status: Representations of Social Positions in the Late Middle Ages*, eds. Wim Blockmans, and Antheum Janse (Turnout, 1999), 19–34, esp. 33.

braid. This folio represents the marital arrangement between the viscount of Beziers and Count Gaufredo of Rousillon, in which the former gave his daughter Ermengarda in matrimony to the count.¹⁷

A significant piece worn by women and men alike in the manuscripts is the *pellote*, a sleeveless overgarment that covers only part of the shoulders and sides and the very front of the chest, falling over the hips. In the *LFC*, it is floor length (Figure. 12.4b), covering even the woman's shoes, but men also wore it as a knee-length piece, like the *pellote* of Fernando de la Cerda, preserved in the monastery of Las Huelgas, Burgos.¹⁸

Another clothing item worn by women and men was the three- or four-string cape, the *manto*, with a semi-circular cut and held over the shoulders by lacing the strings through buttonholes at the sides of the chest (figures. 12.2, 12.4a, b, 12.5a). This garment, besides being among the most embellished because of its visibility,¹⁹ allowed the wearer to adopt a particular gesture in social settings, namely holding the *manto* by the strings with one hand while conversing, hunting, or engaging in other activities.²⁰ This is a pose that was repeatedly represented in manuscripts in the late 12th and throughout the 13th centuries.

2 Garments, Royal Insignia, and Politics

Having considered the different types of vestments shown in the manuscripts, it is now possible to attend to the various intentions behind the portrayals of royal power in the *LFM* and *LFC*. In the level of care and detail with which the illuminations of the *LFM* were made, it is evident that the illuminators intended to clearly distinguish the ranks of the represented figures. Although it is often difficult to identify the specific fabrics depicted in these illuminations, silk garments can be differentiated by their patterning and by the use of costly colours such as red with gold and pearly trim,²¹ as on folios 1r or 93r (figures. 12.1, 12.7). In these cases, the outstanding detail with which such

17 *Liber Feudorum Maior*, cartulario real que se conserva en el Archivo de la Corona de Aragón 11, ed. Francesco Miquel Rosell (Barcelona, 1947), p. 269.

18 Patrimonio Nacional de España, Colecciones Reales, Textiles y Tapicería. Available at: <https://www.patrimonionacional.es/colecciones-reales/textiles-y-tapiceria/traje-de-saya-encordada-pellote-y-manto-de-don-fernando-de>. Accessed 2018 Nov 26.

19 Isidra Maranges i Prat, *La indumentària civil catalana, segles XIII-XV* (Barcelona, 1991), p. 17.

20 Bernis Madrazo, *Indumentaria medieval*, p. 22.

21 Margaret Scott, *Fashion in the Middle Ages* (Los Angeles, 2011), p. 13.

embellishments are illustrated in the manuscript allows the beholder to classify the power-wielding figures. Indeed, in the *LFM* social status is conveyed through the details of the vestments, with the silk *pellizón* being worn by the most powerful figures; an interesting exception is folio 78v (Figure. 12.2), where the bride and groom are the ones wearing the patterned gowns, while the parents of the bride wear plain *gonelas*.

However, it must be noted that the *LFC* does not always demonstrate consistency in these respects. Taking the examples of folios 22v and 64v (figures. 12.5a, 12.5b) of the *LFC*, it is apparent that the illuminators did not portray kings with the strict aim of exalting them. On folio 22v, Alfonso II is shown without any royal insignia while making an agreement with the viscount of Castrobono, Arnaldum, regarding the castles of Sancto Martino, Cheralt, and Miralles.²² On folios 64v (Figure. 12.6b) and 62r (Figure. 12.3), Alfonso II and Pedro II are easily recognizable by their crowns and their *gonelas*. The latter are not solid in colour but patterned with horizontal stripes, which could indicate their constitution of a more expensive material, as previously discussed concerning the representation of silk in manuscripts. On folio 64v (Figure. 12.5b), Pedro II wears a crown while Poncius de Verneto is establishing a fiefdom at the town of Ortolanes.²³ Meanwhile, on folio 62r (Figure. 12.3), a crowned Alfonso II concedes the fortresses of Volon and Anguils to Pere de Montesquieu.²⁴ On folio 25r (Figure. 12.6 a) of the *LFC*, Alfonso II is represented without a crown, while for the same document in the *LFM* he is represented with what seems to be a crown or a *coronet* (figures. 12.6a, 12.6b), making it easy to recognize him as the king.

It is notable that, in the *LFC*, the differences among individuals and their authority are not revealed through vestments, symbols, or gestures. The royal figures can only be identified in the two cases in which the kings are depicted with crowns (fols. 62r and 64v). Moreover, in the manuscript vestments are used as a unifying element. They do not differentiate the king from his subordinates but rather position all on the same level, with only the *tituli* distinguishing the king from any other nobleman depicted.

