

## The Royal Presence of Pedro IV (r. 1336-87) in Contemporary Textual and Iconographic Sources

Pedro IV, an energetic and strong-willed man, was born on 5 September 1319 in Balaguer, a fortress that, at the time, still retained part of its eleventh-century Islamic structure. Nothing foreshadowed that he would ascend to the throne of Aragon: he was a second son, and in any case the kingdom was to go to his uncle Jaime, the first son of Jaime II (r. 1291-1327). However, his uncle's renunciation of the throne meant that Pedro's father, Alfonso, count of Urgell, became king. Pedro records in his chronicle that, as a sign of the new primogeniture, Alfonso 'ordered his sons who were there to kiss the hand of the infante Alfonso, our father, and this was done' and that 'royal arms, which came from Barcelona, were placed on him'.<sup>1</sup> The death of his elder brother shortly afterwards made Pedro the legitimate successor.

Jerónimo Zurita summed up Pedro's complex personality as follows:

Insofar as this prince was of a weaker and more delicate constitution, so too was he more ardent in spirit and possessed of incredible sharpness and liveliness, and great vigour and execution in everything he undertook. He approached any endeavour with spirit and courage and was strangely ambitious and haughty and very ceremonious in preserving royal authority and pre-eminence.<sup>2</sup>

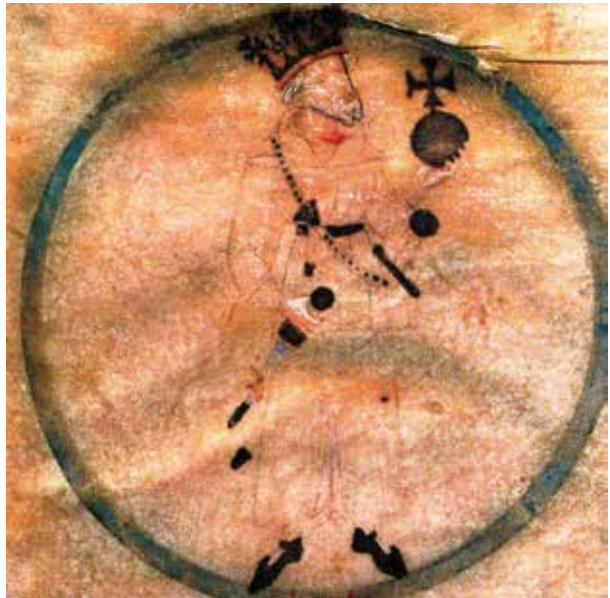
He was nicknamed 'the Ceremonious' because he sought to give due magnificence to the institution he represented as well as to his palatial surroundings, which he organized with great care, as is attested by lavish versions of the Coronation Ceremonial and the exquisite *Ordinacions* of his house and court. The continual references to that which 'corresponds to royal majesty' or 'in accordance with what corresponds to our greatness'<sup>3</sup> reveal his preoccupation with presenting himself with the required decorum and grandeur. This concern extended to his texts, which at his insistence were reviewed to ensure that they were written with 'beautiful rhetoric and good Latin'.<sup>4</sup> It was also evident in his oratory, whether in parliament or in the *Libre en què es contenen tots els grans fets qui són entrevenguts en nostra Casa, dins lo temps de la nostra vida* (Book

1 Pedro IV, *Crònica*, ed. by Ferran Soldevila, *Les quatre grans Cròniques*, 4 (Barcelona: Selecta 2014), chap. 1, par. 6.

2 Zurita Jerónimo, *Anales de Aragón*, ed. by Ángel Canellas, *Anales de la Corona de Aragón*, 4 (Zaragoza: Institución Fernando el Católico 1978), book 10, chap. 39. All translations are my own, unless otherwise noted.

3 As he so often says in his *Ordinacions*.

4 *Ordinacions de la Casa i Cort de Pere el Cerimoniós*, ed. by Francisco M. Gimeno, Daniel Gonzalbo and Josep Trenchs, *Fonts històriques valencianes* 39 (Valencia, Publicacions de la Universitat de València, 2009), chap. 'De l'offici del prothonotari tinent los segells', p. 123.



◆ Fig. 1

Pedro IV, detail from the *Roille genealògic de Poblet*, ca. 1410. Poblet, Monastery of Santa Maria (Photo: © Monasterio de Santa Maria de Poblet).

Containing All the Great Deeds That Have Happened in Our House during Our Lifetime), also known as the *Crònica del rei Pere*, the latter being an account of his reign written in words ‘that come from the innermost recesses of our heart’.<sup>5</sup>

### *Some Notes on the King's Countenance*

Pedro was born two months premature and was so weak and feeble that, as he would note in his chronicle, in his own handwriting, ‘neither the midwives nor those who attended our birth thought that we would live’.<sup>6</sup> He was baptised in the chamber where he was born and turned out to be an impertinent and surly child, once having gone through no fewer than seven governesses in a single twelve-month period. His childhood was complicated by the death of his mother, Teresa of Entenza, when he was eight years old and by his father’s second marriage to Eleanor of Castile in 1329. The new queen was solely concerned with endowing her children with important, semiautonomous possessions, thus generating conflicts and hostilities between the young Pedro and his half-brothers, all of which led him to suspect that his stepmother wanted to poison him.<sup>7</sup> This atmosphere full of confrontations forged his rigid and merciless character; many passages of the chronicle show his irascible nature, such as when he slaps his daughter Juana for defending her husband or when he orders (or perhaps not) his half-brother Fernando to be murdered. In another exemplary episode, involving the Union of

5 For the quotation see Pedro IV, *Crònica*, chap. 2, par. 24. For more on the intellectual and material authorship of his courtly propositions, also observed in his chronicle, see: Francesc Gimeno, ‘Escribir, leer y reinar. La experiencia gráfico-textual de Pedro IV el Ceremonioso (1336-1387)’, *Scrittura e Civiltà*, 22 (1998), 119-233; Suzanne F. Cawsey, *Kingship and Propaganda: Royal Eloquence and the Crown of*

*Aragon c. 1200-1450* (Oxford, Oxford Historical Monographs, 2002).

6 Francesc Gimeno, ‘Escribir, leer y reinar’, chap. 1, par. 40, p. 72.

7 For more on family tensions, see: Jocelyn H. Hillgarth, ‘La personalitat política i cultural de Pere III a través de la seva crònica’, *Lengua & Literatura*, 5 (1992-1993), 7-102 (pp. 8-13).

Aragon, he wounds his hand with his dagger, leading to his second nickname, the *punyalet* (the one with the dagger). This would come to characterize his iconography, for example, in the *Rotlle de Poblet*, which dates from around 1409 during the reign of his son Martin I (Fig. 1).<sup>8</sup>

We do not know what kind of education Pedro received during his adolescence, which was not free of illness, but we can assume, given the literary, legal, and artistic interests he demonstrated throughout his life, that it was profound and systematic. As king, he reorganized the royal chancellery, insisting that its head be an archbishop or bishop with a doctorate in law, and he promoted literature and authors such as March, d'Averçó, and Eiximenis.<sup>9</sup> His chronicle, the writing of which he supervised in a documented and efficient manner, is a crucial source. It was based on the records of the *Escribania del Racional*, compiled before 1380, and the *Crónica de San Juan de la Peña*, which was written in Catalan, Aragonese, and Latin.<sup>10</sup>

His nicknames indicate his authoritarianism and hot temper, along with his punctilious, formal, and solemn character, perhaps the result of the difficulties he faced in assuming the crown. Aware of the value of gestures and images, and 'despite the fact that God has not made us large in body', he used everything in his power to increase the visibility of the institution of the monarchy from the moment of his coronation.<sup>11</sup> It is illustrative that, in his *Ordinacions de la casa reial*, he stresses how important it is that chapels be bedecked 'with paintings and such things' that could be seen and understood by those who lacked the 'sciences of letters'.<sup>12</sup> Settings, apparatuses, and images were significant for the king. In the more restricted sphere, he wanted 'woollen cloths with stories that might serve us when we are at the table and that can be placed behind us on the walls' or 'at the head of our bed'. Because of their beauty and other qualities, he had these tapestries equipped with curtains, with which he could cover the images without inconvenience on the most solemn days or as needed.<sup>13</sup> His intention was that the tapestries should project the image of a pious king, conscious of his duty to fight against the infidels, and should liken the conquests in the Holy Land to his own on the Iberian Peninsula, thus justifying the expansion of the Crown.<sup>14</sup> Every six years, at Christmas, a new bed was to be made for his chamber, 'with cloth of gold and velvet or other rich silk fabrics, and a coverlet' complemented by five cushions of identical type, fabric, and colour, along with woollen carpets

8 Facsimile edition in: Francisco Gimeno and Amadeo Serra, 'Representar la dinastía: el manuscrito genealógico del monasterio de Poblet', in *Genealogia dels Comtes de Barcelona i Reis d'Aragó* (Valencia, Patrimoni edicions, 1997). Dated by: Josefina Planas, *El esplendor del gòtic catalán. La miniatura a comienzos del siglo XV* (Lleida, Universitat de Lleida, 1998), p. 192. Details in: Marta Serrano-Coll, *Effigies Regis Aragonum. La imagen figurativa del rey de Aragón en la Edad Media* (Zaragoza, Institución Fernando el Católico, 2015).