As scholars have asked, if both the *LFM* and the *LFC* were created under Alfonso II's initiative for the same purpose, namely in response to the need

²² *Liber Feudorum Maior*, ed. Miquel Rosell, II, p. 128.

²³ *Pedro el Católico, Rey de Aragón y Conde de Barcelona (1196–1213) Documentos, Testimonios y Memoria Histórica* I, ed. Martín Alvira Cabrer (Zaragoza, 2010), pp. 377–78. This document is also present in the *LFM*; see *Liber Feudorum Maior*, ed. Miquel Rosell, II, p. 284.

²⁴ *Pedro el Católico, Rey de Aragón y Conde de Barcelona* I, ed. Alvira Cabrer, pp. 254–55.

to organize the new royal chancellery,²⁵ what explains such differences in their approaches to representing royal figures? Some have argued that the *LFM* expresses a desire to display royal power, maybe even the king's own desire to claim royal authority over his Catalan, Aragonese, and Occitan subjects.²⁶ Indeed, in the illuminations of the *LFM* the idea of royal authority and command comes through in the clear differentiation between the king and his subjects, and this raises the question of how this manuscript was used. The answer may also explain the necessity for illuminations in the two manuscripts.²⁷

The necessity to compile written documents would seem obvious in the context of the restructuring of the chancellery of the Crown of Aragón after the union of the kingdom of Aragón and the Catalan counties. But the seemingly superfluous addition of images to the manuscripts prompts the question of who the target audience was and, relatedly, what other functions these manuscripts served besides the compilation of written information. It is possible that the manuscripts accompanied the king or his counsellors to political or judicial meetings, functioning also as a symbol of the improved chancellery and thus as a visual message regarding the efforts of Alfonso II and Pedro II to create a new, well-structured judicial chancellery for the Crown of Aragón.²⁸

The illuminations, since each is a figurative representation of the written document that it accompanies, could have assisted in easily locating a specific document, serving as a kind of marker for the most relevant items in the manuscript. This makes more sense in relation to the *LFC*, as it has fewer images and the kings Alfonso II and Pedro II are represented in the majority of them. The great number and frequency of figurative images in the *LFM* would make them less effective 'bookmarks.' Moreover, the nature of these images of counts and other noblemen, such as folio 83bis-r, is more historical than simply judicial. In this way, the *LFM* can be understood as a recollection of the history of the Crown of Aragón as much as a political and judicial tool.

25 See: Kosto, "The *Liber feudorum maior*," pp. 8–14; Lawrence J. McCrank, "A Medieval 'Information Age': Documentation and Archives in the Crown of Aragon," *Primary Sources & Original Works* 2/1–2 (1993), 19–102.

26 Kosto, "The *Liber Feudorum Maior*," pp. 15–16.

27 For a discussion of the possible uses of the *LFM*, see: Anscari M. Mundó, "El pacto de Cazorla del 1179 i el 'Liber feudroum maior'. Notes paleogràfiques i diplomàtiques," in *Jaime I y su época. X Congrés de la Corona d'Aragó, Zaragoza, 1976*, 3 vols (Zaragoza, 1979), 2:119–29; Lawrence J. McCrank, "Documenting Reconquest and Reform: The Growth of Archives in the Medieval Aragon," *The American Archivist* 56/2 (1993), 256–318; Kosto "The *Liber feudorum maior*," pp. 1–22.

28 McCrank, "Documenting Reconquest and Reform," 290.

In any case, it is safe to say that the audience for these images was extremely minimal. It is likely that only the king and his chancellors, along with noblemen who had pending judicial matters with the king and whose agreements were to be included in the codex, would have seen the illuminations. Yet, given the splendour of some of them, such as that on *LFM* folio 1r, it is plausible that the manuscript may have been put on display at some point, perhaps at a special event such as a court celebration, as a representation of the king's orderly chancellery.²⁹

3 Folio 93r of the *Liber Feudorum Maior*

After considering the vestments of both manuscripts as well as the questions of audience and use, we turn to folio 93r in the *LFM* (Figure. 12.7). Discovered later, in 1944, alongside other folios of the manuscript that had been reused on bindings in the *ACA*.³⁰ The folio depicts a circular form, at the centre of which two crowned figures are seated, each enclosed in an arch, on a structure made of several steps. The figure on the left has long grey hair that falls over his shoulders and a medium-length beard. In his left hand he holds a red sceptre, while he raises his right hand towards the figure next to him. He is seated atop a white structure that, when compared with the seat of the other figure, has an extra blue cushion. This other figure pulls on the three strings of a cape with the left hand; the right hand is raised, with the open palm facing upwards. Around them are seven pairs of men engaged in conversation, all dressed in either green or light-yellow *pellizones* and capes. It is impossible to know with certainty which document this image corresponded to, but several interpretations have been made. Ernest Martínez Ferrando issued a first take on the matter when he discovered that the parchment folios had been used on other volumes as a binding element.³¹ He suggested that folio 93r could be a representation of King Alfonso II and Queen Sancha of Castile surrounded by their court, maintaining that such a majestic image would only have