9 *Ordinacions*, chap. 50, 'Del canceller', p. 119.

10 For the dating of the *Escribania del Racional*, see: Jocelyn H. Hillgarth, *Pere III of Catalonia (Pedro IV of Aragon), Chronicle* (Toronto, Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1980), p. 125, n. 2.

11 Ricard Albert and Joan Gassion, *Parlaments a les Corts catalanes* (Barcelona, Barcino, 1928), pp. 24-25.

12 For the quotations see *Ordinacions*, chap. 101, 'De la ordinació de la cappella', p. 205. The reasons for this reorganization can be found in: Alexandra Beauchamp, 'Ordonnances et réformes de l'hôtel royal au début du règne de Pierre IV d'Aragon', *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, 39/2 (2009), 555-73.

13 *Ibidem*, chap. 81, 'De les vestedures e altres ornaments', p. 165.

14 Thomas Lüttenberg, 'Le tissu comme aura. Les fonctions des tentures à la cour d'Aragon et à Barcelone (XIVe-XVe siècles)', *Persée. Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Moyen Age*, 111/1 (1999), 373-92. His son Martin would take advantage of this series of legitimizing dyes by requesting a satin cloth depicting the siege and capture of Catania, in which he played a leading role: Antoni Rubió, *Documents per a la història de la cultura catalana mig-eva* (Barcelona, Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 1908), doc. 479.



◆ Fig. 2

*Ceremonial de consagraci3n y coronaci3n de los reyes de Arag3n*, 2nd ½ XIV century. Madrid, Fundaci3n L3zaro Galdiano, MS. 37.6, fols 19r and 35v (Photo: © Fundaci3n L3zaro Galdiano, Madrid).

in matching tones and of comparable workmanship. At Whitsuntide, a new bed was to be constructed for the council chamber, again with ornamentation and the royal arms.<sup>15</sup>

He considered it essential to take care of his appearance and thus regulated the trades of those who tended to his person, for example his barber, who was required to comb his hair only with the appropriate instruments.<sup>16</sup> Aware that human frailty meant that bodily health was not everlasting, he appointed two doctors 'instructed and tested in medicine or physics, who would diligently attend to the preservation of our health' and forbade them, except under 'special licence', from publicly disclosing any illness.<sup>17</sup>

### *The Physical Presence of the King according to the Surviving Records*

#### CEREMONIAL PRECEDENTS: CORONATION LITURGIES

*The Coronation of Alfonso IV* When Pedro was eight years old, in April 1328, he attended his father's coronation, a fascinating event that he described in his chronicle as 'more honourable than that of any of his predecessors'.<sup>18</sup> It is revealing that, even in a European courtly context in which monarchical exaltation was the norm, the new king understood this ceremony to be

15 *Ordinacions*, chap. 81, 'De les vestedures e altres ornamentals', p. 166.

16 *Ordinacions*, chap. 32, 'Del barber', p. 96.

17 *Ordinacions*, chap. 51, 'Del vicecanceller', p. 122; chap. 33, 'Dels meges de física', pp. 97–98. On his obsession with health: Amada López de Meneses, *Documentos acerca de la peste negra en los dominios de*

*la Corona de Arag3n*, (Zaragoza, Heraldo de Arag3n, 1956), doc. 16, (pp. 304–05); Lluís Puig and Lluís-la Puig, 'El rei Pere III «el Cerimoni3s» i la medicina', *Actes del III Congrés d'Hist3ria de la Medicina Catalana*, 3 (1981), 211–20.

18 Pedro IV, *Cr3nica*, chap. 1, par. 43.

'merely' an act of pomp and magnificence that made visible the extraordinary honour of his sovereignty; indeed, he had already reached the 'apex of royal dignity' upon the death of his father.<sup>19</sup> Moreover, by choosing Easter Day, Alfonso IV established a parallel between, on the one hand, the death and resurrection of Christ and, on the other, the death of his father, Jaime II, and the public resurrection of royalty in his own person.<sup>20</sup>

The sumptuous clothing Alfonso wore at the coronation was highly expressive and recalled that of a deacon, with an alb, a dalmatic, a stole crossed over the shoulder and back, and a maniple.<sup>21</sup> In reality, this resemblance reflected the monarchy's struggle for sovereignty from a pontifical theocracy that promoted the fiction that it was the pope who, through his bishop, conferred the kingdom with the bestowal of the crown. In this regard, it is no coincidence that it was Alfonso IV who introduced the most significant gestural and visual change: by taking the crown from the altar and placing it on his own head, he demonstrated his status as the sole sovereign power. He would do the same with the rest of the insignia. The officiant, Don Juan, archbishop of Toledo and brother of the sovereign, merely blessed the crown, although once it had been placed on the king's head he set about adjusting it, together with his brothers. In no previous ceremony had the bishop been substituted by the king in the act of crowning; soon afterwards, in 1332, the gesture was imitated in Castile by Alfonso XI.<sup>22</sup>

The solemnity of the liturgy also impressed Muntaner, who described the lavish parade, the procession, and the insignia of gold, pearls, and precious stones.<sup>23</sup> In addition, he gave an account of the great banquet that followed the proceedings, where the infante Pedro recited a *serventes* he had himself composed about the allegorical interpretation of the insignia. Already at such a young age, the man who would surprisingly become king already showed his predilection for solemnities, their formulas, and their instrumental protocols.

*Pedro's Own Coronations* Pedro was well aware of the propagandistic potential of staging a coronation ceremony replete with gestures and symbols of power. He sought to follow his father's example and be crowned in the cathedral of Zaragoza, on Easter Sunday 1336, with the dalmatic and the trousseau that belonged to he who was to take the crown:<sup>24</sup> the verb used by himself *prendre coronació* (to take the coronation) is transitive, unlike *ser coronat* (to be crowned),

19 Bonifacio Palacios, *La coronación de los reyes de Aragón. 1204-1410. Aportación al estudio de las estructuras políticas medievales* (Valencia, Anubar, 1975), p. 207, n. 9.

20 Ramon Muntaner, *Crònica*, ed. by Ferran Soldevila, *Les quatre grans Cròniques* (Barcelona, Selecta, 1983), chap. 294.

21 Muntaner, *Crònica*, chap. 297.

22 Recent study in: Olga Pérez, 'Ceremonias regias en la Castilla Medieval. A propósito del llamado Libro de la Coronación de los Reyes de Castilla y Aragón', *Archivo Español de Arte*, 83/332 (2010), 317-34.

23 Muntaner, *Crònica*, chap. 297.

24 Pedro IV, *Crònica*, chap. 2, par. 9.

which implies a passive attitude on the part of the king. His youth, at only sixteen years old, did not prevent him from showing his courage when the bishop Pedro López de Luna insisted on placing the crown on his head, leading to an argument in the sacristy that delayed the ceremony. He wanted instead to imitate his father's gesture. Recognizing by then that the exercise of power required symbolic practices, he did not hesitate to demonstrate the authority that would come to characterize him and his independence from the Church. Deceiving the prelate, when the time came he crowned himself, telling him 'not to adjust or touch our crown, that we would do it for ourselves'.<sup>25</sup> Mindful of what it meant for the king to be exalted before his subjects, he gathered up the insignia and prevented anyone from touching them while the bishop pronounced ceremonial words that were completely incongruent with the king's actions.<sup>26</sup> As in his father's coronation, the sacred character of the king was emphasized by his clothing, in particular the stole he wore, in which he appeared 'like an evangelist'. With it, Pedro IV demonstrated his longed-for *sacerdotium*: during his reign, we witness a political theology that would become, through the visual manifestation of the monarch as *rex et sacerdos*, one of the most spectacular achievements in the sensory universe.<sup>27</sup>

Pedro had an *ordo* of the ceremony drawn up to regulate and consolidate each phase of the coronation, thus also reinforcing the potency of his act of self-coronation before the audience and separating, as he saw it, the two parts of the ceremony – the spiritual, with the archbishop's anointment, and the temporal, involving only the king as he picked up the insignia from the altar.<sup>28</sup> Three versions were made of these coronation prescriptions, *De la manera como los Reyes de Aragon se faran consagrar e ellos mismos se coronaran*. Two of them feature miniatures depicting the moment when the king takes the crown from the altar (Fig. 2).<sup>29</sup> These illuminations, along with those defining the liturgy for the queen's crowning by the king, are exceptional in medieval art.<sup>30</sup>

After being applauded by his vassals inside the church, Pedro processed away with a 'very beautiful' golden sceptre and an orb, riding a horse guided by long silver chains.<sup>31</sup> His retinue was arranged in hierarchical order, giving rise to certain complaints that Pedro IV, displaying both the authoritative and accommodating facets of his disposition, defused by reorganizing everything. A select few carried his weapons, key among them the sword, which he would value so much during his reign, and the royal arms.<sup>32</sup> The rooms of the Aljafería were curtained with

25 Pedro IV, *Crònica*, par. 12.

26 Palacios, *La coronación*, p. 245, n. 32. In the second draft of the ceremony, and its copies, the words were changed to match what happened.

27 Marta Serrano-Coll, 'Rex et Sacerdos. A veiled ideal of kingship? Representing priestly kings in Medieval Iberia', in *Political Theology in Medieval and Early Modern Europe. Discourses, Rites and Representations*, ed. by Montserrat Herrero, Jaume Aurell and Angela C. Micheli (Turnhout, Brepols, 2017), pp. 337–62. The king requested to be buried with the same insignia that was used in his coronation: Ricardo Del Arco, *Sepulcros de la Casa Real de Aragón* (Madrid, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1945), p. 532.

28 Jaume Aurell and Marta Serrano-Coll, 'The Self-coronation of Peter the Ceremonious (1336): Historical, Liturgical and Iconographical Representations', *Speculum. A Journal of Medieval Studies*, 89/1 (2014), 66–95.

29 Copies from the Fundación Lázaro Galdiano, Madrid (Ms Reg. 14425) and the National Library of France (Paris, BNF, ms. esp. 99). The copy kept by the March Foundation (Ms Phillips 2633) has similar miniatures representing the queen's coronation, but those representing the coronation of the king are different in that he appears kneeling and receiving the crown from the metropolitan.

30 Aurell and Serrano-Coll, 'The Self-Coronation'.

31 Pedro IV, *Crònica*, chap. 2, par. 13.

32 For the sword see Marta Serrano-Coll, 'Art to seal memory. Coronation ceremonies and the sword as symbol of power: Aragon, 1200–1400', in *Memory in the Middle Ages. Approaches from Southwestern Europe*, ed. by Flocel Sabaté (Amsterdam, ARC Humanities Press, 2020), pp. 229–52.

rich cloths of gold, silk, and other materials, and special arrangements were ordered. Whereas in the first version of his chronicle he mentions that these other arrangements, in addition to the customary formalities, 'had been ordered', in the last version he explicitly states, solemnly and formally, that 'we had others made', meaning that it was he who actually ordered them.<sup>33</sup>

Pedro had another coronation ceremony in Mallorca in May 1344, which he described in detail. He was attired in *sede Maiestatis*, that is, with a Roman shirt of fine green silk embroidered with foliate motifs and a dalmatic of red cloth, with foliate patterns in gold and lacking pearls or other ornamentation. Made of the same red cloth was a stole with a girdle, a maniple, and tights. He wore a gold crown featuring precious stones and pearls; in his right hand, he held a golden sceptre topped with a ruby, and in his left a golden orb topped by a cross with pearls and precious stones. He wore a ribbon on which a sword was represented and covered entirely with pearls and precious stones. With this splendid attire and having been crowned king, he sat before the altar and, looking towards the people, said in a voice loud enough to be heard, that he praised and thanked God and the Virgin for favouring justice, a speech that established his right to the Mallorcan crown.<sup>34</sup> He left the cathedral accompanied by barons and other men, who carried a canopy of gold cloth, under which the king rode on a beautiful horse, its saddle covered in gold and pearls. He rode alone, with crown, sceptre, orb, and sword, following the same route that the ordinary processions of the see would follow until the end of the nineteenth century.<sup>35</sup> Wherever the monarch was scheduled to pass by, everything was curtained, palisaded, and covered with cloths of gold, silk, and other fabrics. And 'women and other people of the city' dressed up for the occasion.<sup>36</sup>

#### PRESENCE DURING THE MINISTERIUM REGIS

The king sought to provide his court with regulations that would guarantee institutional decorum with a level of dignity comparable to that of the most important monarchies, and this desire was embodied, as has been said, in the drafting of the *Ordinacions*, the original manuscript of which was drawn up and promulgated in 1344 and to which was added, in 1353, the aforementioned amendment on coronations. There were precedents, but the similarities between this text and the Mallorcan *Leges palatinae* are most evident.<sup>37</sup> By order of the king, several copies of the *Ordinacions* were made, some of them being subsequently repaired due to deterioration, another indication of his concern with keeping the palace and its contents organized.<sup>38</sup> His

33 For 'we had others made' see Pedro IV, *Crònica*, chap. 2, par. 14, p. 98, n. 272.

34 Pedro IV, *Crònica*, chap. 3, par. 47.

35 Pablo Piferrer and José María Quadrado, *España. Sus monumentos y artes. Su naturaleza e historia. Islas Baleares* (Barcelona, Daniel cortezo y Cia., 1888), p. 174, n. a.

36 Pedro IV, *Crònica*, chap. 3, par. 48.

37 The organization of his chancellery was a crystallization of the practices in use in the time of Jaime II according to: Heinrich Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, 1 (Berlin and Leipzig, Walter Rothschild,

1908), 30-47, and 2 (Berlin and Leipzig, 1922), 16-25; Francisco Sevillano, 'Apuntes para el estudio de la cancellería de Pedro IV el Ceremonioso', *Anuario de Historia del Derecho Español*, 20 (1950), 137-41 (p. 139). On the comparison to the Mallorcan *Leges palatinae* see Olivetta Schena, *Leggi palatine di Pietro IV d'Aragona* (Cagliari, Torre Cagliari, 1983).

38 Rubió, *Documents*, 1, docs. 179-180, 349, 350; 2, docs. 107, 124, 280, 304.

awareness of the importance of ritual and pomp can be seen in one of the first manuscripts, the pages of which are annotated in his own hand, where it is already clear that his material and spiritual well-being stood in harmony with his dignity.<sup>39</sup> Consequently, he often modified the manuscript, innovating old instructions and adding observations to better reflect his status.<sup>40</sup>

His clothing was regulated and inventoried. In the *Llibre de notaments*, the *escriban de ració* lists 'all jewels, gold and silk cloths, and other similar things, swords, gold and silver crockery, and all other jewels and objects that, by his office, he keeps and guards'.<sup>41</sup> Each night, the king decided what he would wear the next day, including his jewels, which had to be carefully maintained and stored.<sup>42</sup> The description of them in his chronicle is brief, but he articulated their importance by noting that 'the beauty and composition of a person's attire shows the condition of that person' and that only those who demonstrated their dignity should wear 'precious clothes'.<sup>43</sup> For this reason he employed a tailor, assisted by two young men and a good seamstress, for his shirts and other cut pieces, such as bed linens and other more intimate garments, which had to be cleaned secretly.<sup>44</sup> The *Llibre de notaments* established the festivities for which new clothes were to be provided and with what kind of lining, ordering the making of cloaks for Christmas, Epiphany, Resurrection, and Pentecost, when 'the king usually dresses himself in his most splendid attire'. On Good Friday, he was to dress in unlined, 'almost dark cloth', and the following day this garment was donated to a poor person.<sup>45</sup>