29 The comparison of the images of Alfonso II and Pedro II in the *LFM* and *LFC* to determine the meaning of the presence or absence of royal insignias is the subject of my current thesis research: 'Royal Epiphanies. The King's Body as Image and Its *Mise-en-scène* in the Crown of Aragón (1164–1291).' The project focuses on the ways kings were represented at different moments of their reigns and the ways their presence was 'framed' in the context of different ceremonies and events.

30 Ernest Martínez Ferrando, *Hallazgo de miniaturas románicas en el Archivo de la Corona de Aragón* (Barcelona, 1944), p. 8.

31 Martínez Ferrando, *Hallazgo de miniaturas románicas*.

been undertaken to depict a royal matrimony. Following Martínez Ferrando, Francisco Miquel Rosell argued in his transcription and study of the volumes that the two figures are Count Ramon Berenguer I and his spouse Almodis, depicted in the moment when she received her bridal dowry.³² His interpretation of the seven pairs around them was that these men are the feudal lords of the castles that the countess received as her dowry. His idea was based on a document describing this event, included in the *LFM* and dated between 1053 and 1071, the timeframe that corresponds to the duration of the marriage of Ramon Berenguer I and Almodis.³³

Nonetheless, the interpretation accepted by most scholars is that of Martínez Ferrando, namely that the two central figures are Alfonso II and his spouse Queen Sancha of Castile.³⁴ This identification is also based on the fact that the two figures are crowned and the figure opposite the king has feminine features in the body and face; moreover, the grey-haired figure resembles other depictions of Alfonso II in the *LFM*.³⁵

However, the vestments of the supposed Queen Sancha – when compared to other examples within the two manuscripts, along with further contemporary examples – are not consistent with those normally worn by a married woman, and they are even farther from the usual vestments of a reigning queen. First of all, the length of the overgarment, the *pellizón*, leaving the ankles and shins visible, is very unconventional. Indeed, married women and queens were never represented revealing their lower legs in any way; their vestments leave visible either only the tip of their shoes or not even their shoes at all, as can be seen on folio 15v of the *Tumbo Menor de Castilla*, in which Alfonso VIII of Castile and Leonor of Plantagenet are depicted, as well as in the earlier image of King Knut and Queen Emma on folio 6r of the *Liber Vitae*.³⁶

32 *Liber Feudorum Maior*, ed. Miquel Rosell, II, caption to illustration xv.

33 *Liber Feudorum Maior*, ed. Miquel Rosell, I, preface xiv. This identification is still standing, as evident in the publication that accompanied the celebration of the 700th anniversary of the Archivo de la Corona de Aragón: *Archivo de la Corona de Aragón: siete siglos* (Madrid, 2018), p. 28. As there are more than 70 documents that reference Almodis in the *LFM*, it is logical that she and Ramon Berenguer I, as powerful Catalan figures, would be represented in such an outstanding manner.

34 For the identification of Alfonso II and Queen Sancha, see, for example: Martínez Ferrando, *Hallazgo de miniaturas románicas*, pp. 4–33; Maria Eugenia Ibarburu Asurmendi, “Los cartularios reales del Archivo de la Corona de Aragón,” *Lambard: Estudis d'art medieval* 6 (1991–96), 197–213, esp. 201; Soledad de Silva y Verástegui, “El matrimonio real: sus representaciones en la miniatura hispana del siglo XII,” *Potestas* 13 (2018), 5–43.

35 Martínez Ferrando, *Hallazgo de miniaturas románicas*, p. 13.

36 Archivo Histórico Nacional de Madrid, *Tumbo menor de Castilla*, Códices. Sign. 1046 B, fol. 15r; *Liber Vitae* or *The Book of Life*, c. 1031. British Library, Stowe MS 944, fol. 6r.