*The Royal Council* The Royal Council consisted of trustworthy, wise, and loyal advisors. They were nobles, barons, and solemn officials of the kingdom, joined by a prelate or master of theology and a doctor of decrees who provided ethical guidance, ensuring that the king's actions and justifications were not only good but also legally correct.<sup>46</sup> On rare occasions, Pedro IV recalled that he was alone in making decisions, that the council did not know how to advise him, that there were dissenting voices, or that its members reproached him for acting too severely.<sup>47</sup> He ordered that 'on the right side of my body' there should be counts, barons, and other noblemen, and to his left prelates and other clerics, in order that does not conform with many of the miniatures of the period, such as those in the *Tercer Llibre Verd*, although it does match the one at the frontispiece of his *Ordinacions* (Fig. 3). Moreover, the text establishes if they should be seated, should stand, or should move towards him when addressing him, depending on their status.<sup>48</sup>

According to the records, the courts were held in a range of locations and even sometimes in private settings, such as the 'white chamber of the royal palace of Valencia', whose name describes how its walls were decorated, or 'our chamber in the palace of Barcelona', where, on

39 For the annotations by his own hand see Gimeno, Gonzalbo and Trenchs, *Ordinacions*.

40 Gimeno, Gonzalbo and Trenchs, *Ordinacions*, preface.

41 *Ordinacions*, chap. 75, 'De l'escriban de ració', p. 156.

42 *Ordinacions*, chap. 'Dels escuders de la cambra', p. 93.

43 *Ordinacions*, chap. 38, 'Del Sastre e sos coadjutors', p. 103.

44 *Ordinacions*, chap. 39, 'De la custurera e de la coadjutora', p. 104.

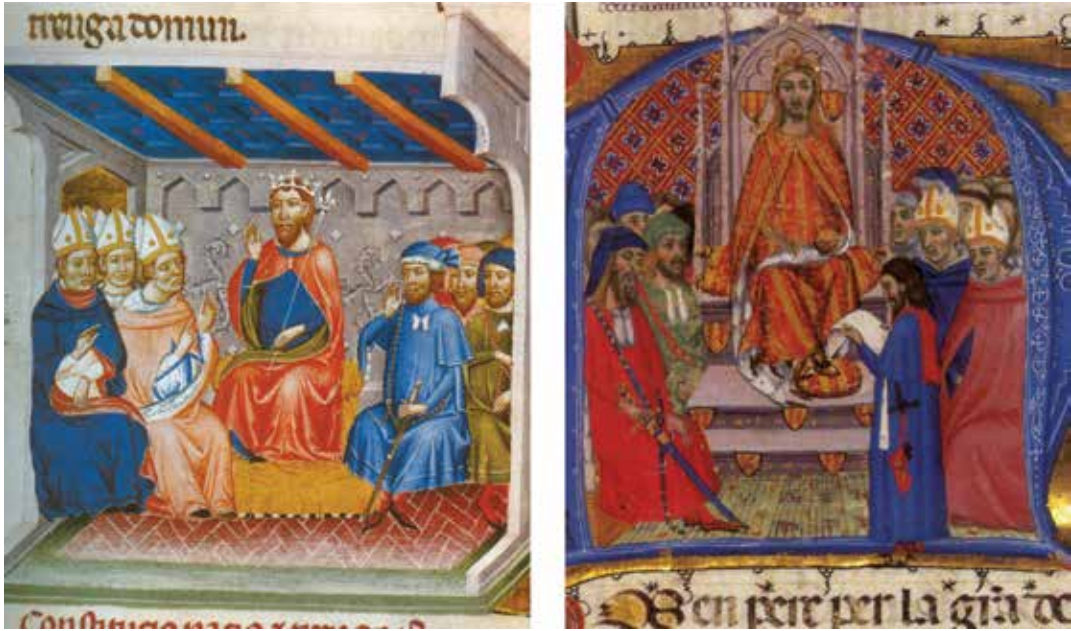
45 *Ordinacions*, chap. 81, 'De les vestedures e altres ornaments', pp. 165-66.

46 For nobles, barons, etc. see Pedro IV, *Crònica*, chap. 3, par. 51; chap. 23, par. 13. For the others, see *Ordinacions*, chap. 'Dels endreçadors de consciència', pp. 131-32.

47 Pedro IV, *Crònica*, chap. 3, par. 66; chap. 4, par. 40.

48 *Ordinacions*, chap. 89, 'De la manera de seer e proposar en consell nostre', p. 175. Jaume Sobrequès, Sebastià Riera, Manuel Rovira, Tomàs de Montagut and Joaquín Yarza, *Llibre Verd de Barcelona* (Barcelona, Base, 2004), which contains a study of his miniatures by Joaquín Yarza.





◆ Fig. 3

Jaime I, from the *Tercer Llibre Verd*, ca. 1348. Barcelona, Arxiu Històric de la Ciutat de Barcelona, MS. 1G-12, fol. 21r (Photo: © Arxiu Històric de la Ciutat de Barcelona).

Pedro IV, from *Ordinacions de Cort*, ca. 1370-1380. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS. Esp. 99, fol. 129r (Photo: © Bibliothèque Nationale de France).

difficult occasions, each councillor gave his advice in secret. His chamber was to be suitably decorated with beautiful curtains and draperies as well as provided with sufficient water, candles for lighting, spices and confectioneries to eat, and weapons 'for the dangers that may sometimes [...] occur'.<sup>49</sup> The Minor Royal Palace had, on the ground floor, a Council Room, where domestic and representative spaces converged in a manner that was by no means exceptional.<sup>50</sup> The room was embellished with chests, cushions, and furniture of all kinds, along with paintings, wall cloths, and tapestries that had been acquired by the king.<sup>51</sup> Another well-known example of such a space is the *Saló del Tinell*, a ceremonial area built by Pedro IV to replace the previous *aula maior*.<sup>52</sup>

49 Pedro IV, *Crònica*, chap. 5, par. 17. Perhaps called white chamber because it was plastered or decorated with plaster. There were white chambers, the epicentre of the king's residence, in the minor royal palace of Barcelona, in Perpignan and in Lleida: Francesca Español, 'El palau reial menor de Barcelona: usos i espais representatius. La Sala dels cavalls', *Lambard. Estudis d'Art Medieval*, 28 (2020), 57-82 (p. 72). Among other royal residences: Francesca Español, *Els escenaris del rei* (Barcelona, Angle, 2001); Francesca Español, *Palau reial menor*, pp. 57-82; Pedro IV, *Crònica*, chap. 3, par. 182. Concerning dangers, *Ordinacions*, chap. 'Dels ajudants de la cambra', p. 95.

50 Daniel Cid, 'La restauració del desaparegut Palau Reial Menor de Barcelona a través del Llibre d'Obra. El cas de la Sala Major (1376-1378)', *Acta Historica et Archaeologica Medievalia*, 18 (1997), 397-425.

51 Marçal Olivari, *Els tapissos francesos del rei En Pere el Cerimoniós* (Barcelona, Artur Ramon i Manuel Barbié, 1986).

52 Josep M. Madurell, 'Las antiguas dependencias del Palacio Real Mayor de Barcelona', *Analecta Sacra Tarraconensis*, 14 (1941), 142-48; Anna M. Adroer, 'El palau de la reina Elionor: un monument desaparegut', *Lambard. Estudis d'Art Medieval*, 6 (1994), 247-64 (pp. 33-34).

*Courts and Public Parliaments* Meetings of the court and public parliaments were also held in various places, although it is significant that Pedro IV specified the church of San Salvador, where his coronation had taken place, for the courts called by the Union, a party that wished to limit his powers.<sup>53</sup> The monarch himself describes the proceedings, in which he was seated on the throne, adorned in gold cloths. It was customary to read from the Gospel, and the attendees were distributed on benches at the doors of the choir, except for the ecclesiastical authorities, who were located on a bench near the altar.<sup>54</sup> The king made his proposal, which was rooted in political theology. This may seem to run counter to his laicization of the coronation ceremony by taking up the insignia himself; however, he understood these proposals as an instrument of propaganda demonstrating the divine sanction of his royal status via the aforementioned binomial *rex et sacerdos*.<sup>55</sup> He showed himself to be familiar with sacred letters, erudite and sententious, with the capacity to argue with subtlety, seeking effects and striving to convince and move his audience, as a preacher on his throne.<sup>56</sup> Nor is it by chance that he held a session in the house of the preachers, at which he forbade the attendees to come *guarnits* (equipped) and ordered the deeds and processes of the Union burned and his seal – which depicted an enthroned king and, below, the people imploring him for justice with their hands raised – smashed and broken. Afterwards, he returned to the church and, ‘from the place where it is customary to preach’, spoke to the people, before returning to his throne ‘to reason in an orderly fashion’.<sup>57</sup>

He never chose his spaces arbitrarily. When justifying his warlike actions against the judge of Arborea in Sardinia, for instance, he addressed the people of Barcelona in the square of Santa Maria del Mar, where one of the foundation stones commemorating the beginning of the church’s construction in 1329 refers to the conquest of that island by his father, Alfonso IV.<sup>58</sup> Aware of the value of the place, the king noted that he entered the large square and went up to a platform on which barons, knights, and other officials of the royal household were also seated. He was ‘dressed in our royal robes and with our crown on our head. And here we gave the sermon to all our people in the city, who were assembled’.<sup>59</sup> He told them about the rebellion and betrayal and, along with ‘other ancient deeds that are worthy of remembrance’, used terms from the holy scriptures to describe himself as a ‘good shepherd’ before announcing the imminent campaign.<sup>60</sup> He almost certainly did this while enthroned on a *solium* decorated with gold and velvet cloths and cushions featuring his royal arms; he insisted on these being available for times when ‘we must speak to the people on some matter, or they must come into our presence’.<sup>61</sup>

53 Xavier Barral, ‘El marc monumental de celebració de les corts a l’edat mitjana’, in *Les Corts a Catalunya: actes del Congrés d’Història Institucional* (Barcelona, Generalitat de Catalunya, 1991), pp. 407–11.

54 Pedro IV, *Crònica*, chap. 4, par. 23.

55 Serrano-Coll, ‘Rex et Sacerdos’.

56 Antoni Rubió, ‘Algunes consideracions sobre la oratoria política de Catalunya en l’Edat Mitjana’, *Estudis Universitaris Catalans*, 3 (1909), 213–24 (p. 219).

57 Zurita, *Anales*, book 8, chap. 7. Words of the king in Pedro IV, *Crònica*, chap. 4, par. 27; chap. 4, pars. 49–50.

58 Josep Bracons, ‘Santa Maria del Mar’, in *L’Art Gòtic a Catalunya. Arquitectura II*, ed. by Antoni Pladevall (Barcelona, Enciclopèdia Catalana, 2003), pp. 72–88.

59 Pedro IV, *Crònica*, chap. 5, par. 43.

60 Pedro IV, *Crònica*, chap. 5, par. 43.

61 *Ordinacions*, chap. 81, ‘De les vestedures e altres ornaments’, p. 167.

*Scenes of Tribute and the Administration of Justice* The texts also refer to ceremonies of homage to the king, in which he sometimes took part personally. The homage that the king of Mallorca paid him is illustrative: although Pedro IV had already prepared the *Saló del Tinell*, he accepted the Mallorcan's request not to hold the event publicly; instead, it was held in the chapel of Santa Ágata, in the Royal Palace.<sup>62</sup> The king gave plenty of thought to the setting, having cushions placed that were 'of a larger shape and nobler than the rest'. However, Pedro IV refused to place one of these for his guest, even when the latter asked him for one. The Mallorcan remained standing 'for a long time' until Pedro finally agreed to give him a cushion, 'although not one of larger ones, but one of the others in our chamber'.<sup>63</sup> As will be seen, this was not the only time that the two came into conflict over matters of protocol.

These acts of homage could take place in unexpected locations, as was the case in Porto Pí. The king, who was at the church of San Nicolás, interrupted his lunch to go out onto the porch, sit on a stone bench, and receive 'homage and the oath of loyalty' from the Mallorcans.<sup>64</sup> Such events also occurred in the tents in which the king resided during campaigns, as at Elna, where 'all the people, men and women [...] came to kiss our feet and hands'.<sup>65</sup>

On one occasion, it was the king who had to pay homage on account of his fiefdoms in Corsica and Sardinia. He was received in Avignon by the pope, whom he met 'on his throne and in his pontifical vestments [...], and we bowed to him, that is, we kissed his feet, and he kissed us on the mouth'.<sup>66</sup> He was struck by the hierarchical arrangement of the participants: his own chair, like that of the king of Mallorca, was positioned lower than the pope's yet higher than those of the cardinals. The fact that the Holy Father wanted the ceremony to take place 'before many people' struck the king as a displeasing sign of vanity. This boastfulness was punished by God, who 'willed that his palace and the consistory should catch fire that night', which meant that the ceremony ultimately took place elsewhere, namely in 'the chapel that is now old; then it was the largest, but now it is the smallest'.<sup>67</sup>

Pedro IV sometimes administered justice personally. In his trial against the Union of Aragon in Zaragoza, he pronounced a sentence that 'was given by us personally [...] in the Aljafería', a palace he would later fortify because he felt insecure there.<sup>68</sup> In Valencia, he likewise handed down a sentence 'in our royal palace, in the lower house, next to the main gate' against the barber Gonzalvo, who had plotted against him and had threatened him in the context of a song, to which the sovereign replied in kind, displaying his poetic talents, after sentencing him to death.<sup>69</sup> Pedro IV warned that, with him on the throne and 'by the work of our Lord God, who does not allow evils to go unpunished', no crime would go unpunished.<sup>70</sup> 'God willed it, and it pleased him to put it in our minds', he said on one occasion.<sup>71</sup>

62 Pedro IV, *Crònica*, chap. 2, par. 34.

63 Pedro IV, *Crònica*, chap. 2, par. 34.

64 Pedro IV, *Crònica*, chap. 3, par. 35.

65 Pedro IV, *Crònica*, par. 160.

66 Pedro IV, *Crònica*, chap. 2, par. 37.

67 Pedro IV, *Crònica*, chap. 2, par. 37. About the chapel, it is perhaps the one dedicated to St John, built by Benedict XII and consecrated in 1336, replaced by the larger chapel of St Peter and St Paul, completed in 1352: Hillgarth, *Chronicle*, p. 224, n. 63.

68 Pedro IV, *Crònica*, chap. 4, par. 48; chap. 6, par. 12.

69 Pedro IV, *Crònica*, chap. 4, par. 42.

70 Pedro IV, *Crònica*, par. 63.

71 Pedro IV, *Crònica*, chap. 6, par. 4.

## IN ITINERE: THE KING'S CONSTANT MOVEMENTS

*Journeys and Diverse Lodgings* In addition to travelling assiduously for his governmental duties, the king of Aragon did so to bring different political entities under his rule. The person in charge of 'the trunk with the clothes for our body that we have ordered to wear' was the barber, although it was the duty of the king's squires to prepare them according to his wishes, and each night they had to ask him what he wanted to wear the following day.<sup>72</sup> He also chose hats for sun or rain, 'decorated with beautiful works and daisies', as well as the sword that he wished to wear during the cavalcades and another that was to precede him.<sup>73</sup> This insignia was augmented by the shield and the lance with the royal standard and by the helmet with the crest of the winged dragon that had been added by Pedro IV in 1337, in keeping with the fashions of the time and to help him overcome the psychological factor of his small stature.<sup>74</sup> His servants always had to carry four saddles with their respective bridles. Two of these were decorated with gold velvet and silk and the royal arms, another with the emblem of St George, and the fourth with the '*senyal antich del rey d'Aragó*' (the old sign of the king of Aragon), that is, the cross of Íñigo Arista, which Pedro IV used as the arms of the kingdom or the royal title of Aragon and as an artificial means of differentiation from the general, for whom he reserved the gold and *gules* pales (the general heraldry of the King of Aragon).<sup>75</sup> This heraldic diversity can be seen in dozens of the artistic works he commissioned.