Furthermore, when comparing the right figure of the couple on folio 93r, another factor worthy of note is that, in medieval Christendom, married women did not leave their heads and hair uncovered but rather wore a wimple, veil, or toque. Meanwhile, for adult unmarried women, the proper attire was to have their hair tied up in braids.³⁷ The portrayals of the Leonese queen Urraca I in the *Tumbo Menor de Castilla* and the seal of the French queen Elisabeth of Hainault are just two examples, among many from across Western Europe, in which queens are clad in floor-length vestments and headpieces covering their head, neck, and even shoulders.³⁸ Within the *LFM*, we find this on folio 78v (Figure. 12.2) and folio 83bis-r, where married women wear a veil that covers their heads and a *pellizón* that covers the entirety of their bodies. In fact, the shorter *pellizón* and the lack of a veil on folio 93r are not replicated for female figures elsewhere in either the *LFM* or the *LFC*. Even in the unfinished illumination of *LFC* folio 51v (Figure. 12.8), one can discern that the figure on the right is a woman, with the *pellizón* flowing all the way to her shoes and a veil covering her head and neck.

If the same comparison is made to the *LFM*, a compelling example is found in the image of the woman on folio 102 (Figure. 12.9). This folio, like folio 93r, was found in 1944 in the binding of another book. While it too lacks any text, it is clearly an image of a woman because of the long *pellizón* that covers even the figure's feet, hanging all the way to the ground. This suggests that the image was intended to illustrate a document that mentioned an unmarried woman, also given that her long hair is tied into a braid. The comparison of these two images is quite powerful, highlighting the fact that folio 102 shows one of the *LFM*'s few female figures who are seated with their feet completely covered.³⁹

Another effective comparison can be found on folio 11r (Figure. 12.10). One must bear in mind that this folio was never finished, so only the main shapes are visible. Nonetheless, the figure of Queen Petronila on the left is easily recognizable by her cream-coloured *pellizón* that goes all the way to the floor, covering her feet. This detail, despite the fact that the features of the hair and face are uncompleted, makes very clear that this figure represents a woman.

37 Diane Owen Hughes, "Las modas femeninas y su control," in *Historia de la Mujer en la Edad Media* 2, eds. Georges Duby, and Michelle Perrot (Madrid, 2000), 171–206, esp. 185.

38 Queen Urraca I in Archivo de la Catedral de Santiago de Compostela, *Tumbo A*, fol. 31; British Museum, Elisabeth of Hainault seal matrix, inv. no. 1970,0904.1.

39 The image on folio 102r is one that has triggered the idea of the participation of a third workshop in the illumination of the *LFM*. Closer to workshop B in form, there are still significant differences between the two in terms of the configuration of the bodies, the shape of the faces, and the less natural position of the bodies. This is evident, for instance, in the draperies of the woman's *pellizón* in the miniature on folio 102r.

On the other hand, when comparing the figure seated next to Alfonso II on folio 93r with the male figures depicted throughout the *LFM* the similarities are striking: the accentuated waist, which all the male figures have; the hair cut into an ear-length bob; and even the feminine facial features. Especially illuminating in this regard is the groom portrayed on the far right of folio 78v (Figure. 12.2), along with the group of young men standing behind Alfonso II on folio 1r (Figure. 12.1), among other examples, including folios 35r and 12r.⁴⁰

Based on these comparisons, it is reasonable to conclude that the person seated next to Alfonso II is not a woman but a man. He could be, in my view, the king's son, the future Pedro II 'the Catholic,' shown in the act of implementing his father's desires as continuator of rulership over the Crown of Aragón. We could be looking at an image of the transference of power and the designation of a future king, as construed in the Crown of Aragón: at the end of the 12th century, Aragonese kings adhered to succession by primogeniture and did not hold coronation ceremonies.⁴¹ In the miniature, both figures are wearing crowns, and indeed Aragonese kings had crowns and other regalia like sceptres or globes made for their own use.⁴² It is possible, then, that Pedro is represented here wearing one of these minor crowns while his father was still king.

Besides the vestments, there are other compelling details that support the interpretation of the two central figures of folio 93r being Alfonso II and Pedro II. The former has his palm facing upwards, symbolic of either a demand or an offering of continuation, as Françoise Garnier points out in her work on medieval gestures.⁴³ Specifically, this gesture was often used in the Middle Ages to signify a direction to be followed, which in this case referred to Pedro's rule as

40 The supposed image of Sancha is undoubtedly similar to the man standing on the right on folio 83bis-r in important elements like the *pellizón*, the hair, and the face.