If he had to make a journey in haste, such as when he fled Valencia to avoid the plague, the king rode with three knights.<sup>76</sup> In very exceptional cases, such as the journey from Saix to Favanella, he was obliged to have lunch without dismounting; satisfied with what he had achieved, he explains, 'we were pleased with the great journey we had made, because all day we did not dismount, we even ate on the saddles, we and all our people'.<sup>77</sup>

Along the way, he had access to a wide variety of residences, many of a religious nature, such as the convent of San Francisco in Zaragoza on the occasion of his father's funeral; the Franciscan convent at Girona, in the orchard of which he learned that the Mallorcan king was entering his lands to attack him; the convent of St Augustin in Avignon, when he went to pay homage to the pope; and buildings that had once been mosques, such as in Viver in the region of Valencia. He also stayed in the houses of bishops, including those of the bishop of Girona, next to the cathedral, where he stayed for six days; in hostels, as at Figueres; and at inns, like that of '*la Bella dona*' en route from Barcelona to Girona, where 'some tents had to be pitched for the companions of our house, as we could not all fit'.<sup>78</sup> It was stipulated that the innkeeper should arrive beforehand to prepare the place with food and comfortable furniture for resting, as well as with the 'ornaments and books and the other things necessary' for Mass.<sup>79</sup> Exceptionally, on

72 *Ordinacions*, chap. 32, p. 97; chap. 30, p. 93.

73 *Idem*, chap. 81, 'De les vestedures e altres ornaments', p. 165.

74 Agustí Altisent, 'Tres apuntes', in *Studia in Honorem Prof. M. de Riquer II* (Barcelona, Quaderns Crema, 1987), 633-36 (p. 633).

75 *Ordinacions*, chap. 80, 'Dels frens e altres aparellaments de cavals', p. 164; Alberto Montaner, *El señal del rey de Aragón: Historia y significado* (Zaragoza, Institución Fernando el Católico, 1995), p. 67.

76 Pedro IV, *Crònica*, chap. 4, par. 44.

77 Pedro IV, *Crònica*, chap. 6, par. 49.

78 Pedro IV, *Crònica*, chap. 2, par. 2; chap. 3, par. 99; chap. 2, par. 37; chap. 2, par. 26; chap. 3, par. 58; chap. 3, par. 58.

79 *Ordinacions*, chap. 47, 'Del posader', p. 144; chap. 64, 'De l'abbat de Sanctas Creus', p. 139.

the way to Montpellier, at the inn d'En Castelló de Sant Pere, the king slept 'in the sheets of the inn' because his bed and bedlinens had not arrived in time.<sup>80</sup>

He often stayed in his royal tent, located next to those of his men-at-arms in fields, in meadows, or near towns.<sup>81</sup> His chronicle mentions some details about his furniture and its mode of arrangement. For example, he explains that, in Elna, he sat on a bench at the foot of his bed, and in a passage about the conquest of Mallorca in which the island's king fled his tent in haste, Pedro IV describes in detail how he found a table with food served, along with chests containing clothing, some crockery, jewellery, and various harnesses.<sup>82</sup> We know that his bed was to be assembled and disassembled indoors, using recently purchased straw and linen, cushions with fabric, colour, and workings identical to those of his other beds, and with matching carpets.<sup>83</sup> Candles were to be installed for lighting, as were benches 'on which we could sit with our companions' and the essentials for their comfort and enjoyment, these being reeds and green branches in summer and, in winter, 'that which was necessary so that we could put our feet on the ground'.<sup>84</sup> These arrangements also included whatever was required to keep the king safe and healthy, meaning that he had militarily personnel and weapons at his disposal and a surgeon on hand 'near our tent or the place where we are' in times of either war or peace.<sup>85</sup> The tents took some time to be erected. In Santa Ponça, the king notes that while 'our tent was being set up' he received a retinue from the king of Mallorca.<sup>86</sup> And the tents always had to be ready for use. Indeed, he assigned men to Zaragoza, Valencia, and Perpignan to guard them, even in times of peace, 'and to keep them intact and ready, repairing and sewing them if necessary'.<sup>87</sup> They had to be impeccable, as princes, barons, and knights entered them to advise him, as at Viver, where he was attacked and had to flee while the flames burnt his surcoat, or during the capture of Mallorca, a situation in which the king asked the princes Pedro and Jaime to meet him inside his tent, together with rich men and knights 'because we did not want to do anything without their advice'.<sup>88</sup> On one occasion, he indicates that so many people accompanied him that 'there was no room for anyone else', recalling terms used in the *Llibre dels Feyts* and the well-known paintings of the Palau Aguilar in Barcelona, perhaps dating to before 1285-90.<sup>89</sup> The tents may have hosted more solemn actions as well, such as ceremonies of homage, like the one at Elna, when the king of Mallorca came 'clad in armour except for his head. And when he was near, we stood up and he approached, put his knee on the ground, we took him by the hand and lifted him up. And he, without our will, kissed us on the hand, and we, we lifted him up high and kissed him on the mouth' – an *osculum pacis* that did not give rise to the expected consequences.<sup>90</sup>

80 Pedro IV, *Crònica*, chap. 4, par. 12.

81 Pedro IV, *Crònica*, chap. 3, par. 66; par. 68; par. 74 and 102.

82 Pedro IV, *Crònica*, par. 162 and 53.

83 *Ordinacions*, chap. 31, 'Dels ajudants de la cambra', p. 95; chap. 81, 'De les vestedures e altres ornamentals', p. 166.

84 *Ordinacions*, chap. 31, 'Dels ajudants de la cambra', pp. 95-96.

85 *Ordinacions*, chap. 29, 'De l'offici dels camarlenchs', p. 90; chap. 36, 'De l'armador real', p. 102; chap. 34, 'Dels meges de cirurgia', p. 99.

86 Pedro IV, *Crònica*, chap. 3, par. 28.

87 *Ordinacions*, chap. 37, 'De la guarda de les tendes', p. 103.

88 Pedro IV, *Crònica*, chap. 2, par. 26; chap. 3, par. 116.

89 Pedro IV, *Crònica*, par. 162; Martín Alvira, 'Destruir aquells qui reneguen lo nom de Jhesucrist. El bispo de Barcelona Berenguer de Palou (1212-1241)', in *Hombres de religión y guerra. Cruzada y guerra santa en la Edad Media peninsular (siglos X-XV)*, ed. by Carlos Ayala and Santiago Palacios (Madrid, Sílex Universidad, 2018), pp. 361-418 (pp. 406-14).

90 Pedro IV, *Crònica*, par. 163.

*Entrance into Cities* Although his descriptions of entries are mostly sparse – for example, ‘we were received with great joy and great solemnity’ – Pedro sometimes gives more details. In Lleida, they came out to meet him ‘with arms, a hundred men on horseback, all decked out and with many people on foot with arms, well and honourably’.<sup>91</sup> More explicit is the entry made by Maria de Montpellier and her two daughters into Perpignan, where the inhabitants wore silk garments and danced merrily. After vespers, they held dances in the courtyard of the castle, ‘and we had great pleasure in going down and dancing with them in the mixed dance [of men and women], for which we had great joy and pleasure’.<sup>92</sup> He had wine and confectionery brought so he could share them with the city’s inhabitants. On such occasions, there was always an attendant to provide spices, confectionery, fruit, and similar provisions to be enjoyed and shared ‘away from the table where we eat’.<sup>93</sup>

Mindful of Pedro’s status and what it meant, the pope in Avignon ‘did not want us to enter at once’ and asked him to wait three days in Tarascon to leave time to prepare for a feast ‘befitting to and customary for a king’.<sup>94</sup> A similar concern is evident in his entry into Perpignan together with the not-yet-deposed king of Mallorca, of which he says ‘we were ahead of him, and he was close to us, half a horse’s length away’, a hierarchical victory that was short-lived. Indeed, although each king rode ‘on an equal horse’ during the solemn journey to be received by the Holy Father, when the Mallorcan saw ‘that our horse was ahead of his, his knight took the stick to our horse and to the one who was leading him’. Seeing that his island counterpart did not move a finger, Pedro recounts:

moved by great anger, we put our hand on our sword to hit and wound the king of Mallorca, but our lord God, who orders all things and knows what is best, did not want us to succeed, and it was good that we carried the sword of our coronation, which was very richly adorned with various fine stones and pearls and was not designed to wound; because the scabbard was narrow, it was so hard to draw from the sheath that we could not, although we tried three times.<sup>95</sup>

He refers to his expressions of anger on other occasions as well. These include incidents in which he similarly did not hesitate to wield his weapon, as well as demonstrations of assertiveness that made onlookers pale.<sup>96</sup>

He emphasized the entries into the towns he had won, such as Argilès, where ‘all the people of the town kissed our hands, and then we bowed to the Virgin’. And there, ‘our seat was set up, and we said [...] some good words’, justifying, like a good orator, his military incursion.<sup>97</sup> His entrance into Mallorca was also sumptuous and ceremonial. He entered without armour, as agreed, ‘so that the people would not be shocked or frightened’, and he was accompanied by his soldiers and members of his host, except for the Almogavars, who tended to make a very deep impression. ‘We were dressed in *a la manera tiesa*, in dimidiated cloth, that is, one part of red velvet and the other of gold cloth, all very fine for the summer heat. We went with our heads

91 Pedro IV, *Crònica*, chap. 3, par. 179; par. 197; chap. 2, par. 23.

92 Pedro IV, *Crònica*, chap. 3, par. 199.

93 *Ordinacions*, chap. 29, p. 89.

94 Pedro IV, *Crònica*, chap. 2, par. 37.

95 Pedro IV, *Crònica*, chap. 2, par. 37.

96 Pedro IV, *Crònica*, chap. 4, par. 43; par. 31. Ordering Joan Ximénez to be silent, he explains: ‘and he, who heard us talking like this and who was already white, completely discoloured and sat down’.

97 Pedro IV, *Crònica*, chap. 3, par. 125.

uncovered, although, before entering, we first sent our Royal Signal to be placed at the top of the highest tower of the Castle'.<sup>98</sup> The use of the 'foreign' term to describe their clothing is striking: the court introduced modes of dress from different places, especially France and Italy, importing along with them ideas about using one's appearance to surprise. For this, the kings of Aragon relied on foreigntailors, furriers, and shoemakers.<sup>99</sup> There is also the entry he made into Valencia after defeating the king of Castile with the help 'of God and the Virgin Mary, and the blessed St George'. According to him, the Valencians were so happy that 'they ran to kiss our hands and feet, even the skirts of the armour of our person and our horse'.<sup>100</sup> Finally, there is his entry into Perpignan, on which occasion the inhabitants 'were amazed by our people, who were very good and beautiful and well matched'.<sup>101</sup> Proudly, he reports 'we know well that the people took great pleasure in us'.<sup>102</sup>

But there were difficult entries, too. In Perpignan, regicide was planned, the perpetrators intending to shoot 'poisoned arrows' at him from vantage points in buildings, before seizing and killing him. If they failed, 'with false keys they would open the castle to assassinate him'.<sup>103</sup> Upon trying to enter Borriana during the wars with his stepmother and stepbrother in Valencia, the king's advance guard was told that the gates would not be opened and that, if anyone approached, the population would make him flee by throwing stones. Showing his fortitude, Pedro IV advanced and told them: 'I am your king and your lord, King Pedro of Aragon; approach the battlements and you will see that I am. And when they heard these words, they looked out and recognized us'. Identified by his attire and insignia, they opened the 'door of the main gate', after which he dismounted and went to the church, where he was received 'with great joy, weeping and bowing with his elbows on the ground'.<sup>104</sup> The population wept with him, and he with them, because they wanted to remain under his dominion. This was not the only time he would weep as a token of love for his subjects: after hearing the description of the siege of Valencia, 'all our eyes, both mental and bodily, burst into tears'.<sup>105</sup> As at Borriana, the king had to show himself on another occasion, this time to boost the morale of his troops, who thought he was dead: 'We had to go up to a location within the inn, where we appeared in person, and we ordered them [the soldiers] not to move. And then all the companies stayed there, because they saw our person'.<sup>106</sup>

#### MILES CHRISTI AND THE BATTLE FOR JUSTICE

The context of constant warfare obliged Pedro IV to wear armour on a regular basis. In keeping with his person and dignity, he ordered that the plate covering his body should be neat and beautiful, without corrosion, rust, or deterioration. Kept by the royal armourer, it was to be

98 Emphasis added. Pedro IV, *Crònica*, par. 35.

99 Juan Vicente García, 'El lujo cambiante. El vestido y la difusión de las modas en la Corona de Aragón (siglos XIII-XV)', *Anales de Historia del Arte*, 24 (2014), 227-44 (p. 238).

100 Pedro IV, *Crònica*, chap. 6, par. 43.

101 Pedro IV, *Crònica*, chap. 3, par. 163.

102 Pedro IV, *Crònica*, chap. 3, par. 166.

103 Pedro IV, *Crònica*, chap. 3, par. 207.

104 Pedro IV, *Crònica*, chap. 2, par. 30.

105 Pedro IV, *Crònica*, chap. 6, par. 40.

106 Pedro IV, *Crònica*, chap. 6, par. 35.

◆ Fig. 4

Flahó or main seal. Pedro IV.  
1343–1344 (Photo: after Ferran de  
Sagarra, *Sigil·lografia catalana*, num. 59).



repaired or made new and readied for any occasion, including secret encounters held ‘in opportune places’, together with other armour that was to be placed near his bed.<sup>107</sup> The *Llibre de notaments* inventories saddles, bridles, spurs, swords, breastplates, helmets, body coverings, as well as the harnesses and barding for the horses, elements that can be seen on the reverse sides of his seals, where he is depicted as an equestrian (Fig. 4).<sup>108</sup> His descriptions are concise: ‘we were dressed and bedecked’,<sup>109</sup> or ‘we were fitted out and ready [...], prepared to inflict injury’.<sup>110</sup> At times, the details he gives are surprising, such as when, after climbing over rocks to conquer Mallorca, he states that ‘when we were at the top, our footwear was all torn’.<sup>111</sup>

He revived the idea of divine providence, which had been taken up by Muntaner and by Jaime I, asserting in his chronicle that the kings and subjects of Aragon were guided by and benefitted from the goodness of God – a concept also reflected in the depiction of the star preceding the horseman on the seals of the king of Aragon starting with Jaime I himself.<sup>112</sup> Pedro IV, an admirer of his predecessor and reader of his *Llibre dels Feys*, states that ‘we are responsible for nothing, it is but the result of divine goodness’.<sup>113</sup> His victories were the result of the benevolence of God, the Virgin, and St George, ‘who was and is the protector of the battles of our house of Aragon’.<sup>114</sup> His troops followed him with loyalty and conviction even when, before battle, he informed them that they were free to leave.<sup>115</sup> Such was their commitment to him that those who did not disembark to fight the battle of Mallorca ‘pulled their hair and beards and made great distress at not being able to come with us’.<sup>116</sup>

He demonstrated his bravery against the Castilians, telling his troops that ‘I should be the first to go into battle, and [...] the forequarters of your horses should be with the hindquarters of my horse’. He claimed that his presence caused the enemy to respect him: ‘and, we have been told by people of credence that when we were on the battlefield the king of Castile, [...] seeing us there [...] turned away and sought counsel’.<sup>117</sup> This was in spite of his physique. Indeed, at the courts of Monzón in 1363 he warned that ‘although God has not made us great in stature, nevertheless, our will and our heart are as great and as full as those of any knight in the world’.<sup>118</sup> He was nonetheless aware of his limitations, as on one occasion when ‘we told the barons and knights to follow us on foot and to forgive us for riding, since we were a bad pedestrian’.<sup>119</sup> In this case, however, he ensured that he trotted slowly so that he arrived with his retinue.

107 *Ordinacions*, chap. 36, ‘De l’armador real’, p. 101.

108 *Ordinacions*, chap. 87, ‘De l’argent de la cort nostra’, p. 156.

109 Pedro IV, *Crònica*, chap. 3, par. 26.

110 Pedro IV, *Crònica*, chap. 6, par. 53.

111 Pedro IV, *Crònica*, chap. 6, par. 53.

112 I elaborate on this issue in Marta Serrano-Coll, ‘L’estel que precedeix el genet en la sigil·lografia dels reis d’Aragó i comtes de Barcelona: problemàtiques interpretatives i metodològiques’, in *La sigil·lografia medieval a Catalunya i als territoris de la Corona*

*catalano-aragonesa en un context europeu*, ed. by Xavier Barral and Vinni Lucherini (Barcelona, Institut d’Estudis Catalans, 2023).