41 Some of the main works of scholarship on the evolution of the ideology behind the coronations of the Aragonese kings are: Bonifacio Palacios Martín, "Imágenes y símbolos del poder real en la Corona de Aragón," in *El poder real de la Corona de Aragón: (siglos XIV-XVI)* 1 (Madrid, 1996), pp. 189–229; Carmen Orcástegui Gros, "La coronación de los reyes de Aragón. Evolución político-ideológica y ritual," in *Homenaje a Don Antonio Durán Gudiol* (Huesca, 1995), pp. 633–47. For the most recent work on this topic, see: Marta Serrano-Coll, "De Modo Qualiter Reges Aragonum Coronabuntur. Visual, Material and Textual Evidence during the Middle Ages" in *Royal Divine Coronation Iconography in the Medieval Euro-Mediterranean Area*, ed. Mirko Vagnoni, *Arts* 9/1 (2020), n. 25, 1–18. Available at: <https://www.mdpi.com/2076-0752/9/1/25>. Accessed 2020 May 20.

42 Andrés Giménez Soler, "Algunas coronas reales de Aragón (datos arqueológicos)," *Boletín Real de la Academia de las Buenas Letras de Barcelona* 2 (1903), 62–67, esp. 64.

43 Françoise Garnier, *Le langage de l'image au moyen âge. Signification et symbolique* (Paris, 1982), p. 172.

the next king. Moreover, this gesture conveyed one's receptivity to another's proposition or argumentation or to a contract.⁴⁴ Alfonso's son is depicted in a youthful manner, accepting his father's command with a lowered, open hand facing upwards.

Alfonso is poised with his feet, in pointed shoes, turned symmetrically outwards. This stable and balanced position was often used not only for figures of authority but also for wise or virtuous figures, such as Christ and the Virgin in majesty. While, Pedro's gesture of crossing the ankles is not quite as standardized, from the second half of the 12th century it was a frequent attribute of figures holding authority, whether temporal or spiritual. This posture, alongside other signs of authority, as Garnier observes, would make clear that the figure was powerful.⁴⁵

The practice of the ruler naming his successor is also evoked on folio 11r (Figure. 12.10). Here, Petronila, the mother of Alfonso II, is seated opposite her young son. She delegates the reign of Aragón to him, ratifying Ramon Berenguer IV's testament. She thus acts as both a legitimizing force and a transmitting apparatus, both for Ramon Berenguer IV and for Aragón; she makes her son *omne regnum Aragonis integriter*, which means giving him control over the Aragonese territories and people, along with all the rights accompanying reign.⁴⁶ Again here, though the image is unfinished, the figure of Alfonso is easily recognizable thanks to the vestments. Moreover, in the context of the manuscript itself, this illumination corresponds to the text on the same folio, which describes Petronila delegating the power invested in her to her son Alfonso. To contextualize the relationship between the transfer of imperial power and the role of women as transmitters of legitimacy, as well as the importance of the imperial family for dynastic promotion in general, we might look to the Byzantine Empire and especially the Palaeologus dynasty (1261–1453).⁴⁷ Therefore, in light of folio 11r, folio 93r may well be a representation of the type of *designatio potestas* that was performed by the kings of the Crown of Aragón until the beginning of the 13th century, when the coronation ceremony was adopted by most of them.

44 Garnier, *Le langage de l'image*, p. 174.

45 Garnier, *Le langage de l'image*, p. 229.

46 *Liber Feudorum Maior*, ed. Miquel Rosell, 1, p. 23. Also see: Serrano-Coll, *La imagen figurativa del rey de Aragón en la Edad Media*, Ph.D. thesis, Universitat Rovira i Virgili, 2005, pp. 312–13. This document is also preserved as an individual folio in ACA, Cancillería, Pergaminos, Alfonso I–II, Carpeta 42, 15 (ES.08019. ACA).

47 José María de Francisco Olmos, "Los inicios de la moneda dinástica en el Imperio Bizantino. La casa de Justino y los Heráclidas," *Documenta & Instrumenta* 7 (2009), 123–147, esp. 124.

Portrayals of father and son together in such a manner had a long tradition throughout the Middle Ages, many examples sharing common features with those of folio 93r. For instance, the ruling king was always depicted as an older figure and his heir as significantly younger. The father often had long hair and a beard, indicators of age and wisdom, as we find in art throughout medieval Europe, such as the representation of the *Historia Welforum* of Frederick Barbarossa and his sons. There, a bearded Frederick is seated between the crowned Henry (on his right) and his brother Frederick (on his left), both without beards.⁴⁸ Another example can be found in the Cartulary of Mont-Saint-Michel, in which Richard II commands his son, the future Richard III, to execute his will.⁴⁹ This tradition of father and son depictions was also certainly strong in the Byzantine Empire, especially in numismatics. Examples are the coins showing Romanos I Lekapenos (r. 920–944) with his eldest son Christopher Lekapenos (r. 921–931) or Basil II (r. 976–1025) with his brother, the future emperor Constantine VIII (r. 1025–1028). On these coins, the active ruler is always bearded; to his right, the young brother or son is always beardless and holds a cross from a lower position, accepting the emperor's authority. Together, they present an image of a consolidated succession to the throne.⁵⁰

Since by the time Alfonso II died, in 1196, Pedro II was only 18 years old, it is appropriate that he be represented in a youthful manner. As noted above, Alfonso II was never ceremonially crowned, nor were his predecessors, including his mother, Petronila. There was no need for them to be crowned or anointed in a ceremony, as their royal power did not need to be 'secured' by the Church. Folio 93r represents not a crowning ceremony but a designation of future power, a *designatio maiestas*, in the act of naming Pedro II the successor of Alfonso II.⁵¹

48 Hessische Landesbibliothek, *Historia Welforum*, c. 1185–95, Fulda, Cod. D. 11, fol. 14r.

49 Avranches, bibl. Mun, *Cartulary of Mont-Saint-Michel*, third quarter of the 12th century, ms. 210, fol. 19v. Published in: Françoise Garnier, *Le langage de l'image au moyen âge. Grammaires des gestes* (Paris, 1989), p. 396.

50 On the Basil I and Constantine VIII coin, see: Phillip Grierson, *Byzantine Coinage* (Washington D.C., 1999), p. 10. On the Romanos I Lekapenos and Christopher Lekapenos coin, see: Philip Grierson, *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittemore Collection. Leo III to Nicephoros III, 717–1081* (Washington, D.C., 1973), 544–47, plate XXXVI, 5.1, 5.2, 6.1–6.3, 7.1–7.20.

51 On the idea of lineage and royalty under the Crown of Aragón, see: Stefano Maria Cingolani, "Seguir les vestígies dels antecessors. Linatge, reialesa i historiografia a Catalunya des de Ramon Berenguer IV a Pere II (1131–1285)," *Anuario de estudios medievales* 36/1 (2006), 201–40.

4 Throne of Solomon

There is another element of the miniature that points towards an interpretation of its central figures as Alfonso II and Pedro II. The two figures are seated atop a pedestal-like structure that has six steps, corresponding to the description of the Throne of Solomon in the Old Testament. The iconography of Solomon and his throne circulated primarily in the Mediterranean region, being employed by Byzantine and Muslim sovereigns as a means of graciously representing a ruler.⁵² It was in the 13th century that the usage of this iconography and its relationship to royalty saw a mayor development. Solomon's figure was mainly used by medieval kings to link themselves to the idea of wisdom, thus forging a connection between royalty and *sapientia*.⁵³ In biblical tradition, as recorded in the Book of Kings, kings who sought an association with Solomon did so to be regarded as kings who governed their people with wisdom and who differentiated between good and evil rather than focusing on earthly riches.⁵⁴ In the *LFM*, the visual association of Alfonso II and Pedro II with the Israelite king could have been driven by a keen ambition to compare themselves – as the first two Aragonese kings to rule over Aragón and the counties of Barcelona – to the righteous king of Jerusalem Solomon. The harmonious and righteous event that was Solomon's succession to the throne, as described in the Old Testament,⁵⁵ was reason enough for the kings to eagerly emulate him in a manuscript such as this.⁵⁶

A compelling fact about Solomon's throne is that, of all the features that have been attached to it throughout centuries, only the six-stepped pedestal is truly based on the biblical text; other details, like the series of lions sometimes mentioned, appear solely in rabbinic commentaries.⁵⁷ This is why allegorical representations of Solomon's throne are much more common than attempts

52 Allegra Iafate, *The Wandering Throne of Solomon, Objects and Tales of Kingship in the Medieval Mediterranean* (Leiden, 2015), p. 215.

53 Francis Wormald, "The Throne of Solomon and St. Edward's Chair," in *De artibus opuscula XL essays in honor of Erwin Panofsky*, ed. Millard Meiss (New York, 1961), 532–539, esp. 537. On the usage of the allegory of the Throne of Solomon in connection to secular rulers, see esp. 537–539.

54 Book of Kings 3:9–13.

55 Joseph Verheyden, "Introduction," in *The Figure of Solomon in Jewish, Christians and Islamic Tradition. King, Sage and Architect*, ed. Joseph Verheyden (Leiden, 2013), 1–6, esp. 1.

56 For more about how the Crown of Aragón and counties of Barcelona changed in their politics as a result of their union under Alfonso II, see: José María Lacarra y de Miguel, "Alfonso II el Casto, rey de Aragón y conde de Barcelona," in *VII Congreso de Historia de la Corona de Aragón*, 3 vols (Zaragoza, 1963–64), 1:95–120.