113 Pedro IV, *Crònica*, chap. 3, par. 193; preface, par. 34.

114 Pedro IV, *Crònica*, chap. 5, par. 17.

115 Pedro IV, *Crònica*, chap. 6, par. 41.

116 Pedro IV, *Crònica*, par. 26.

117 Pedro IV, *Crònica*, chap. 6, par. 41; 52.

118 Albert and Gassiot, *Corts catalanes*, pp. 24–25.

119 Pedro IV, *Crònica*, chap. 3, par. 28.





◆ Fig. 5

Santa Eulàlia sarcophagus, detail of the top, with Pedro IV, Elisenda de Montcada and Jaime III of Mallorca. ca. 1339. Barcelona Cathedral (Photo: © Barcelona Cathedral. Serie 28, n. 40).

#### DEVOTIONAL ASPECTS AND COURTLY PROFITABILITY

The king was concerned with ensuring that his royal chapel, which also hosted institutional ceremonies, was properly prepared and staffed. When he attended divine offices, an usher-at-arms had to be present near the curtain of his oratory, and if the king was accompanied, the usher had to enter the oratory to protect his master.<sup>120</sup> Pedro IV demonstrated a similar fear for his own safety when he ordered a priest to taste the consecrated host and wine.<sup>121</sup>

Moreover, a chapel escort was to guard the curtains and the other elements necessary to carry out the offices, such as the chair and the oratory, and whatever else was required according to the liturgical season, even when the king was travelling.<sup>122</sup> Every four years, on St Mary's Day in August, three new curtains and four velvet or silk cushions were to be made, two large and two smaller ones, plus a silk cloth to cover the walls of the oratory. In addition, two new woollen cloths were to cover the benches and floor, in the colour most pleasing to the king and decorated with the royal arms, the ancient sign of the king of Aragon, or that of St George.<sup>123</sup> They were to be repaired or made new when necessary, 'considering the decency of our status', as were the red-silk cloths, lacking decoration, and white-silk fabrics with embroidered images for the most solemn festivities.<sup>124</sup> As with the other valuable belongings, the *Llibre de notaments* lists what was maintained by the keeper of the chapel: vestments, altarpieces, ornaments, gold and silver jewellery, and the relics, which were exhibited on rare occasions to demonstrate royal

<sup>120</sup> *Ordinacions*, chap. 44, 'Dels uxers d'armes', p. 111.

<sup>121</sup> *Ordinacions*, chap. 64, 'De l'abbat de Sanctas Creus', pp. 203-07.

<sup>122</sup> *Ordinacions*, chap. 66, 'De l'escolan de la cappella', pp. 142-13.

<sup>123</sup> *Ordinacions*, chap. 81, 'De les vestedures e altres ornaments', p. 166.

<sup>124</sup> *Ordinacions*, chap. 101, 'De la ordinació de la cappella', pp. 203-07.

power in both the spiritual sphere (through the possession of important remains of saints) and the economic sphere (through the possession of precious gold and silver reliquaries).<sup>125</sup>

Mindful of the need to seek divine favour, he demonstrated his devotion to God in speeches and other actions. His chronicle and his ordinances note that he heard Mass daily and practised charity as well as the *mandatum*.<sup>126</sup> He instituted at court a Mass that he names in his *Ordinacions* the day 'of the advent of the star', a new celebration in which he played the role of the Three Magi by offering 'gold money in a little box, and incense in another, and a small quantity of myrrh in another [...] as the three kings did'.<sup>127</sup> Pedro IV used this ceremony, which had political and religious overtones, as part of his campaign to increase the prestige of the dynasty.<sup>128</sup> He used sacred models to represent himself on the obverse of his seals, the compositions of which clearly refer, for the first time in the Crown of Aragon, to altarpieces (Fig. 4).<sup>129</sup> Moreover, he identified himself with venerable personages, ensuring that his devotions were sufficiently ostentatious to benefit the institution he represented. This can also be seen in his titles, such as *Maiestas* and *Sacra Persona*.<sup>130</sup>

The courtly tone that he wished to give to religious celebrations is evident in his translation of the relics of St Eulàlia to the new crypt in the cathedral of Barcelona on 10 July 1339, during one of his first visits to the city as king. He chose a propitious moment when the highest ecclesiastical and civil dignitaries were present, as well as Jaime III of Mallorca, a key figure who had come to pay him homage.<sup>131</sup> Pedro IV turned the translation into a spectacle of royal power both in terms of its immaterial sacrality and the material objects that featured in it.<sup>132</sup> The political significance of the event is made explicit not only in the chronicle but also in the historical relief on the lid of the reliquary (Fig. 5), in which I identify Elisenda de Montcada and the king of Mallorca, both of whom watch Pedro IV as he prepares to touch the remains of the saint directly and without gloves; he himself proclaimed 'we carry the said holy body in our hands'.<sup>133</sup> Afterwards, there was a banquet, of which he reports that 'a total of twenty-one of us were seated at a solemn table', the remaining guests being seated at other tables, 'since in those times it was not yet customary for any knight to eat with us'.<sup>134</sup> The king would be accompanied by the archbishops and bishops, together with the prescribed doctor, seated on benches with woollen cloths and their cushions of gold cloth and velvet featuring the royal arms.<sup>135</sup> This sumptuousness extended to the table, with the gold and silver tableware, 'which we are accustomed to use in the palace', where 'the best food that can be found' would be served, with attention to variety.<sup>136</sup>

125 *Ordinacions*, chap. 87, 'De l'argent de la cort nostra', p. 156. Albert Torra, 'Kings, saints and relics. Aspectos de la sacralidad de la monarquía catalano-aragonesa', in *XV Congreso de Historia de la Corona de Aragón* (Zaragoza, Gobierno de Aragón, 1996), vol. 3/1, pp. 495-517; Francesca Español, 'El tesoro sagrado de los reyes en la Corona de Aragón', in *Maravillas de la España Medieval*, ed. by Isidro G. Bango Torviso (León, Junta de Castilla y León, 2001), I, pp. 269-88 (pp. 269-68).

126 *Ordinacions*, chap. 69, 'Del servidor de la almoyna', p. 146; chap. 29, 'De l'offici dels camarlenchs', p. 90.

127 *Ordinacions*, chap. 82, 'De les oblacions', p. 168.

128 Joan Molina, *Arte, devoción y poder en la pintura tardogótica catalana* (Murcia, Universidad de Murcia, 1999), p. 166.

129 Serrano-Coll, 'Rex et Sacerdos', pp. 350-54.

130 Felipe Mateu, 'Sacra Regia Aragonum Maiestas. Notas sobre la diplomática y simbología real', in *Homenaje a Johannes Vincke* (Madrid, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1962), pp. 201-20 (p. 214).

131 Pedro IV, *Crònica*, chap. 2, par. 35.

132 Serrano-Coll, 'Rex et Sacerdos', pp. 354-56.

133 Pedro IV, *Crònica*, chap. 2, par. 35.

134 *Ibidem*.

135 *Ordinacions*, chap. 78, 'De les viandes', p. 162; chap. 33, 'Dels meges de cirurgia', p. 98; chap. 67, 'Dels almoyners', p. 143.

136 *Ordinacions*, chap. 'Dels rebosters majors', p. 106; chap. 78, 'De les viandes', p. 162.

## Brief Conclusions

Pedro IV was a king with a complex personality due to the difficulties he experienced during his childhood, including physical limitations caused by being born two months premature. He overcame these conditions and, conscious of the pre-eminence of his rank and dignity, not only wrote his own chronicle but also ordered the drafting of ordinances for his house and court. The latter structured the order of ceremony, for example prescribing how and with what elements and actions the coronations of the kingdom of Aragon were to be carried out. This study has focused on the most important aspects concerning the king's presence, how he describes his participation in all sorts of events, how these events were to be organized, and how they are corroborated by his iconography. In accordance with the general theme of this volume, special attention has been paid to his physical appearance, that is, his clothing and insignia, as well as to his environment, for example the stages and settings for the events in which he was involved, along with their architecture, furniture, and accessories. Through such means, Pedro IV was able to demonstrate in the eyes of his subjects the political theology he personified. Its visual manifestation during his reign marks a milestone in the saga of the kings of Aragon.

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