57 Iafate, *The Wandering Throne*, p. 5.

to actually depict the throne.⁵⁸ Nonetheless, the Solomonic throne deeply penetrated the imagery of medieval kingship, not purely artistically but more as a visual aspect of a deeper political concern. More as an ideal of kingship that served the needs of rulers across the Mediterranean.⁵⁹ The sapiential royalty evoked by Alfonso II, on folio 93r of the *LFM*, is bolstered by the decoration of the king's *pellizón* with red half-moons and dark-yellow suns. Indeed, this may be a direct reference to Solomon and his knowledge of astrological matters, portrayed in the Book of Wisdom:

For in his hand are both we and our words; all wisdom also, and
knowledge of workmanship.
For he hath given me certain knowledge of the things that are, namely,
to know how the world was made, and the operation of the elements.
The beginning, ending, and midst of the times: the alterations of the
turning of the sun, and the change of seasons.
The circuits of years, and the positions of stars.
The natures of living creatures, and the furies of wild beasts: the
violence of winds, and the reasonings of men: the diversities of plants
and the virtues of roots.
And all such things as are either secret or manifest, them I know.⁶⁰

Like his biblical precedent, Solomon, Alfonso II was a representative of courtly knowledge and of the celestial bodies, as well as of the wisdom that these bring to the person who ponders over them.

5 Activities at Court

The seven paired figures that surround the central couple have been regarded as the lords of the castles received by Almodis in her bridal dowry or, when the couple is interpreted as Alfonso II and Queen Sancha, as members of the royal court.⁶¹ These 14 figures are a very intriguing element that can be understood, within the premise of this paper, as representing a performance of disputations. Disputation was a medieval cultural and pedagogical practice, deeply

⁵⁸ Wormald, "The Throne of Solomon," 535.

⁵⁹ Iafrate, *The Wandering Throne*, p. 7.

⁶⁰ Book of Knowledge of Solomon 7:16–21.

⁶¹ *Liber Feudorum Maior*, ed. Miquel Rosell, I, prefacio, XIV; Ibarburu Asurmendi, "Los car-
tularios reales," p. 201.

rooted in ancient Aristotelian dialectical arguments, that sought “intellectual fertility”⁶² in a verbal exchange between two people, one of whom made propositions and the other responses, in accordance with an established set of rules.⁶³

A related possibility is that the couples are shown engaged in the so-called *jeu parti*. This consisted of a lyrical composition, made of six strophes, in which a troubadour announces a problem and proposes two solutions, one of which his “opponent” would take up in a sung argumentation in an attempt to persuade a judge.⁶⁴ Similarly, the seven couples in the image may be immersed in a *tenso* (called *debat* in the north of the Peninsula) a practice, emerging in the South of France between 1125 and 1150, in which every participant defends an opinion or fact.⁶⁵ This type of dispute became the educational method of choice as the attention to dialectic began to develop in the 12th century.⁶⁶

Regardless of the precise activity depicted, these pairs of people represent the interest that Alfonso II had in lyrical interactions and courtly performances of knowledge and the arts. Indeed, his surname ‘the Troubadour’ is indicative of his interest in forming a well-cultivated court. He became a protector and promoter of troubadours, and this drove his court to reach a refinement never before seen in Aragón and perpetuated by Pedro II.⁶⁷

Adding to this reading concerning the evocation of knowledge and wisdom is the fact that the two royal figures, along with their court of 14, are situated inside a sphere outlined in yellow. This geometrical shape is a visualization of unity, including in knowledge and learning.⁶⁸ In the context of the *LFM*,

62 Mishtooni Bose, “The Issue of Theological Style in Late Medieval Disputations,” in *Medieval Forms of Argument. Disputation and Debate*, eds. Georgiana Donavin, Carol Poster, and Richard Uts (Eugene, Oregon, 2002), 1–22, esp. 4–5.

63 Tomas Ekenberg, “Order in Obligational Disputations,” in *Medieval Forms of Argument*, eds. Donavin et al., 23–40, esp. 23.

64 Joseph W. Mason, *Melodic Exchange and musical violence in the thirteenth century jeu-parti*, Ph.D. thesis, University of Oxford, 2018, p. ii.

65 Alicia Yllera, “Rutebeuf y la tradición del debate medieval,” *Estudios románicos* 5 (1987–89), p. 1493.

66 Yllera, “Rutebeuf y la tradición,” 1493–1503, esp. 1494.

67 Isabel de Riquer, “Presencia trovadoresca en la Corona de Aragón,” *CSIC* 26/2 (1996), 933–966, esp. 934. For more on the development of troubadours as courtly entertainment, see: Manuel Alejandro Rodríguez de la Peña, “Mecenas, trovadores, bibliófilos y cronistas: los reyes de Aragón del *Casal de Barcelona* y la sabiduría (1162–1410),” *Revista Chilena de Estudios medievales* 2 (2012), 81–120; Carlos Alvar Ezquerro, “Política y poesía: la corte de Alfonso VIII,” *Mot so razo* 1 (2002), 56–61; Miguel de Riquer, “El trovador Giraut de Luc y sus poesías contra Alfonso II de Aragón,” *Boletín de la Real Academia de las Buenas Letras de Barcelona* 23 (1950), 209–48.

68 Manuel Lima, *The Book of Circles. Visualizing Spheres of Knowledge* (New York, 2017), p. 35.

amongst documentary records that helped 'shape' the kingdom into the culture centre that it was, this image of the harmonious unity of the Crown of Aragón is particularly powerful.

6 Conclusions

When King Alfonso II began his reign, the need for a well-organized chancellery became pressing. The *LFM* and, a few years later, the *LFC* are results of that necessity. The illumination of the manuscripts exemplifies the use of vestments in medieval society to express rank and social status. The various images of Alfonso II and Pedro II in the *LFM* and *LFC* clearly indicate how vestments were used to portray ideas of rank equality or differentiation between the kings of the Crown of Aragón and the Catalan, Aragonense, and Occitan subjects.

Folio 93r of the *LFM*, probably the most interesting image of the entire manuscript and certainly one of the most monumental, has been studied as a whole, with its details being somehow overlooked for over 70 years. Through considering the details of the vestments in the miniature, a number of compelling interpretive possibilities arise: the mode of dress, along with the physical features, of the figure seated next to Alfonso II indicate that the figure is a man. This is confirmed by comparing the figure with other men portrayed in the *LFM*. The manner in which the central figures are interacting with each other betrays a message of command and acceptance, a transmittal of power from a king to his heir.

This action takes place atop a structure that is strikingly similar to the Throne of Solomon, as described in the Old Testament. This throne, specifically set on six steps, became in the Mediterranean context symbolic of the wisdom and righteousness of the person seated on it – a righteousness and wisdom that, as the originators of a new dynasty, Alfonso II and his son Pedro II were eager to be associated with. Folio 93r depicts a ruling king, Alfonso II, who sought to consolidate the dominion that his father, Count Ramon Berenguer IV, had won by marriage; it depicts Alfonso's desire to continue this control through the succession of Pedro II.

The miniature has a multi-layered significance with respect to Alfonso II and his son Pedro II, as it represents how they wished to be perceived not only as individual kings but also as a dynasty. With the two figures seated, one old and one young, it encapsulates the idea of continuity, of royal heritage, atop the steps of the throne of the wise king Solomon. It is a representation of the well-cultured, wisdom-oriented royal court that surrounded and shaped Alfonso and later Pedro, with the seven pairs of men shown in discussion.

Folio 93r of the *LFM* is, therefore, a visual insignia of the power of two kings and their desire for their courts to be characterized by wisdom and power, a Solomonic *sedes sapientiae*.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Professor Michele Bacci and Professor Marta Serrano-Coll for their wise comments and guidance throughout the research and writing process. My thanks also to Dr Kayoko Ichikawa and Richard J. Burrows for their support.

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Illustrations

FIGURE 12.1 Alfonso II in the *LFM*, ACA, Cancillería Reg. 01, fol. 01r (detail)

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FIGURE 12.2 Male and female vestments in the *LMF*, ACA, Cancillería Reg. 01, fol. 78v (detail)
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FIGURE 12.3 Alfonso II in the *LFC*, ACA, Cancillería, Reg. 04, fol. 62r (detail)
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FIGURE 12.4 a) *Gonela amaetada*. LFC, ACA, Cancillería Reg. 04, fol. 7v (detail) (left); b) *Pellote* worn by a woman. LFC, ACA, Cancillería Reg. 04, fol. 60r (detail) (right)
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FIGURE 12.5 a) Alfonso II in the LFC, ACA, Cancillería Reg. 04, fol. 22v (detail) (left); b) Pedro II in the LFC, ACA, Cancillería Reg. 04, fol. 64v (detail) (right)
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FIGURE 12.6 a) Alfonso II in the *LFC*, ACA, Cancillería Reg. 04, fol. 25r (detail) (left);
 b) Alfonso II in the *LFM*, ACA, Cancillería Reg. 01, fol. 69r (detail) (right)
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FIGURE 12.7 *LFM*, ACA Cancillería Reg. 01, fol. 93r
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FIGURE 12.8 Comparison between
folios 93r (left) and
102r (right) of the *LFM*,
ACA, Cancillería Reg. 01
(details)
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FIGURE 12.9 *LFC, ACA, Cancillería Reg. 04, fol. 51v (detail)*
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FIGURE 12.10 LFM, ACA Cancillería Reg. 01, fol. 11r (detail)
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